



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

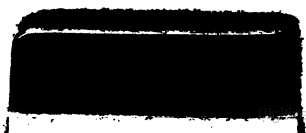
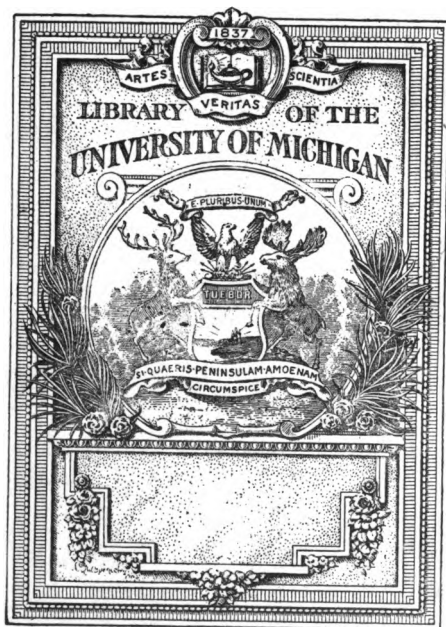
We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

B 439830



BR

1

.J875

THE
JOURNAL
OF
SACRED LITERATURE.

~~~~~  
EDITED BY JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A.  
~~~~~

VOLUME IV.

LONDON:
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, & CO.,
STATIONERS' HALL COURT.
OLIVER AND BOYD, EDINBURGH; AND J. ROBERTSON,
GRAFTON STREET, DUBLIN.

1849.

London: Printed by WILLIAM CLOWES and SONS, Stamford Street.

THE
JOURNAL
OF
SACRED LITERATURE.

~~~~~  
No. VII.—JULY, 1849.  
~~~~~

THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF DEMO-
NIACAL POSSESSION.

By WILLIAM ELFE TAYLER.

THE influence exercised over mankind by evil spirits is undoubtedly one of the most deeply interesting and practically important questions that can occupy the mind of the believer in divine revelation. Reasoning *à priori*, we should certainly have supposed that the blessed Jehovah would never have given those malignant beings any opportunity of introducing and perpetuating sin and its long train of evils in this lower world. Possessed, as we know Him to be, of infinite knowledge, wisdom, and power, it is natural to infer that the Creator would have taken effectual means to cut off all communication between such powerful adversaries and the human race. Here, however, we have one of the most striking instances of the truth of the divine declaration:—‘My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways.’ From the inspired record we find that to this world, at least, ‘the devil and his angels’ have, from its first creation, enjoyed constant and unlimited access; and so successfully have they used their infernal powers, that they have converted what was once a paradise of God into what too often appears a pandemonium of wickedness and woe.

One of the most terrible forms in which Satanic agency has been witnessed in this lower world is, unquestionably, that of

VOL. IV.—NO. VII.

B

Demoniacal

Demoniacal possession. The writings of the New Testament expressly declare that evil spirits possess the fearful power of entering the bodies of human beings—and of using the control over their corporeal organism thus obtained, for the infliction of various and protracted tortures. Innumerable instances of men and women and children being thus possessed, by one or by many unclean spirits, and of their being delivered, through the power of our Lord, and of his name, are contained in the Gospels and the Acts. Nor is revelation alone in the declaration of these marvellous facts. The writings of ancient philosophers and historians—as well as those of the Fathers of the early Christian Church—contain the most decisive and abundant evidence of the fact, that malignant spirits of celestial origin exercised the same diabolical influence over human beings in their days.

If we investigate the nature of demoniacal possession, we shall be led to view it as consisting in the fact of one or more demons having effected such a union with the human soul—or at least, having acquired such a control over the human organism—as placed all the physical powers of the individual at his or their disposal. Apart from *possession*, there is no question that evil spirits are capable, in a variety of ways, of inflicting temporal, as well as spiritual evil upon mankind. Satan possesses the power of smiting men with terrible diseases—and depriving them of worldly possessions (Job ii.). By means of his innumerable angels too he tempts men to sin—by influencing the outward senses—suggesting thoughts to the heart—or casting stumbling-blocks in the way (Acts v. 3). But in all these instances the ‘spirits of wickedness’ act upon us *from without*. In the case of *demoniacal possession*, on the contrary, the demon occupies the whole man. Actual and irresistible power is exercised over the internal organism of the individual. All the members of the body, as well as the organs of perception and utterance, are under the absolute control of the foul spirit. The possessed person is incapable of performing any action, however trifling, against the will of the demon; nor can he restrain himself from any act to which he is urged by this foreign power.

An attempt has been made by Dr. Strauss, in his *Life of Jesus*, to overturn the whole doctrine of demoniacal possession by representing the theory as involving, in the very nature of the case, an actual impossibility. ‘Apart from the difficulties,’ says he, ‘which the notion of the existence of a devil and demons entails—whatever theory may be held as to the relation between the self-consciousness and the bodily organs—it remains absolutely inconceivable how the union between the two could be so dissolved that a foreign self-consciousness could gain an entrance, thrust
out

out that which belonged to the organism and usurp its place.' ^a The error of this leader of the *mythic* school consists in supposing that in demoniacal possession there was necessarily involved a dissolution of the union subsisting between the self-consciousness and the bodily organs of the individual. We do not at all suppose that such was the actual case. It is perfectly true that a foreign self-consciousness gained an entrance into the demoniac, and acquired entire control over his organism. But it accomplished this simply by its superior power—not by displacing the former consciousness. It is as if a powerful man were to seize the helm of a ship guided by the weak arm of a youth, and steer the vessel whither he chose, in spite of the feeble opposition which the latter might exert. The objection therefore falls to the ground, being founded altogether on a mistaken view of the real nature of *possession*. For there is clearly nothing inconceivable in the idea of a superior spirit obtaining such an influence over another inferior one as to control all its actions.

It is well known that the Gospel history represents human beings as possessed, occasionally, not merely by one, but by many demons. The case of Mary Magdalene will at once occur to the reader, out of whom it is said 'seven devils went.' The Gadarene demoniac also is represented as being tormented by a whole *legion* of devils (Luke viii. 30). Dr. Strauss positively pronounces this inconceivable. 'For as,' says he, 'possession means nothing else than that the demon constitutes himself the object of the consciousness, and as consciousness can in reality have but one focus, one central point; it is under every condition inconceivable that several demons should at the same time take possession of one man.'^b

This objection, like the last, arises from that erroneous notion of what constitutes possession, to which we have already referred. It is not true that in the demoniac the evil spirit constitutes himself the subject of the consciousness. Were this the case, all the torment and suffering inflicted on the wretched victim would be experienced by the demon himself. As already stated, to constitute possession it is only required that the demon should so unite himself to the soul of the individual, or obtain such an influence over his internal organism, as to be able to control all the active and passive powers of the body. Hence there is no more difficulty in conceiving that a hundred or even a thousand evil spirits had obtained such an influence over an individual, than that only one had. It is as easy to suppose that a number of unclean spirits possessed a man, as to imagine that several powerful persons had

^a *Leben Jesu*, ii. ix. § 92.

^b *Leben Jesu*, ii. ix. § 93.

seized a youth and compelled him to act in obedience to their will.

In almost all the instances of demoniacs recorded in the Gospels and Acts—the mere fact of their being possessed with demons—is stated. In two or three cases, on the contrary, the full particulars are given; and if from these we are to judge of the others, ‘to be vexed with a devil’ is indeed the most terrible temporal infliction under which humanity has ever groaned. In the case of the Gadarene—or Gadarenes, according to Matthew—the possessing demons manifested their power in a form resembling raving madness. The demoniac was kept bound with chains and fetters; but such was the strength of the legion of devils which had entered him, that these bonds were snapped asunder like tow—and the wretched victim of infernal malice was hurried far away from the haunts of men, to dwell, like a beast, in the mountains and tombs, his clothes torn from his back, and engaged in cutting his own flesh with sharp stones.

Another mode adopted by these ‘spirits of wickedness,’ in which to wreak their malice upon their helpless and unoffending victims, resembled epilepsy. In the case of the demoniac whom the disciples were unable to cure (Mark ix. 14), all at once the unhappy youth was seized by the demon—his limbs convulsed by irresistible power in the most fearful manner, and his whole frame so racked with torture, that, wallowing on the ground, he foamed at the mouth, and gnashed with his teeth, under its influence. At another time ‘the unclean spirit’ would embrace the opportunity of casting him into the fire, or into the water, in order to destroy him. To complete the list of evils, he was cut off from all means of communication with the outer world; for it is expressly stated by Luke that ‘he was deaf and dumb.’

These cases of demoniacal possession—and we have no reason to suppose that they differ substantially from the other cases more briefly noticed—do really display such infernal malice, such genuine delight in inflicting torment and suffering upon mankind, as to present the character of these fallen angels in a more revolting light than anything else in their history. There is something so loathsome and disgusting in the idea of spiritual intelligences possessing helpless and unoffending mortals for the sole purpose of deriving gratification and pleasure from torturing their bodies and their minds in every possible way that we are disposed to attribute to this the circumstance that demons who possessed human beings are almost always termed ‘unclean’ or impure spirits, ἀκάθαρτα πνεύματα, by our Lord. The general epithet by which the fallen angels are described elsewhere is wicked, *πονηροί*. In nearly every case, however, referring to
possession,

possession, the indwelling demon is termed *unclean spirit*, unclean demon. May not the reason of this change of expression be to intimate either that the devils who delight in this employment are more loathsome, more spiritually foul than the rest; or that in this infernal agency they display a more vile and disgusting feature of character than in other acts of iniquity?

A mistake, common to all the commentators—whether Rationalists or Orthodox—which we have consulted on this subject, is that of regarding demoniacs as the subjects of actual disease. A more close examination, however, of the narratives contained in the Gospels will lead to the conclusion, that in no instance does disease, in the strict and proper sense of the term, form any part or effect of possession. All the symptoms of demoniacal disease with which we meet in the New Testament—if we omit defects of the senses—may be reduced to two, madness and epilepsy; and it requires little sagacity to see that these phenomena are precisely such as would result from demoniacal possession, as described in the Gospels—and, therefore, cannot with justice be attributed to the operation of disease. The agency of the evil spirit, according to the particular mode in which he chose to act upon the possessed person, would present in one case all the symptoms of epilepsy, in another those of insanity. If, for example, the demon suddenly seized his victim, deprived him of all power over his limbs, prostrated him upon the ground, and convulsed his whole frame with inward torture, we should here behold all the symptoms of a violent epileptic fit. If, on the other hand, the unclean spirit, by means of that absolute control over the body of the demoniac which he possessed, instigated him to extravagant, unnatural, or violent conduct, we should discern in this case all the common indications of insanity. But surely no one would be justified in speaking of disease as existing in either case, since that term always implies the operation of some *physical* cause on the human organization to which all the phenomena are owing. As well might we employ the term *vitality*, in order to denote the convulsive action of the limbs of a corpse whilst exposed to the influence of galvanism. With reference to defects of the perceptive faculties and organs of speech so frequently occurring in demoniacal subjects, we should be inclined to regard these as the result of immediate control exercised by the demon over the particular nerves or muscles, rather than any organic derangement. And the Scripture narratives of the expulsion of what are termed ‘deaf and dumb spirits’ confirm this opinion, for we read that ‘when the devil was gone out the dumb spake,’ which seems to intimate that all which occasioned dumbness was the influence exerted over the organs of speech by the evil spirit.

The

The apparent *diseases* of demoniacs, then, are obviously nothing more than certain effects produced upon the organism by the agency of the indwelling demon, in opposition to any derangement of the system arising from physical causes. And this explains a circumstance otherwise unaccountable, that fever, leprosy, palsy, and a number of other diseases, clearly arising from a disordered state of the functions or other natural causes, are never met with in demoniacs. There is clearly no connection between the entrance of a demon into the body and an impure state of a fluid. And whilst the Scripture affords decisive evidence, as we have already seen, that the devil possesses the power of inflicting diseases, it is, we conceive, of the utmost importance that such agency should be kept perfectly distinct from demoniacal possession. Unless this be done, we shall involve the subject in the greatest confusion.

The fact of actual bodily possession by demons (termed δαιμονιζεσθαι, ἔχειν δαιμόνιον) is so distinctly and repeatedly asserted by our Lord and the Evangelists, that it is extraordinary how biblical commentators can attempt to explain it away. There can be no doubt, however, that an unwillingness to admit supernatural agency is the real cause why the notion that the demoniacs of the Gospel were merely persons afflicted with certain diseases, prevails so extensively amongst learned men, both in Germany and in this country. The mode in which the opponents of the doctrine of real possession seek to evade all that is conclusive in the language of Christ and the Evangelists is by resolving it into a mere *usus loquendi*, or adaptation to the popular mode of speaking. 'There can be no doubt,' say they, 'that it was the general belief of the Jewish nation, except the Sadducees, that demons did possess human beings at that time; but the fact and real state of the case was, that the whole phenomena were caused by diseases, and that Jesus and his Apostles were under the necessity of expressing themselves in popular language, and of seeming to admit, or at least not of denying, its correctness.' Such is the argument employed by a writer in the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, who adopts that side of the question.^c It is not, however, stating the case fairly, we think, to say that 'Jesus and his Apostles seemed to admit, or at least did not deny,' that demons possessed men in those days. These expressions are altogether inconsistent with the acknowledged fact, that the circumstance of an evil spirit having entered into a human being is stated or implied in the New Testament in almost every conceivable form of expression. Demons are described as entering into men, tormenting and injuring them in various ways; and of coming out of them at the command of

^c Article 'Demoniacs.'

Christ and his Apostles. They are represented by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, as speaking and performing various acts through the instrumentality of those whom they possessed. Christ too often addresses them, converses with them, and forbids them to make him known (Mark i. 34, marg.). Besides which, it is important to notice that our Lord, in his private conversations with his disciples, not only omits to make any remark calculated to undermine the notion of demoniacal possession, but, on the contrary, speaks repeatedly on a supposition of its truth. In giving commission to the Twelve, for example, our Lord is said to have bestowed on them *power against unclean spirits to cast them out* (Matt. x. 1). When the Seventy returned to Him and said, 'Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name;' His answer was, 'I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven' (Luke x. 18). Lastly, when the disciples, unable to dispossess the young man, described by his father as a lunatic, inquired of our Lord the reason in private, He told them it was 'because of their unbelief,' . . . and added, 'this kind goeth not out but by prayer and fasting' (Matt. xvii. 20). Surely all this is widely different from 'seeming to admit, or at least not denying, the correctness' of the popular notion.

Another important fact in connection with this subject is, that the writers of the New Testament, in many passages, distinguish between diseased persons and demoniacs. Mark informs us, for example, that 'at even when the sun did set they brought Him all that were diseased, *and them that were possessed with devils*' (ch. i. 32). Luke, too, speaks of 'a great multitude who came to hear Him, and to be healed of their diseases,' and then adds, '*and they that were vexed with unclean spirits*' (ch. vi. 18). And our Lord in the commission which He gave to the Apostles after His resurrection says, 'These signs shall follow them that believe; in My name shall they cast out devils, they shall speak with new tongues, they shall take up serpents, and if they drink any deadly thing it shall not hurt them: *they shall lay hands on the sick*, and they shall recover' (Mark xvi. 17, 18). These and similar passages in the Gospels appear certainly to favour the notion that demoniacs were altogether distinct from diseased persons. But what establishes the fact beyond all doubt, we conceive, is the different mode of treatment employed in the two cases. The sick were healed by the imposition of hands and anointing of oil. The possessed were simply exorcised in the name of Jesus. Hence it is stated of the Seventy, 'They cast out many devils, *and anointed with oil many that were sick*' (Mark vi. 13). So in the passage just quoted, 'In My name shall they cast out devils, . . . *they shall lay hands on the sick*, and they shall recover' (Mark

(Mark xvi. 17). And it will be remembered that James directs the same treatment to be employed in case of sickness,—‘Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord’ (James v. 14). It is quite evident, then, that diseased persons were treated in a manner altogether different from demoniacs, and this too by the special command of Christ himself. How can this be accounted for? The only possible explanation which is satisfactory, appears to us to be, that the one were diseased, the other were not. The one were afflicted with natural disorders of the body, the other were vexed with unclean spirits. A broad and palpable distinction, such as this, would evidently afford ground for a different treatment of the two classes. And, therefore, when our Lord instructed his disciples to ‘lay hands on the sick, and they should recover;’ He also ‘gave them power over unclean spirits,’ and without this gift demoniacs would still have been placed beyond their reach.

We proceed to state that the superhuman knowledge displayed by the demoniacs of the New Testament affords conclusive evidence of the reality of demoniacal possessions. In many of the cases recorded by the Evangelists, these wretched subjects of infernal malice bear the most striking and powerful testimony to the person and work of Jesus. The demoniac in the synagogue at Capernaum is represented as exclaiming, ‘I know thee who thou art: the Holy One of God’ (Mark i. 24). Similarly, the Gadarene demoniac is said to have addressed Jesus: ‘What have I to do with thee, Jesus, *thou* Son of God most High?’ In reply to the argument afforded by these and similar passages, the writer of the article in Kitto’s *Cyclopædia* says, ‘It cannot be proved that all the demoniacs knew Jesus to be the Messiah.’ But what is the real state of the case? If we pass by those instances in which the evil spirit is expressly said to be dumb, we shall find that every circumstantial narrative of the healing of a demoniac mentions the testimony borne by the demon to the person of the Son of God, except the single one of the Syrophenician’s daughter, which, being performed at a distance, quite precluded such a manifestation. With this solitary exception, there is not one instance of an interview between our Lord and a demoniac, being circumstantially related, in which this recognition of his character does not form a prominent feature. Besides which, in some of the summary notices of our Lord’s ministry, which contain a reference to the cure of possessed persons, the same fact is stated. For example, Mark, after stating that Christ had healed many persons of their diseases, adds, ‘and unclean spirits, when they saw him, fell down before him, and cried, saying, Thou art the Son of God. And he straightly charged

charged them that they should not make him known' (ch. iii. 12). In another place the same Evangelist records that our Lord 'cast out many devils, and suffered not the devils to speak because they knew him' (ch. i. 34). The presumption therefore clearly is, that this marvellous recognition of the Messiah by demoniacs *always* occurred, since the only cases where it is not mentioned are certain *general* notices, which could not be expected to include every particular. In the Acts of the Apostles, too, in the few instances of demoniacal possession which are circumstantially related, we find the same marvellous discernment of character. When Paul and Silas were at Philippi, 'a certain damsel possessed with a spirit of divination (of Apollo—*πνεῦμα Πύθωνος*) met them and followed them, and cried, saying, These men are the servants of the Most High God, who shew unto us the way of salvation; and this she did many days' (ch. xvi. 16, 17). During the same apostle's stay at Corinth he cast out evil spirits from possessed persons; and 'then certain of the vagabond Jews, exorcists, took upon them to call over them which had evil spirits the name of the Lord Jesus, saying, We adjure you by Jesus whom Paul preacheth. And there were seven sons of one Sceva, a Jew, and chief of the priests, which did so. And the evil spirit answered and said, Jesus I know, and Paul I know; but who are ye? And the man in whom the evil spirit was leaped on them and overcame them, and prevailed against them, so that they fled out of that house naked and wounded' (Acts xix. 13-16).

With these facts before us, it is impossible to suppose that the demoniacs of the New Testament were mere lunatics and madmen, because the notion that such persons possessed clearer views of the character of Christ than the rest of mankind is altogether too extravagant to be entertained. It is quite certain that the Jews were very far from believing that he was the Messiah—much less that he was the Son of God. When our Lord inquired of his disciples, at an advanced period of his ministry, 'Whom do men say that I the Son of Man am?' they informed him, 'Some say that thou art John the Baptist; some Elias; and others Jeremias, or one of the prophets.' And as to the disciples themselves, although Jesus was considered as the Christ from the very first (John i. 42), yet it was only after continued intercourse with him and by the revelation of the Father that they regarded him as the Son of God. Hence when Peter, in the place just referred to, said to Jesus, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God,' the answer of our Lord was, 'Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven' (v. 16, 17). How then can we possibly account for the fact that the demoniacs possessed this knowledge
of

of Christ from the very commencement of his ministry (Mark i. 24 and 34), on the supposition that they were simply diseased persons, and especially maniacs? That evil spirits should recognise the person of him who was to pass sentence upon them at the last day, is only what we might expect; but that persons whose intellects were affected, or whose bodies were convulsed, should stand out from the rest of the Jews on account of the remarkable knowledge which they possessed respecting the person and work of Christ is altogether inconceivable. Nor is the case materially altered even if we grant that not all the demoniacs knew Christ to be the Messiah; for the difficulty connected with the fact that so large a number of insane and otherwise diseased persons as still remain, agreed in bearing such a testimony to the Saviour when he was unknown to the rest of the Jews, is clearly insurmountable.

We alluded in a foregoing page to the testimony of the Gadarene demoniac to the divinity of Christ; but the narrative of the healing of this unhappy individual is so beset with difficulties, as viewed by Rationalists, as to demand a separate consideration. According to the narrative given by Luke, this individual, who 'always night and day was in the tombs,' 'when he saw Jesus cried out and fell down before him, and with a loud voice said, What have I to do with thee, Jesus, *thou* Son of God most High? I beseech thee torment me not' (Luke viii. 28). Now, on the supposition that this is the language of a mere maniac, it is altogether inconceivable what could be the meaning of his entreaty that Christ would not torment him. According to the explanation given by Rationalists, the language refers to the cruel treatment of the insane in those times, in which he had no doubt shared, in the attempts of men to tame them. But such an opinion is altogether inconsistent with the statement made by these same writers, that the demoniac came to Jesus because he had heard of his fame, and *wished to be healed*. It is quite impossible that the same individual should seek relief from Christ, and at the same time deprecate any interference with his case, and passionately supplicate for mercy. Some of the German writers have employed the following ingenious supposition, by way of explaining the difficulty:—They suggest that the demoniac set off to meet Christ in a lucid moment, but being heated by running, or excited by the words of Jesus, fell into a paroxysm, in which, assuming the character of a demon, he entreated that the expulsion should be deferred.^a But, as Strauss has well observed, the closely consecutive narrative of the Evangelist is obviously inconsistent with

^a *Natürliche Geschichte*, ii. 147; Paulus, *Ex eg. Hand.*, i. 473; apud Strauss. the

the idea of any change having taken place in the man's mind :
'Seeing—he ran—and worshipped—and cried—and said.'

The Evangelist Matthew, in his narrative of the transaction, inserts an expression which the other two have omitted : *'Art thou come hither to torment us before the time?'* (πρὸ καιροῦ). Still further difficulty is encountered in explaining this. How is it possible to understand this, on the supposition that it is a mere madman? Those commentators who will acknowledge no spiritual agency here, are quite unable to give any explanation of the matter. Some of the ablest works on the side of the Rationalists carefully avoid all reference to the difficulty. In fact, it must be confessed altogether impossible to attach any meaning to the expression *'before the time,'* if we regard the Gadarene demoniac as simply a human being suffering from insanity.

On the other hand, if we admit, according to the literal statement of the inspired writer, that this was the language of one of the possessing demons whose name was Legion, all is plain and in harmony with the whole tenour of Scripture. It is the acknowledgment on the part of those apostate spirits of the most terrible fact in their history, that there is a time coming when their protracted rebellion shall be crushed, and they shall receive at length the doom which their unparalleled crimes have incurred. The Apostle Peter says that *'the angels who kept not their first estate are reserved in chains . . . unto the judgment of the great day'* (2 Pet. ii. 4). Our Lord too speaks of *'the fire prepared for the devil and his angels'* (Matt. xxv.); and the apostle, in one of those visions of futurity which were presented to his view in the isle of Patmos, beheld *'the devil cast into the lake of fire, to be tormented for ever and ever'* (Rev. xx. 10). How natural, then, that beings from whose minds the fearful anticipation of such a punishment is never long absent, should, when suddenly confronted with their judge, thus expostulate with him for interfering with them before the appointed time! In perfect accordance with this exposition is the subsequent statement of the Evangelist Luke : *'And they besought him that he would not command them to go out unto the deep'* (viii. 31). The word rendered *deep* by our translators in this passage is ἄβυσσος, which does not take this meaning. It occurs only in Rom. x. 7, and in the Revelation (ix. 1, 2, 11; xi. 7; xvii. 8; xx. 1, 3), and invariably denotes *the bottomless pit—the place of torment—hell*. The request was therefore equivalent to that in the previous verse, *'I beseech thee torment me not.'* The phraseology in Mark's narrative is different : *'And he besought him much that he would not send them away out of the country.'* The word rendered country is χώρα, *region*; which is probably used in reference to a fact which appears to be implied

implied in other parts of Scripture, that both good and evil angels have certain regions assigned to them (see Dan. x. 13, 20). If this be the fact, it is most probable that being driven away from the region assigned to an evil spirit would be identical with being sent into the bottomless pit. In this case the apparently diverse statements between the Evangelists would perfectly harmonise.

The principal difficulty connected with the history of the Gadarene demoniac remains to be noticed,—*the passage of the demons into the herd of swine, and the consequent results.* The following is the narrative of Mark, with whom Matthew and Luke substantially agree :—‘ Now there was there nigh unto the mountains a great herd of swine feeding. And all the devils besought him, saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And forthwith Jesus gave them leave. And the unclean spirits went out and *entered into* the swine. And the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea (they were about two thousand) and were choked in the sea’ (ch. v. 11-13). In this remarkable narrative, it is manifest at the first glance that every attempt to explain the particulars by referring to the *usus loquendi* must altogether fail. It was no part of the popular belief that demons ever possessed brutes. Besides, the effect produced upon the swine proves incontestably that the expelled demons had a real existence, and were not the mere chimeras of the imagination which some would have them to be. Endless have been the attempts of biblical scholars to explain the occurrence without having recourse to supernatural agency. All of them, however, agree in this, that they are utterly irreconcilable with the plain language of the narrative. With some the destruction of the swine was a mere accident, for which no cause can be assigned. With others, it was the demoniacs themselves who rushed upon the swine and frightened them into the sea.* In short, the passage has been tortured in every possible way in order to make it square with the prejudices of those who are resolved to acknowledge no spiritual agency in such matters. The plain, self-evident declaration of the three Evangelists, however, can never be made to assume any other sense than the one generally assigned to it,—the transition of the legion of demons into the swine, and the destruction of the animals by their agency in the sea :—‘ And the unclean spirits *went out and entered into the swine*; and the herd ran violently down a steep place into the sea, and were choked in the sea.’

On the other hand, if we understand the narrative literally, the circumstances referred to admit of an easy explanation. To those

* Paulus, *Fritzsche in Matt.*, § 330.

who believe, according to the Scripture, that Satan deceived our first parents by entering into the body of a serpent, it will seem no difficult matter for a *legion* of demons—whatever may be the precise number denoted by that term—to enter into two thousand swine. Dr. Strauss, in his celebrated *Life of Jesus*, asks, ‘What did the demons gain by entering into the animals, if they immediately destroyed the bodies of which they had taken possession; and thus robbed themselves of the temporary abode which they had so earnestly entreated?’ This objection, however, proceeds upon an erroneous idea of the motives of the demons in entering the swine. The fact is, they only desired to do this as a means to an end. In obtaining permission to enter the swine was involved what they so earnestly desired—not to be sent into the bottomless pit. And in immediately destroying their temporary habitation, they accomplished two objects: first, they set themselves free to enter whatever human beings it might be in their power to possess; and also restrained the power of our Lord in his ministry of good, by prejudicing the minds of the people against him. The latter object we know was accomplished: for ‘the whole multitude of the Gadarenes besought him to depart from them; for they were taken with great fear.’

An attempt has been made to undermine the whole doctrine of demoniacal possession, by denying that the term demon (δαίμονιον, δαίμων) refers in the Scripture to the fallen angels. According to Farmer, the word is never applied to Satan and his host, but to the souls or spirits of dead men, who were the principal objects of worship by the heathen. The Seventy use the word in the same sense as did the Jews universally in the time of Christ. Hence, to suppose that Christ and his Apostles would use the term in any other sense, would be to cast on them a foul reproach, and charge them with guilt of the deepest dye. And, therefore, inasmuch as these souls of dead men could not be present in the world, they could not possess any person, and the whole doctrine of possession falls to the ground.¹ This opinion has been followed by most of the German commentators, and also by the writer of the article DEMON in the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*. The latter says, ‘It is frequently supposed that the demons of the New Testament are fallen angels; on the contrary, it is maintained by Farmer that the word is never applied to the devil and his angels, and that there is no sufficient reason for restricting the term to spirits of a higher order than mankind. It is but fair and natural to suppose that the writers of the New Testament use the word demons in the same sense in which it was used by their contemporaries, which,

¹ Farmer on *Demoniacs*, p. 43.

as it appears from Josephus and other authorities, was that of the spirits of the wicked ; and that if these writers had meant anything else, they would have given notice of so wide a deviation from popular usage. The writings of the Fathers show that they sometimes understood demons to be fallen angels ; at other times they use the word in the same sense as the ancient philosophers. Justin Martyr affirms "those persons who are seized and thrown down by the souls of the deceased are such as all men agree in calling demoniacs or mad." ⁸

In noticing this objection, which, it is evident, strikes at the very root of the doctrine of real possession, we shall first attempt to show that the term demons (or devils, as rendered in our Version) does denote the devil and his angels ; and then examine into the meaning of the word as used by contemporary writers and Fathers of the church. As to the first point, that our Lord and the Jews in general, except the Sadducees, understood by the term demons those wicked spirits 'who kept not their first estate,' is capable of the clearest proof from a conversation between our Lord and the Scribes on the occasion of the healing of a demoniac. It is thus recorded by Mark—"And the scribes which came down from Jerusalem said, "He hath Beelzebub, and by the prince of the devils casteth he out devils ;" and he calleth them unto him and said unto them in parables, "How can Satan cast out Satan ? And if a kingdom be divided against itself, that kingdom cannot stand. And if a house be divided against itself, that house cannot stand. And if Satan rise up against himself, and be divided, he cannot stand, but hath an end." Now, it is admitted, we believe, by all, that in this passage Satan (ὁ Σατανᾶς) and the devil are the same ; and Satan is spoken of as identical with Beelzebub, the prince of the demons. Hence, in the opinion of the Jews, as well as our Lord himself, the devil was the prince of those demons who possessed men, and who are, accordingly, in other passages represented as his angels (see Matt. xxv. 41, and Rev. xii. 7).

We cannot but regard this as a complete demonstration of the fact, that the term *demons* in the Scriptures refers to the fallen angels. A trivial objection has indeed been made to the argument. It has been said that if it proves anything it also proves that the word *Satan* is equivalent to δαίμόνιον. But it should be remembered that there is an absolute necessity for assigning a figurative import to the word in this case. In the very nature of things, it is quite impossible for any being literally to contend against himself. The only way in which the language *Satan rise up against Satan* can be understood is, by regarding the term

⁸ Apoll. i. ii. p. 65. *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, art. 'Demon.'

Satan in the latter instance as figurative, and significant of the power, government, or cause of the great adversary of man.

The assertion that the word *demon* was used by contemporary writers to denote the spirits of dead men is wholly unsupported by proof. The only writer whose authority can be adduced in support of this statement is Josephus, who certainly does say that 'demons are no other than the souls of wicked men, that enter into men and destroy them.'^h But it is well known that Josephus received his education in the schools of the Grecian philosophers, hence it is impossible to know whether, in this statement, he is expressing the opinion of demoniacal possession which prevailed amongst the Greeks, or that which was current in Palestine.

The writings of the Fathers are also referred to as affording evidence that the words δαιμόνιον and δαίμων were used in the sense of the souls of the deceased. This proof too is equally destitute of real ground. The only Father whose authority can be produced on this side the question is Justin Martyr. This writer, in one passage of his *Apology*, has used the term in the alleged sense. It is as follows:—'Those persons who are seized and thrown down by the souls of the deceased are such as all men agree in calling demoniacs or mad.'ⁱ But this opinion can scarcely be said to be Justin's own, for he is here labouring to convince the heathens of the immortality of the soul from their own acknowledged sentiments. Besides which, he uses the word repeatedly elsewhere in the Scriptural sense, to denote the fallen angels. In his dialogue with Trypho, the Jew, for instance, when attempting to prove the existence of apostate angels, he quotes the ninety-sixth Psalm, θεοὶ οἱ θεοὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν δαιμόνια εἰσιν—the *gods of the heathen are demons*. And in his *Cohort. ad Græcos*, speaking of the devil who deceived our first parents, he calls him ὁ μισάνθρωπος δαίμων—the *man-hating demon*. We certainly cannot look upon Justin Martyr, then, as a witness that δαιμόνιον, δαίμων, denoted the souls of the deceased, especially as his pupil Tatian expressly asserts the contrary. In his *Orat. cont. Græc.*, he says, Δαίμονες δὲ οἱ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐπιτάττοντες οὐκ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ψυχαί—'The demons who govern men are not the souls of men.' In a previous passage, too, he asserts of demons that they were ἐκβλητοὶ τῆς ἐν οὐρανῷ διαίτης γεγενημένοι—cast out from the heavenly conversation. Theophilus of Antioch, too, calls him who tempted Eve 'the evil-working demon (δαίμων), who is also called Satan.'^k And Tertullian, in the same century, speaks of demons as the authors of the fall of man.^m Very many other proofs to the

^h *De Bell. Jud.*ⁱ *Apol. i. ii. p. 65.*^k *Ad Autolyc.; ii. 104.*^m See his *Apol. adv. Gent.*, at the beginning of ch. xxiii.

same

same effect, from the writings of the Fathers of the second, third, and fourth centuries, might be adduced. But the above authorities will be considered sufficient to set against the quotation from Justin—the only one which all the industry and research of the German and English biblical scholars have been able to discover in the voluminous writings of the Fathers, and that too a statement which can hardly be said to express his own views on the subject—in proof of the fact that the word *demon* was used by the Fathers of the Church universally in the sense *not* of the souls of departed men, but of ‘the angels who kept not their first estate.’

It is also objected by Farmer, and generally by those who adopt his views at home and abroad, that ‘the representations of the *confinement* of the fallen angels are totally opposed to the notion of their wandering about the world and tormenting its inhabitants.’ⁿ The writer then refers to 2 Pet. ii. 4, and Jude 6. This, we confess, appears to us very strange; for whatever difficulties we may find in our attempts to explain the precise mode in which wicked angels operate upon men, that the devil originally tempted our first parents, and that he and his associates still employ all their skill and power to entice men to sin, are facts plainly stated, or clearly implied, in very many passages of Scripture. The devil is called ‘the god of this world;’ ‘the prince of the power of the air.’ He is said to ‘deceive the nations,’ to ‘work in the hearts of the children of disobedience,’ to ‘go about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour.’ We are warned to take heed of ‘the devices of Satan,’ ‘not to give place to the devil,’ and exhorted again to ‘withstand the wiles of the devil.’ Satan is said to have tempted David to number Israel, and to have inflicted fearful evils upon Job. He appeared personally to Christ in the wilderness, and tempted him, and afterwards ‘departed from him for a season.’ Lastly, the Apostle Paul reminds believers that they ‘wrestle not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against wicked spirits (Marg.) in high places’ (Ephes. vi. 12). It appears to us that these and similar passages do, in the most plain and positive manner, teach that the fallen angels have access to this world, and possess the power of inflicting evil, by God’s permission, upon mankind. The texts referred to above, in proof of the confinement of these wicked spirits, are as follow:—‘If God spared not the angels that sinned, but cast *them* down to hell, and delivered *them* into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment’ (2 Peter ii. 4); and the very similar one in Jude—‘And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own

ⁿ *Cyclop. of Biblical Literature*, art. ‘Demoniacs.’

habitation,

habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains under darkness, unto the judgment of the great day' (ver. 6). Now it certainly cannot be said that either of these passages describes the rebel host as confined to any particular locality. It is true *chains* are mentioned, but they are *chains of darkness*, which is obviously a figurative expression; and though it may be difficult to say what is the precise import of the words, the chief idea involved in the word *chains* seems to be that of *security*, rather than confinement to one particular place. The term *ταταρώσας* too, which our translators have rendered 'cast down to hell,' does not at all necessarily imply confinement in one place, as a prison. It is surely then unsafe to oppose such obscure and dubious passages as these to the numerous and plain statements relative to the agency of Satan in our world, which we have adduced. Besides, the notion of the confinement of the devil and his angels to one locality or prison, on their expulsion from the divine presence, which is thought to be involved in the passages from Peter and Jude, is altogether inconsistent with a passage in Rev. xx. 1-3: 'And I saw an angel come down from heaven, having the key of the bottomless pit and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, that old serpent which is the devil and Satan, and bound him a thousand years. And cast him into the bottomless pit, and set a seal upon him, that he should deceive the nations no more.' However commentators may differ as to the period of the fulfilment of this prediction, whether it be past or future, it clearly implies that Satan, though 'cast down to hell,' is not therefore confined to that place. There would be obviously no meaning in the statement that he was to be 'shut up in the bottomless pit' for a time, unless he had been at large previously, and at the expiration of the time named would be set at liberty once more.

Another most important argument in favour of the literal interpretation of those numerous passages in the Gospels respecting demoniacs is, that the Fathers, during the first ages of the Church, unanimously agreed in the opinion that such persons were actually the subjects of demoniacal possession. Had our Lord and his apostles regarded demoniacs merely as persons afflicted with certain disorders, it is quite inconceivable that their *immediate* successors could have agreed in thinking their peculiar condition as the result of supernatural agency. Views so directly and obviously at variance with each other, on a question not so much of doctrine as of fact, could not possibly have prevailed, especially as it referred to a subject of such practical importance—the power and agency of him whose works it was the declared object of Christ's mission to destroy. Besides, it should be remembered that the expulsion of

demons was one of the signs which our Lord had promised should 'follow them that believe' (Mark xvi. 17). How impossible then that the early Fathers, who must have been of the number of those to whom this promise was made, should altogether misunderstand the nature of the power with which they were endowed, and suppose that they were ejecting evil spirits from men, while all the while they were merely healing certain natural diseases!

From these considerations it must be at once evident that the writings of the early Fathers are of the utmost importance in deciding the question before us; and it may with confidence be asserted that the evidence which they contain in favour of *real possession* is most triumphant. Whilst almost every one of the early Fathers declares his belief that demoniacs were truly actuated by wicked spirits from the invisible world, not one of them, so far as we are aware, expresses the slightest hint to the contrary. We will bring forward some examples. Justin Martyr, in his *Dial. cum Tryp.*, says, 'At the name of Jesus Christ the demons tremble, and are subject unto us. I mean when they are adjured by his name' (p. 36, edit. Jebb). In a subsequent passage, this Father refers to the fact as a convincing proof of the power of Jesus (p. 256). Irenæus states that the gift of expelling demons from the possessed was in his time common to all Christians, and adds that 'many who had been thus delivered became believers, and continued in the church' (ii. p. 57). Theophilus of Antioch, speaking of demoniacs, says that the demons who had been exorcised by the name of Christ 'confessed themselves to be demons' (ii. p. 87). Tertullian challenges the pagans to bring a demoniac or heathen prophet before any of the public tribunals, and in order that the unclean spirit may be expelled. He even offers to deliver himself up to be put to death, should he fail to make the demon confess to the spectators his infernal origin (*Apolog.* cap. xxxviii.). In another part of the same work he asks, 'Who would there be to deliver people from the incursions of demons, if the Christians were gone?' And compares the condition in which they would be placed to 'empty houses liable to be seized by unclean spirits' (*Ibid.*, cap. xxxvii.). Minucius Felix appeals to the pagans as acknowledging the truth of *real possession*, and describes in the following words the mode in which evil spirits quitted the bodies of demoniacs:—'They violently depart by a sudden motion immediately, or else vanish away gradually, according to the faith of the patient or the grace of the operator' (cap. xxvii.). Cyprian refers to the fact that in his time 'Christians, by the Spirit of God, compelled unclean spirits who wandered about and entered into men, to quit them, and vanquished them' (*Ad Donat.* p. 3). In another of his writings he says that 'demons when ad-
jured

jured confessed themaelves to be such, petitioned for mercy, and spoke of a judgment to come.' And he invites Demetrius, a celebrated pagan, to come and hear for himself (*Ad Demetr.* p. 133). The testimony of Lactantius (ii. pp. 14, 15), of Eusebius (*Cont. Hierocl.* p. 514, and *Demon. Evang.* iii. p. 132), and other writers, may be referred to in proof of the reality of demoniacal possession; and when the practice of exorcism became less frequent, at the close of the third century, a distinct order of men, styled Exorcists, were regularly ordained for the express purpose of expelling demons from the miserable objects of Satanic malice.

WINER'S BIBLE-LEXICON.

By the Rev. WALTER CARRICK, M.A., St. Andrews.

Biblisches Realwoerterbuch zum Handgebrauch für Studirende, Candidaten, Gymnasiallehrer und Prediger ausgearbeitet von Dr. GEORG BENEDICT WINER, Königl. Kirchenrath und ordentlichem Professor der Theologie an der Universität zu Leipzig, u. s. w. Dritte sehr verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage. Leipzig, bei Carl Heinrich Reclam, sen. 2 bde. 8. 1847-1848. [*A Scientific and Historical Bible-Lexicon, for the Hand-use of Students, Preachers, Gymnasium-masters, and Ministers.* By Dr. GEORG BENEDICT WINER, Royal Ecclesiastical Counsellor, and Professor of Theology in the University of Leipzig, etc. Third Edition, much enlarged and improved. Leipzig; Carl Heinrich Reclam, sen. 2 vols. 8vo. 1847-1848. pp. 688 and 779.]

WE saw Professor Winer only once. It was in the autumn of 1847. We were then returning through Leipzig from a short visit to Herrnhut and the disciples of Zinzendorf. For several days past the weather had been very inauspicious for travelling, and, upon our arrival at Leipzig, the rain was descending in torrents. As it happened, however, to be the time of the great 'Messé,' we resolved not to push on to Halle till the evening, but, disagreeable though the weather was, remain for a few hours and 'go to the fair.' After taking a turn or two along the principal streets and contemplating with wondering gaze the big boots, the big blouses, and the big beards of the busy Jews, who were to be found congregated 'out of every nation under heaven,' we set off

in quest of Winer's residence. We had heard much and often about the Professor. We were acquainted with his writings and we wished to see himself. Moreover, my French fellow-traveller wished to consult him about the making of a translation of his New-Testament Grammar. Accordingly, after threading our way through the bustling crowd, we at length reached the Professor's dwelling, which, for a literary man, is finely situated out of the din and tumult of the city.

It was about mid-day when we called. The Professor's conversation-hour (*Sprechstunde*) had almost struck. Consequently, congratulating ourselves that we had made our visit at such a seasonable time, we were invited to enter, and told that Dr. Winer would be with us shortly. In a few minutes the door was opened and *Mein Herr Kirchenrath* appeared in *propria persona*. Professor Winer is a tall, erect, Teutonic-looking sexagenarian. His eye is remarkably bright and penetrating, his forehead large and prominent, his air and deportment those of the scholar—of the peculiarly German scholar—much more of the scholar than of the divine. His whole mien and conversation instantly reminded one of his favourite motto, '*Protestantism, according to its very nature, is allied to science.*'^a Winer is a very different kind of man from the two great theologians who were born in the same year^b with him—Neander and Twesten. One feels in Winer's study that he has a learned grammarian and indefatigable student before him; but he is certainly not conscious of the presence of such a truly great divine as Neander, or of a man of such immense quickness and volubility as the active, lively Twesten. Neander is by far the greatest genius of the three; Winer is the most patient and laborious; Twesten is the most prompt and versatile. Each is distinguished in his own way. But the distinction of Twesten is that of the agile youth, the distinction of Neander is that of the vigorous man, the distinction of Winer that of the toil-worn sage.

Professor Winer's three principal works are undoubtedly his *Lexicon*, his *Symbolik*, and his *Grammar*. His *Grammar*—under the title '*Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms als sichere Grundlage der neutestamentlichen Exegese*' [A Grammar of the Idioms of the New Testament as a sure foundation for a New Testament-Exegesis]—first appeared in the year 1822. An English Translation of this first edition by Professors Stuart and Robinson was published at Andover in 1825, and a Swedish translation by Rogberg at Upsala in 1827. A second edition of the

^a 'Der Protestantismus ist seiner Natur nach mit der Wissenschaft verwandt.'

^b The year 1789.

original was brought out in 1825 and 1828, a third edition in 1830, a fourth edition in 1836, and a fifth edition in 1844. This work—especially in the last edition, which is much enlarged and improved—is a very valuable guide to the Exegesis of the New Testament. Previously to the labours of Winer there were no treatises of more importance in this department of biblical science than the now almost entirely forgotten productions of Wyss and Pasor and Haab; whereas at present, principally through the exertions of the Leipzig Professor, the Grammar of the New Testament is regarded as a distinct and most important branch of biblical theology, to which, especially in Germany, valuable contributions are every day being made.

The '*Comparative Darstellung des Lehrbegriffs der verschiedenen Christlichen Kirchenparteien, nebst vollständigen Belegen aus den Symbolischen Schriften derselben*' [Comparative Representation of the Doctrines of the different Christian Church-parties, with copious Extracts from their Symbolical Books] appeared in 1824, and, in a second edition, in 1837. This is perhaps the most unexceptionable of all Winer's writings. There are almost no peculiar dogmatic opinions of his own contained in it. It is simply an objective representation of the doctrines to be found in the creeds of the different churches, without any special critique concerning their truth or untenableness. It is characterized throughout by excellency of plan, profundity of research, truthfulness and accuracy of delineation.

In addition to his *Grammar*, *Lexicon*, and *Symbolik*, Professor Winer is the author of an extensive number of other treatises. The largest of these is his '*Handbuch der theologischen Literatur*' [Handbook of Theological Literature], third ed. 2 vols. 8vo., Leipz. 1838 and 1840—to which in 1842 there was added a Supplement, containing a list of the works in theology down to the close of the year 1841. This, though in many respects a useful publication, is by no means a work of such merit as the treatises already spoken of. It has many inaccuracies, such, for example, as the giving of the well-known Spanish Jesuit '*Maldonatus maledicentissimus*' a place three several times* among Protestant writers, though the author lays it down as his plan to arrange Protestant and Romanist authors separately. Moreover, there is no criticism whatever concerning the merits of the various works enumerated, or the value of the different editions of the Fathers, and, in respect to the theological literature of the not-German world, it contains almost no information.

Dr. Winer's minor works have appeared under the following

* Vol. i. pp. 194, 242, 621.

titles:—

titles :—*De Onkeloso ejusque Paraphrasi Chaldaica Dissertatio*, 1820 ; *De Jonathanis in Pentat. Paraph. Chald.*, Spec. I., 1823 ; *Comm. de Versionis N. T. Syr. Usu Critico caute instituendo*, 1823 ; *Ueber die Armuth der hebräischen Sprache*, 1820 ; *Untersuchung ob die hebräis. Sprache leicht zu nennen sei*, 1823 ; *Grundlinien einer Methodik des Elementarunterrichts in der hebr. Sprache*, 1819 ; *Spicileg. Observat. in loc. Paulin. 2 Cor. x. 1-12*, 1829 ; *Disp. de Verbor. Simplicium pro Compositis in N. T. Usu et Causis*, 1833 ; *De Verb. cum Præposit. Compositorum in N. T. Usu*, 1834 ; *Chrestomathia Talmudica et Rabbinica*, 1822 ; *Observationes in Epist. Jac. e Vers. Syr.* 1827 ; *Locus 1 Pet. i. 12, a Criticor. et Interpretum Injuriis vindicatur*, 1830 ; *Beitrag zur Verbesserung der neutest. Lexikographie*, 1823 ; *Conjunctionum in N. T. accuratius explicandarum Causæ et Exempla*, 1826 ; *Pauli ad Galatas Epistola. Latine vertit et perpet. annot. illustravit*, 1829 ; *Chald. Lesebuch*, 1825 ; *Gramm. des biblischen und targ. Chaldaismus*, 1824 ; *Disp. de Hypallage et Hendiadyi in N. T. libris*, 1824 ; *Disp. de Abstracti pro Concreto in N. T. Causis et Finibus*, 1831 ; *Justin Martyr, Evang. Can. usum fuisse ostenditur*, 1819 ; *Oratio muneris Rector. auspicuandi causa*, 1841 ; *De emendata Novi Testamenti Interpretatione Oratio*, 1823. Dr. Winer also edited Bertholdt's *Opusc. Acad.*, 1824 ; Jo. Simonis *Lexic. Manuale Hebr. et Chal.*, 1828 ; and *Confessio Augustana, brevi annot.*, 1825. He was likewise the editor of the *Exeget. Studien*, of the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftlichen Theologie*, and, in conjunction with Engelhardt, of the *Neues krit. Journal der theologischen Literatur*.

Having thus taken a rapid glance at Dr. Winer and his works generally, let us now proceed to inquire particularly into the character of his *Lexicon*. It first appeared at Leipzig in 1820, 2 vols., 8vo., and was translated into Dutch by Corell. A second edition was brought out in 1833-38. The first three parts of the third edition were given forth in 1846, and the subsequent parts have since been gradually appearing.

The *Reahörterbuch* is a unique production. Though there be many books in our language entitled dictionaries of the Bible, yet these do not generally embrace the same kind of articles which Winer's work takes up, and, even when they give the same themes which he gives, they treat them in a fundamentally different manner. This may safely be said of the compilations of Jones, Watson, Barr, Davidson, Robinson, Brown, Buck, Mansford, and Eadie, as well as of the *Encyclopædia of Religious Knowledge*, the *Pictorial Dictionary of the Holy Bible*, the *Union-Bible Dictionary of America*, the *Gazetteer of the Old and New Testament*, the *People's Dictionary of the Bible*, and many other similar publications. These are works not so much for the advancement

advancement of Biblical science as for the dissemination of useful instruction among the ordinary ranks of the people. In Germany, also, there is no Bible-lexicon which can properly be compared to that of Winer. Even at home he is left alone in his glory. The best-known German works previously to the time of Winer were Rechenbergius's *Hierolexicon Reale*, Leipzig, 1714, 2 vols., 4to.; Hezel's *Biblisches Real-Lexicon*, Leipzig, 1783-85, 3 vols., 4to.; Leun's *Biblisches Encyclopädie*, Gotha, 1793-98, 4 vols., 4to.; and Bellermann's *Handbuch der Biblischen Literatur*, Erfurt, 1787-1804, 4 vols., 8vo. Since the appearance of Winer's book, however, these old productions have been entirely laid aside.

There consequently remain only two Bible-dictionaries at all worthy of being compared to that of the Leipzig professor. The first of these is Calmet's *Dictionnaire Historique, Critique, Chronologique, Géographique, et Littérale de la Bible*, Paris, 1722, 2 vols., folio, and two supplementary vols. in 1728; but in a much improved and enlarged edition in 1730, 4 vols., folio. An English translation of this second edition by D'Oyley and Colson in 3 vols., folio, appeared at London in 1732. The more recent editions by Mr. Charles Taylor and Dr. Robinson of America are universally known. The other Bible-dictionary referred to is the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, edited by Dr. Kitto, Edinburgh, 1845, 2 vols. 8vo. These two lexicons, however, do not embrace the same extent of ground with that of Winer. Calmet gives out the scope of his work as being 'the Letter, History, and Criticism of Scripture.' But what he means to include under these vague terms can be learned only from a personal acquaintance with his ill-digested lucubrations. As a member of the church of Rome, he has many articles which could find no place in a Protestant treatise. Besides, he has many articles which are of really no value either to Protestant or Romanist. And, on the other hand, his list is in many instances defective—at least when viewed from the standpoint of modern theology. The *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, besides including 'Biblical Archæology'—to which in the more extensive sense of that term the *Realwörterbuch* is confined—contains also 'Biblical Introduction,' or, still more correctly, the *History of Holy Writ*.^d The German lexicon, therefore, takes up only the one half of the field gone over in the English treatise. But, notwithstanding this, Dr. Winer's work cannot be reckoned deficient. He takes up a distinct department, which, with the utmost pro-

^d See Hupfeld, *Begriff und Methode der sogenannten biblischen Einleitung*, Marb. 1844; De Wette's *Einleitung in das alte Testament*, p. 1, Berlin, 1845; and Oehler's *Prolegomena zur Theologie des alten Testaments*, p. 8, Stuttgart, 1845.

priety,

priety, can be considered apart from the *History of Holy Writ*.* In fact, the *History of Holy Writ*, as Winer himself states in his preface, can be much more advantageously treated of in a systematic than in an alphabetical order. The *English* student, however, who is so very scantily supplied with works on 'Biblical Introduction,' can be disposed to find no particular reason for complaint that Dr. Kitto and his contributors have supplied him with a series of such very valuable articles on 'the History of Holy Writ,' though he might have considerably preferred a systematic to an alphabetical arrangement of a science which is much more *preparatory* to the study of Scripture, than for occasional consultation when one is already engaged in the study of the Bible itself. It is, therefore, only the one half of the *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* which has common ground with the *Real-lexicon* and can be compared to it.

Calmet was undoubtedly a great man in his day, and he accomplished much for the advancement of Biblical interpretation. But, however praiseworthy and useful his dictionary once was, it is by no means suited to the advanced state of theological literature. It contains many theories that have long ago been exploded, philology that has been superseded by more careful and philosophical investigations, archæological blunders that have long since been exposed and corrected, and innumerable geographical descriptions that have been entirely set aside by the concurrent voice of recent travellers. The *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, as might have been *à priori* expected, is not of uniform merit. Very many of the articles are admirably written, though others are more sketchy and not so sound. As a general rule, those who have written most for this compilation have written best. Considered as a whole, it is a work of sterling worth and real usefulness. It has even already brought about in England and America a new era in this department of theological science.

The *Realwörterbuch* is a truly Germanic production. Its every page is replete with learning. It is a noble monument, raised at an enormous expense of time and trouble. Many a long and many a laborious hour its indefatigable author must have pored over it. For its composition, many a venerable folio in the Leipzig University library must have been despoiled of its 'learned dust,' and many a recent publication on geography and natural history been carefully consulted again and again. The statement prefixed by the learned Suicer to his *Thesaurus* 'opus viginti annorum indefesso labore adornatum,' may, with a superadded decennary, be truthfully applied to the

* See, however, the opposite opinion of Credner, Kitto's *Cyclop.* vol. i. p. xviii.

Herculean task accomplished by our untirable author. The *Realwörterbuch* is anything but superficial. Every article bears traces of the hand of the student and scholar. Especially is this the case in reference to bibliographical notices and Oriental literature. But it is by no means a faultless production. It contains many grievous errors, and these too upon matters of the utmost importance. It is woefully deficient in sound, healthful Christian sentiment. The rationalistic sneer and sceptic doubt are ever and anon to be met with. It is characterized by no holy vein of serious industry and sanctified talent. It is only a scholar-like production—and a production, too, which is most unchristian-like wherever it is most unchristian. Its jeering-cavils may, as a class, be fairly represented as being poor and paltry. Difficulties, which even a tyro in theology could most easily solve to the satisfaction of any man of an honest heart and sound head, are brought forward in the most glaring and exaggerated manner with bitter and sarcastic insinuations. Theories are propounded, which are but 'the baseless fabric' of ungodly visions—unsupported alike by sound philosophy and the word of God. Hypotheses are framed which can be 'regarded only as the most extraordinary of those exhibitions of human folly which have been lately given to the world as speculations concerning our religion.' New and daring allegations are made and dismissed with a few hasty words, as if every one were bound to receive them on the lexicographer's *ipse dixit*. Moreover, several articles contain loose, rambling statements, and very many are deficient in logical discrimination and sifting criticism. The bibliographical references, too, many and varied and useful though they be, are not uniformly characterized by anything like judiciousness of selection.

To afford a fair specimen of the work itself, we here subjoin a translation of the article on the 'Apostles.' It has been fixed upon not on account either of its merit or demerit, but simply on account of its general interest and its fitness for giving a truthful exhibition of the author's views and style of composition.

'APOSTLES, ἀπόστολοι; Syr. *ḥānā*. Such was the name given to the *twelve*, whom, in accordance with the number of the tribes of Israel (Matt. xix. 28; Lightfoot, *Hor. Heb.*, 323; cf. Tertull. c. Marcion, iv. p. 415),¹ Jesus chose from among his followers (Mark iii.

13,

¹ Prof. Norton, *The Genuineness of the Gospels*, part ii. ch. iv. vol. i. p. 160, of the London reprint of 1847. See the whole chapter, entitled 'Concluding Remarks on the Direct Historical Evidence of the Genuineness of the Gospels,' which, though tinged with the Socinianism of the writer, is, nevertheless, *so far as it goes*, a piece of sound learning and true philosophy.

² The number *twelve* was regarded as so fixed, that the Apostles were often designated simply *oi δώδεκα* (Matt. xxvi. 14, 47; John vi. 67; xx. 24, etc.). Even in

13, seq.; Luke vi. 13, seq.; cf. John vi. 70), and appointed heralds of the kingdom of God (Mark iii. 14); whose names are to be found also in Matt. x. 2, seq. (though without any mention of their selection).¹ They were educated for this calling (the κηρύσσειν) by companionship and instruction; moreover, Jesus assigned them for their aid the power of healing diseases and casting out demons. See, generally, W. Cave, *Antiquitates Apostolicæ*; or, *The History of the Apostles*, Lond. 1677 (German, Leip. 1724, 8vo.); F. Spanhem. *De Apostolatu et Apostolis in s. Dissertatt. histor. quaternio*, Ludg. Bat. 1679, 8vo.; J. F. Buddei, *Eccles. Apost.* Jen. 1729, 8vo.; Fr. Burmann, *Exercitt. Academ.*, ii. 104, seq.; Hess, *Gesch. u. Schrift. d. Apostel J.*, Zürich, 1821, iii. 8vo.; G. J. Planck, *Gesch. des Christenth. in der Periode seiner ersten Einführung in die Welt durch Jesum und die Apostel*, Götting. 1818, ii. 8vo.; K. Wilhelmi *Christi Apostel u. erste Bekenner oder Geschichte der Apostel*, etc., Heidelb., 1825, 8vo. (Capelli *Historia Apostol. Illustr.*, Genev. 1634, 4to., Salmur. 1683, 4to., Frankf. 1691, 8vo., refers almost exclusively to the Apostle Paul; and J. H. G. von Einem, *Historia Chr. et Apostol.*, Goett. 1758, 4to., likewise Rullmann, *De Apostolis*, Rint., 1789, 4to., are of little importance.) The names of those chosen by Jesus² were: Simon Peter, Andrew, James (the son of

in relation to an historical event, where all the twelve were no longer together, the expression of δώδεκα is used (1 Cor. xv. 5) as the regular appellation of the college.

¹ Because both John and Matthew say nothing of the act of choosing the Apostles; already Schleiermacher (*Ueber die Schrift des Lucas*, p. 88) denied that there ever were any formal calling and investiture of all the twelve Apostles (cf. Strauss, *Leben Jesu*, i. 549, f.). The fact that some of the Apostles early attached themselves to Jesus (Matt. iv. 19, f.; 21, f.; John i. 35, ff.) cannot be said to make the choice and determination of a fixed number to be the messengers of faith improbable; while, on the other hand, one can very easily conceive how those disciples, who had been gained under remarkable circumstances, should have been thus specially taken notice of. The Apostles always appear in the Evangelists, even in John (cf. vi. 67), as an assembly constituted of twelve, and indeed in such a manner, that, when Judas was separated from them, they themselves considered it necessary to fill up the college (Acts i. 15, ff.). John also (xv. 16) represents Jesus himself as referring to the act whereby they were chosen. Besides, it is very natural, if Jesus was in the habit of looking into the future, that he should early select special continuators of his work, upon the formation of whose character he could exercise immediate influence, and the remarkable number twelve would not be collected by accident. The addition of Paul in later times to the Apostolic College much less interfered with the intention of Christ, and the consecration which His personal selection gave unto those whom He chose, than the choosing of Matthias, for Paul considered himself as personally chosen by Christ. Finally, ἀπόστολος is never absolutely used of any other persons than the Apostles themselves (Paul being included). This holds true even of Rom. xvi. 7. Nor can it be regarded as interfering with the name of this office, that fellow-labourers of the Apostles should be called the ἀπόστολοι (the delegates) of a particular church-community (2 Cor. viii. 23; Phil. ii. 25). See further Hase, *Leben Jesu*, p. 111.

² The arrangement of the Apostles is almost the very same in the catalogues contained in the three Evangelists. There is, however, a slight difference, Acts i. 13. There the names are ranked in pairs. The first two pairs consist of pairs of brothers, Peter and Andrew, James the Greater and John; and these names thus follow each other in Matthew and Luke, whereas Mark places Andrew last. The third pair are Philip and Bartholomew; the fourth, Thomas and Matthew, or, according to Luke

of Zebedee), John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew (Levi), James (the son of Alphaeus), Lebbeus (Thaddeus), Simon, and Judas Iscariot.⁴ They were all unlearned (J. Lami, *De Eruditione Apostolorum*. [Flor. 1738, 8vo.] c. 2 and 7^a), simple, trainable men from among the people, mostly Galileans (for Jesus was convinced that spiritual regeneration must and would take its rise from among the people, Matt. xi. 25), partly related unto Jesus and the companions of His youth, some of them formerly the disciples of John the Baptist. There was no order of rank among the Apostles; and although, in Matt. xvi. 18, a *pre-eminent* part in the founding of the Christian church is allotted to Peter (see the interpreters on the passage), and he, even apart from this, stands forward already in the Gospels before the others, yet he was not therefore the superior (*Vorgesetzter*) of the other Apostles; nor was he recognized as such in the apostolic church (see the article PETER). Jesus early made the Apostles acquainted with the whole earnestness, yea, even with the sure danger of their calling (Matt. x. 17). He did not communicate to them, however, what might properly be called *esoteric* instruction. As the whole teaching of Jesus had a practical tendency, so it possessed no mysteries for the initiated. The Apostles accompanied Him when He went about teaching; and when He journeyed to the feasts,⁶ they beheld His noble deeds, they listened to His addresses to the people (Matt. v. 1, seq.; xxiii. 1, seq.; Luke iv. 13, seq.), and heard His conversations with the learned Jews (Matt. xix. 13, seq.; Luke x. 25, seq.). They attended Him (especially the more intimate of them, Peter, John, and James the Elder) not unfrequently in private (Matt. xvii. 1, seq.), and conversed with Him, requesting in-

Luke and Mark, invertedly, Matthew and Thomas; the fifth and sixth pairs have the greatest variation (James the Less, Judas, Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot, or, according to Luke, James the Less, Simon the Canaanite, Judas, Thaddeus, Judas Iscariot), Judas, however, always being placed last. There were doubtless various reasons on account of which the chief persons occupied a fixed order. See Clemen. in my *Zeitsch. für wissenschaft. Theol.*, iii. 334, ff.; Meyer on *Matt.*, x. 2.

⁴ For the names of the Apostles, in Mohammedan tradition, see Thilo, *Apoc.*, i. 152.

⁵ Arnobius, i. p. 8. . . . Ne qua subesset suspicio magicis se artibus munera illa beneficiaque largitum ex immensa illa populi multitudine . . . piscatores, opifices, rusticanos atque id genus delegit imperitorum, qui per varias gentes missi cuncta illa miracula sine ullis facis atque adminiculis perpetrarent.—Neander, *Leb. Jesu*, p. 226, f.

⁶ Jesus made more lengthened journeys only in summer at the time of the feasts, which every religious Jew was wont to celebrate; His shorter visits to places situated in the neighbourhood of Capernaum certainly did not occupy the whole of His time. Thus could the Apostles be almost constantly in His company (cf. Acts i. 21), without entirely giving up their civil occupations or forsaking their homes (cf. Mark i. 29), for some of the Apostles were married (Matt. viii. 14; 1 Cor. ix. 5; see Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 30; J. A. Schmid, *Diss. de Apostolis Uxoratis*. Helmst., 1704 [Vitab. 1734], 4to.; cf. Deyling, *Observatt.*, iii. 469, seqq.; Ch. M. Pfaff, *De Circumductione soror. mulierum Apostolicu*, Tubing., 1751, 4to.; and Schulthess, *Neuest. Theol. Nachricht*, 1828, i. 130, ff.). Concerning the advantage which could arise to apostolic labours from the accompanying aid of such wives of Apostles (1 Cor. ix. 5), see Clemen. Alex., *Strom.*, iii. p. 191. This father regarded only the ἀδελφά (1 Cor. ix. 5) as improper.

formation

formation (Matt. xv. 15, seq.; xviii. 1, seq.; Luke viii. 9, seq.; xii. 41; xvii. 5; John ix. 2, seq.) on religious matters, sometimes in reference to the declarations of Jesus, sometimes generally (Matt. xiii. 10, seq.); yea, they were once even sent to proclaim the kingdom of God (Mark vi. 7, seq.; Luke ix. 6, seq.), and happily brought about cures (Mark vi. 13; Luke ix. 6), although in this last particular they were not always successful (Matt. xvii. 16.) They indeed recognized Jesus (Matt. xvi. 16; Luke ix. 20) as the Messiah (ὁ Χριστὸς τοῦ θεοῦ), endowed with mighty power (Luke xi. 54); yet, being hindered by weak powers of comprehension and national prejudices, they made slow progress in the comprehension of the spiritual doctrine and design of their Master (Matt. xv. 16; xvi. 22; xvii. 20, seq.; Luke ix. 54; John xvi. 12). They found it necessary to ask Him the meaning of simple, plain parables (Luke xii. 41, seq.), confessed openly the weakness of their faith (Luke xvii. 5), and, even at the departure of Jesus from the earth, although they had for more than two years (see the art. JESUS) been carefully reared and instructed step by step (Matt. xvi. 21), they were still weak in understanding (Luke xxiv. 21; cf. John xvi. 21). See Vollborth, *De Discip. Christi per gradus ad dignitatem et potent. Apostol. evectis*, Gotting. 1790, 4to.; Bagge, *De sapientia Christi in Electione, Institutione, et Missione Apostolor.*, Jen. 1754, 4to.; Ziez, *Quomodo Notio de Messia in animis App. sensim sensimque clariorem acceperit lucem*, Lubec, 1793, ii. 4to.; Liebe, in Augusti *N. Theol. Blätt.*, ii. i. 42, seq.; Ernesti, *De Præclara Chr. in App. instituendis sapientia et prudentia*, Gotting. 1834, 4to.; Neander, *Leb. J.*, 229, seq. cf. also E. A. Ph. Mahn, *Comm. in qua ducibus IV. Evangg. Apostolorumque Scriptis distinguuntur tempora et notantur viæ, quib. Apostoli Jesu doctrinam divin. sensim sensimque melius perspexerint*, Gotting. 1809, 4to. Even the symbolical consecration (*Weihe*), which, under such solemn circumstances, they received at the last supper (Matt. xxvi. 26, seq.; Mark xiv. 22, seq.; Luke xxii. 17, seq.), neither kindled enthusiasm within them (Matt. xxvi. 40, seq.), nor preserved them from disconsolateness at the death of Jesus (Mark xvi. 14, seq.; Luke xxiv. 13, seq., 36, seq.; John xx. 9, 25, seq.). They left the burial of the Lord to women and one who was not an Apostle; and his indubitably proven resurrection first gathered them together again. Yet many of them went back again to their occupations (John xxi. 3, seq.), and it required a new injunction of their Master (Matt. xxviii. 18, seq.) to bring them again to their calling and to assemble them in Jerusalem (Acts i. 4). Here they continued in pious communion of the Holy Spirit (John xx. 22), whom Jesus had promised unto them as the Comforter (John xiv. 26; xvi. 13; Acts i. 8); and, soon after the departure of the Divine Teacher, on the feast of Pentecost, which was commemorative of the establishment of the Old Covenant, being affected by an extraordinary phenomenon,⁷ they felt the power of this Spirit entering into them (Acts

⁷ The occurrence in Acts ii. is to be explained partly psychologically, and partly it may be embellished in the tradition of the tale. The disciples, awaiting the promised *πνεῦμα*, were assembled together on the feast of the giving of the law, and

(Acts ii.), and hesitated not—after they had by the election of Matthias (see the article) reintegrated the number of the Twelve, which had been diminished by the apostasy of Judas (Acts i. 15, seq.)—as the witnesses of the life and resurrection of their Lord (Luke xxiv. 48; Acts i. 8, 22; ii. 32; iii. 15; v. 32; xiii. 31), to begin^s with courage and success (Acts ii. 41) the proclamation of the kingdom of God in the holy city itself. Their calling was now determined, and clear light was now manifested to them in regard to many things that had formerly been dark (John ii. 22; xii. 16: see Henke in Pott, *Sylloge*, i. 19, seq.). The mother assembly at Jerusalem became, under the eyes of the Apostles, and not without their personal sacrifice, a society inwardly united, though as yet by no means outwardly separated from the Jewish cultus (Acts iii.-vii.); and the apostolical activity already carried the seed of the divine word to the Samaritans, among whom Jesus (John iv.) had formerly found susceptible hearts (Acts viii. 5, seq., 14). This was the *first* period of apostolical labour. But still more important was the step of Peter, who, not without the aversion and disapprobation of the primitive Christians, preached (Acts x. xi.) the Gospel unto the

and were absorbed in ardent, ecstatic contemplation. There followed a peal of thunder that shook the whole building, and the ecstatic disciples saw, or believed that they saw, fiery flames (tongues, Isa. v. 24, cf. my edit. of Simon's *Lexic. Hebr.* p. 537), which, as symbols of the Holy Ghost, descended upon them (cf. Wetsten., ii. 462, seq.). Powerfully influenced, and affected by the nearness of the Godhead, they expressed themselves with all the vivacity of the Oriental character in burning adoration of God (Acts x. 44, seq.), and must have exhibited to those who were present an unwonted spectacle. It is very difficult to say what the *λαλεῖν ἑτέρας γλώσσας* (ver. 4) actually was, and how much the legend has added to the facts of the case. It is certainly the design of Luke to relate an extraordinary wonder. This is evident from the special recounting of the foreign tongues (ver. 9, seq.); and indeed it is in relation to this that the embellishing legend may have been principally engaged. It is easily imaginable that those who spoke expressed themselves contrary to their usual custom in their different vernacular tongues (for enthusiastic persons always prefer their mother-tongue); yet one cannot in the present case see how, in the prayer-room of the Galileans (ver. 7), or even of all the then Christians (ver. 1), any considerable difference of dialect could exist. One must therefore adopt the opinion that in the room referred to there were Jews present from different lands; or, is the astonishment of the multitude to be regarded only as the result of the eloquent enthusiasm with which (in an unusual language!) the Galileans expressed themselves, and the dressing up of the *ἑτέρας γλώσσας* to be looked upon only as the product of the wonder-working legend? At all events, it must be confessed, that all the difficulties of this relation cannot be cleared up; and that, in whatever manner it is to be regarded, a merely natural view of the matter cannot be reckoned the opinion of the historian. Cf. the different, and partly most absurd, notions of expositors, especially Kuinöl and De Wette, on Acts ii.; J. Schulthess, *De Charismatibus Spir. Sancti*, Lips. 1818, i. 8vo.; Schulz, *Geistesgaben der ersten Christen*, Breslau, 1836, 8vo.; Neander, *Pflanz*, i. 11, seq. Hoffmann of late (*Weisag.*, ii. 207, seq.) seeks to destroy all scientific investigations, as above, concerning the *λαλ. ἑτέρ. λαλεῖν*.

^s According to an old legend, the Apostles in the preaching of the Gospel divided the countries of the (then known) world (Socrat., *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 19; Rufin., *Hist. Eccles.*, i. 9; cf. Theodoret, *Ad Ps. cxvi.* 1: tradition still points out the spot in Jerusalem where this took place, see F. Fabri, i. 269); and it is to this that the *Festum divisionis Apostolor.* (15th July) refers. Such a division, however, is refuted by the long-continued particularism of the Apostles, and is certainly nothing else than a dogmatic production.

heathen

heathen on the sea-coast; for this was the signal for the organization of a second and considerable assembly in Antioch, the Syrian capital, (Acts xi. 21), with which the assembly at Jerusalem placed itself in friendly correspondence (Acts xi. 22, seq.). This was the *second* period of apostolic labour. But what had hitherto taken place was at once thrown in the shade by the vigorous conduct of Paul, a Pharisee, who had been won for the apostolic calling in a wonderful manner. Although regarded at first with suspicion, he was able by his energetic personality to obtain the consent and approbation of the Apostles (Acts xiii.). Yet he found himself preferably situated in Antioch, whence, with the assistance of powerful companions, whom he instructed, he carried the Gospel into far distant heathen lands, leaving to others (to Peter, cf. Gal. ii. 7) the conversion of the Jews. This was the *third* period of apostolic labour. Henceforth Paul is the central point of the Acts of the Apostles; even Peter gradually disappears; and it is not till after the removal of Paul from Asia Minor that John again appears, quietly but powerfully working in small circles. Thus it was a man, who perhaps was personally unacquainted with Christ, who at least was not trained and consecrated by Him to be an Apostle, who accomplished more for Christianity than all the immediate Apostles, not only extensively and in reference to the geographical surface of his exertions, but also intensively, since he it was that determined the universal tendency of the Christian scheme of salvation, and sought to reconcile with learning the simple doctrine of heaven. It is remarkable that it should have been a *Pharisee*, who should have most thoroughly followed out the world-historical spirit of Christianity! With the exception of what is related incidentally in the work of Luke concerning Peter, John (Acts viii. 14), and the two Jameses (Acts xii. 2, 17; xv. 13; xxi. 18), the accredited history makes nothing further known about the Apostles of Jesus. There are tales, partly out of ancient times (Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 1), concerning nearly all the Apostles (see the *Acta Apostolor. Apocrypha*, which are generally ascribed to a certain Abdias, in Fabric., *Cod. Apocryph.*, i. 402, seqq.; and W. Cave, *Antiquitates Apos.*, see above; also Perionii, *Vita Apostolor.*, Par. 1551, 16to, and Frankf. 1744, 8vo.⁹). As, however, they partly contradict each other, and their gradual growth can often be traced, they must be carefully sifted. But all things being duly considered, we may warrantably infer that James (see the article), after the execution of the elder James (Acts xii. 2), generally resided at Jerusalem (cf. Acts xii. 17), and was recognized as the director of the affairs of the Apostles (Acts xv. 13; xxi. 18; Gal. ii. 9), whereas Peter journeyed mostly as a missionary among the Jews (*ἀπόστολος τῆς περιτομῆς*, Gal. ii. 8); and, finally, John (all the three are called *σὺλοι* of the assembly, Gal. ii. 9) was engaged at Ephesus in spreading and rearing disciples for the practical, heartfelt character of Christianity, which was already endangered by Gnostic tendencies. Though we cannot regard the labours

⁹ Ludewig, *Die Apostel J. oder mannichf. Nachricht. und Untersuch. histor.-krit. Art über die Schicksale u. das Wirken d. Apostel.* Quedlinb. 1841, 8vo.; Jod. Heringa, *Question. de Vitis Apostolor.*, Tielae, 1844, 8vo.

of the Apostles as insignificant, still it is remarkable that the immediate Apostles did not accomplish more for the evangelical *message*, and that the labours of the most of them should be related already during the first century only in very unwarranted tales. The choice made by Jesus might thus easily appear to have been in a great measure unsuccessful, especially as there was among those who had been chosen also a Judas! But we must not forget that it was important for Jesus in many respects to form a small circle around Him very early, at a time when a great choice was not afforded Him (Matt. ix. 37, seq.), that Jesus must have regarded chiefly moral and intellectual trainableness, and that the final result of His training of the disciples (especially when we remember the turn which the Christian affairs took through the instrumentality of Paul) neither depended upon Him alone, nor even—if He did not possess omniscience (which even in John ii. 25, is certainly not attributed to Him)—could with certainty be foreseen.¹⁰ He chose men of different individualities (F. Q. Gregorii *Diss. II. De Temperamentis Scriptorum N. T.*, Lipz. 1710, 4to., cf. Hase, *Leben J.*, 112, seq.), part of them of very marked characters (Neander, *Leben J.*, 223, seq.), and it is not to be supposed that He himself meant that they would *all* be suited for the great calling. Still, the founding of the Church in the Holy Land and its neighbourhood is their work and service. See further the single articles; but concerning the labours of the Apostles (within the scope of the New Testament), Neander, *Geschichte d. Pflanz. u. Leitung d. Christl. Kirche durch die Apostel*, Hamb. (1832, seq.), 3 Aufl., 1841. 2 bde. 8vo.⁷

This article has many great excellencies. They are so obvious, that it is unnecessary particularly to specify them. But it has at the same time many grievous defects. Its *Bibliographical Notices* are very numerous, but not very judiciously chosen. There are various books referred to, which contain no substantial information concerning the Apostles, and there are other valuable authors—such as Suicer, Alban Butler, Lardner, McLean, and Schelling⁸—who have been entirely overlooked. The *Arrangement* is far from being distinct and philosophical. The subject should have been treated of under some such great divisions as—‘The History of the Twelve as Disciples,’⁹ and ‘The History of the Twelve as Apostles.’ By taking the day of Pentecost as the great line of demarkation, and considering the Twelve up to that period as scholars and afterwards as teachers, a much clearer notion of the whole matter might have been afforded. The *Information*—

¹⁰ Ammon (*Leb. Jesu*, ii. 7) represents this as an historical fact. . . . “When one considers that they (such as Judas, Thomas, Lebbeus, and Simon the Zealot) were found by Jesus to be less serviceable in their calling as teachers, and therefore—without on this account being deprived of their office (!)—superseded by others.” (?)

⁸ Still more recently, Mr. Stanley has admirably treated of the Apostles in his *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolical Age*, Oxford, 1847.

⁹ Dr. Winer has no separate article on the Disciples.

considering

considering the length of the article—is very defective. There is really no solid instruction given concerning either the *name* or the *characteristics* of the Apostles. There is no adequate answer given to the questions—*What is meant by the name Apostle? Wherein does the apostolical office consist?* These most important inquiries might have been answered in very small space. The word Ἀπόστολος might have been traced to its origin. The corresponding Hebrew term מַלְאָךְ might have been attended to.

The different significations of Ἀπόστολος might have been set forth somewhat in the same manner as they are to be found distinguished in Wahl and Robinson and Suicer. But of even still greater importance was it for the author to have stated wherein the apostolical character consists. He ought to have given some criteria whereby the apostles could be separated from all other office-bearers in the church. This might have been done very shortly somewhat in the following manner:—I. The apostles are the *representatives* or *ambassadors* of Christ, Luke vi. 13. (The same thing is true also of Paul, 2 Cor. v. 20.) Therefore they were immediately appointed by Christ, Mark iii. 14; Luke vi. 13; John xv. 16; xx. 21. (The same thing is true of Paul, Acts xx. 24; Rom. i. 5; Gal. i. 1.) II. They are the *witnesses* of Christ's resurrection, Luke xxiv. 48; John xv. 27; Acts i. 8; x. 40—42. (This also holds good in the case of Paul, Acts xxii. 15; xxvi. 16.) Therefore, they saw Christ after his resurrection, Matt. xxviii. 16, 17; John xxi. 1. (This also holds good in the case of Paul, Acts xxii. 14; xxvi. 16; 1 Cor. ix. 1; xv. 8.) III. They are the *Authoritative Teachers of Christianity and Founders of the Christian Church*, Matt. xviii. 18; John xx. 23; (Paul received the same commission, Rom. i. 1—5; Gal. i. 11—17.) Therefore, they were empowered to work miracles and were inspired by the Holy Ghost, Matt. x. 1; Mark iii. 15; vi. 7; xvi. 20; Luke ix. 1; Acts ii. 43; Matt. xxviii. 20; Luke xxiv. 49; John xiv. 16, 17, 26; xvi. 13—15; xx. 22; Acts i. 8; ii. 1—4. (Paul received the same gifts, 2 Cor. xii. 11, 12. Acts ix. 17; 1 Cor. ii. 10—13.) Many of the *Doctrinal Views* brought forward by Professor Winer in this article on the Apostles are entirely spurious. It does not lie, however, within our scope to give a lengthened refutation of them. Several are so absurd as to need no refutation. 'They are too trifling to be confuted, and deserve to be mentioned only that they may be despised.'¹ Others, though known to be false, cannot be *shown* to be so without impugning the author's whole standpoint. His seventh note contains the most remarkable of these vagaries. Some of them might be re-

¹ Pitt.

garded as truly ridiculous—if any opinion upon such a momentous subject could with propriety be spoken of as ludicrous. When he asserts that the occurrence on the day of Pentecost, recorded in Acts, chap. ii., is to be explained, ‘partly psychologically and to be regarded partly an embellished tradition of the tale,’ it could have been wished that the learned author had taken the trouble to have given some *reason* for such a strange notion. He then goes on to say, that the disciples, ‘absorbed in ardent and ecstatic contemplation, upon hearing a peal of thunder, believed that they saw fiery flames which descended upon them, and that, becoming powerfully affected, they broke out into all the vivacity of the Oriental character in adoration of God and exhibited to those present an unwonted spectacle!’ Such a statement, however, is but a piece of drivelling rationalism, without any foundation to rest upon. It is quite true that the Oriental style is often bombastic and exaggerated; but any man of common sense can most easily make a very marked distinction between the plain, unadorned narrative of Luke and such Orientalism as ‘The armies of the English ride upon the vapours of boiling caldrons, and their horses are flaming coals! whirr! whirr! all by wheels! whiz! whiz! all by steam!’^k When he goes on further to speak in the same note of ‘the legendary character’ of Luke’s history, though he thus takes a very convenient method of helping himself out of the difficulties of naturalism, he certainly does not take a very warrantable or safe one.

But, notwithstanding all this, it is somewhat pleasing to find such a man as Winer stating in his preface to the last edition of his Dictionary, ‘that upon the whole there appears to him to be contained even in the Old Testament more true continuous history than is now granted by many, and that he has learned during his labours this time also to entertain a higher respect for the Bible.’ Both for his own sake and that of the Christian Church, it would be well if a man of such unquestionable learning as the Leipzig Professor would feel himself induced in mature age not merely to make such concessions as were made in bygone days by the aged Eichhorn and E. F. C. Rosenmüller, but also, like his contemporaries, Leo, Tholuck, and Hengstenberg, to abandon rationalism altogether, and, with genuine simplicity, to receive the Holy Scriptures as a true and credible ‘*declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us*,’ and, as fitted under the blessing of the spirit of God, ‘*to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus*.’

^k *Eothen*, p. 15.

CHRISTIANITY IN HARMONY WITH OUR FACULTIES.

A SERMON.

Translated from the French of the Rev. ATHANASE COQUEREL,
Pastor of the Reformed Church at Paris.*

* God knoweth whereof we are made.—Ps. ciii. 14.

THE Creator knows the creation.

See that vast edifice in which you may wander as in a maze : the architect who planned it knows all its intricacies, and will lead you through them all in turn ; the plan of this or that palace is ever spread out in idea before him in its very least compartments. Behold this ingenious apparatus, vomiting forth steam, or smoke, or flame, and which to your ignorant eyes appears but a confused assemblage of springs and wheels ; the mechanist who made it will explain to you beforehand the movement of every branch of iron, and will prove to you how the play of the smallest pieces contributes to the power of the whole. This knowledge belongs to them as it were by right ; the idea of a work is in the mind of the workman, and the proof that he knows his work lies in the fact that he was able to produce it. Extend these simple principles, and apply them to the work of creation : and if your faith accept this dogma in all its mysterious simplicity ; if you be well convinced with Moses, that *in the beginning God created the heavens and the earth* ; if you believe that creation is a drawing forth from nonentity—these principles, when applied to God himself, retain all their justness ; and it is very certain that the Creator knows his creation.

This science of God includes man, and the Psalmist may well exclaim in support of his confidence, *God knoweth whereof we are made*. Man and his double nature, his covering of dust, which

* We gladly insert this Sermon, for the translation of which we are indebted to the pen of an accomplished lady—not only from the beauty and originality of the views which are embodied and eloquently enforced in it, but on account of the peculiar interest which (especially at this time) attaches itself to the name of the excellent and gifted author. The subject is one that seems to us highly appropriate to the pages of this Journal.

must

must return to dust, and his *living soul*, his immortal *spirit*, which *shall return unto God who gave it*—man, in the fullness of his nature, is known to God. This admirable body, at once so strong and so feeble, with its wonderful organs, its inmost structure, a labyrinth of science, wherein observation loses itself, its delicate fibres, whose action escapes the most learned and sometimes the most cruel experience, all this organized matter which God has thought fit to serve for a time as the instrument of our soul, is laid bare before him; and the Psalmist was right when, in his magnificent thanksgiving, he said to God, *My bones are not hid from thee; though I be made secretly and fashioned beneath in the earth, thine eyes did see my substance, yet being imperfect; and in thy book were all my members written.* God knoweth whereof we are made. And our soul, the faculties it is endowed with, its amount of reason, its force of sensibility, its length of memory, the delicacy of its moral sense, and power of its religious instinct, and the ardour of imagination, and the reciprocal action of temperament and habit, of nature and education, the degree of influence possessed by the soul over the body, and that still more mysterious tyranny exercised by the physical being over the moral being—all these secrets which are often unfathomable for us who bear them in ourselves, are no secrets for God. Our immortal soul is his work as well as our perishable body, and God knoweth whereof we are made.

I pause to enlarge upon this reflection of the royal prophet, which is taken from one of his most sublime compositions. David applies the words of the text especially in a spiritual sense, the idea being otherwise familiar to his genius, and often repeated in his poems. His faith and piety were moved by the gravity of this principle. It may be said indeed that religion is wholly influenced by this principle, and you do away in a manner with the notion of a Divine Creator if you hesitate to admit that he knows his creation. Providence rests upon this principle; the direction of the world is only possible on the condition of its being known, and known in detail, to the extent that, according to Christ, *the very hairs of our head are all numbered.* Moral responsibility rests upon this principle; the judgment of mankind is only feasible on the condition of mankind being known, and if every intention of our hearts, each look of our eyes, each word of our lips, be not laid bare before God, how shall he ask account of us of all our ways? Even Redemption rests upon this principle; this invaluable and immense remedy, offered for the evil which is the canker of humanity both during life and in death, was only practicable on the condition of that evil being known; and if God, by his supreme knowledge had not known the amount of

sin upon earth, how should he have known that for counterpoise were required the cradle of Bethlehem and the cross of Calvary ?

My brethren, God knoweth whereof we are made.

From this principle and the considerations deduced from it, I would wish to prove to you that the religion which has been given us by that God who knoweth whereof we are made, must be suitable to our nature. If, then, Christianity be divine, if it be not an invention of human genius, but a gift of grace : if it be not a mere progression of our wisdom, but a direct revelation, Christianity must of necessity be appropriate to our faculties, an intimate and simple connection must exist between the truths of the Gospel and the attributes of man. This is what I wish to study with you to-day. Man being gifted with reason, imagination, conscience, and sensibility, I wish to show you how perfectly in harmony Christianity is with these elements of our soul, and we will afterwards examine what use man should make of a religion which was formed expressly for himself.

I. Man is a reasonable being. He feels himself created for knowledge, and he accepts ignorance only against his will. He rushes towards light wherever he perceives it glimmering ; and if he allow himself too often to be led astray by deceptive rays, these errors even are a proof that he values and instinctively seeks light. The sphere of his reason is bounded, it is true ; whatever object it propose to itself in its reflections, calculations, or experience, towards whatever point of the intellectual compass it be directed, it will soon be repelled by its own barrier and must confess itself unable to pass or overcome it ; it vaguely feels that more brilliant lights await it in another phase of existence, and thence the ingenious temerity, thence the ardour which carries man towards unattainable knowledge : thence that curious disproportion between our means of learning and our ambition for knowledge. There is nothing in heaven, or on earth, in life, and in death, in God and in man, there is nothing that our reason does not seek to penetrate. To such a point is man a reasonable being ; he wishes to be so indeed more than he can be ; he wishes at all risks to acquire knowledge, and knowledge often of whatever kind.

God knoweth whereof we are made, and the religion he has given us is a science.

In whatever aspect you may consider Christianity, you will find in it all the characteristics composing a positive science, all the elements which oblige the human mind to reflect and study. Considered as a history, Christianity dates from the very cradle of mankind, and descends to us from generation to generation ; the first sinner heard the first promise of salvation ; from age to age

age the light of Him who was able to say *I am the light of the world*, seems to be dawning in the horizon; the patriarchs are his precursors; the prophets his witnesses; the old covenant is but the preparation of his coming. From that time forward, from the foot of his cross and the brink of his grave, the Church gains ground unceasingly, and the Gospel is so thoroughly entwined in the fate of nations, that since the foundation of Christianity it is no longer possible to write a page of history without its being mentioned. Considered as a philosophy, Christianity furnishes a solution to the greatest problems which have occupied the human mind. Christianity gives a divine answer to every human inquiry; and alone, of all the systems of religion which have made mankind progress and reflect, Christianity is complete, and leaves nothing beyond the pale of the faith it instils. From the Infinity of God to the nature of man, from eternity down to your own existence which endures but for a moment, from sovereign happiness down to your happiness and to your tears, from divine perfection to the very least of your virtues, all finds an explanation in Christianity. Revelation, which contains all this, is an inexhaustible mine of which no eye has yet seen all the treasures. Faith, seconded even by the most humble, by the most sublime genius, may always find something fresh to study; and St. Paul, doubtless, was right when he said to the Corinthians that among them *he determined not to know anything save Jesus Christ and him crucified*; but this indeed is knowing all. Man is a reasonable being, and his religion is a science.

II. Man is never satisfied with reality, or with what he is; he occupies his mind with possibilities, or with what he may be. Man, gifted with reason, is gifted also with imagination; this is not a distinct faculty, if you will: it is but the action of his intellect. It signifies little if you admit that such an exercise of the mind be general, and that all men, though doubtless in very various degrees, be gifted with imagination. Who has not allowed himself to be cradled by the dreams of his fancy? Who is there, who, when looking into himself, has not been moved in counting over the treasures of affection, happiness, and hope he bears within him? Who has not quitted in idea the narrow miserable fate allotted to him, and basked in the sunshine of his own imagination? Who has not pictured to himself this world of weariness and deception, calumny and misfortune, of mourning and separation, this world in which evil is paramount, changed into another world without misery, without lassitude, or affliction, or graves? Whether confused or distinct, studied or spontaneous, whether rare or frequent, these pictures—do not doubt it—offer themselves to every mind. There is something in our soul

soul and much in our life which prevents us from being satisfied with this life, and which renders us all in turn painters and poets, to picture and promise to ourselves more elevated, more brilliant destinies which shall suit us better. This power of the soul it is which lends to the fine arts, to eloquence, to poetry all their charm. When a man of genius makes you feel the influence of art, when an eloquent expression enchants and excites you, when some holy and pure poetry touches your heart,—consider well; the impression you receive ever consists in being transported for a time out of the present and actual world into an imaginary world, into a time of being which is not or is no longer; and you receive this impression solely because your imagination responds to that of the painter, the orator, or the poet; your imagination follows his, and you are carried away into the regions of fantasy.

But God knoweth whereof we are made, and the religion he has given us is in itself poetry.

What, my brethren, is more poetical than Christianity? What is there which so well harmonizes with that innate sentiment of the beautiful we all possess? And what influence is equal to that of faith for the cultivation and encouragement of this feeling? I spoke of art: Christianity has inspired the arts for centuries, and they have not yet exhausted it; that they have often badly interpreted it is not the fault of Christianity; and the treasures of beauty it offers are so rich that even when represented falsely, beauties are found unknown to paganism. I spoke to you of eloquence. Christianity has endowed the world with a new eloquence, as it has enriched it with a new architecture: and only when speaking of the Gospel has modern genius competed with that of antiquity, and cannot fear rivalry. I spoke to you of poetry: my brethren, the only poem that can bear comparison with those bequeathed to us by antiquity, and which carries away the palm from those masterpieces—at all events as regards grandeur—is a biblical poem, a Christian poem. But why do I quote as examples these wonders of the human mind? The humblest Christian, with his Bible in his hand, is a poet, and has an inexhaustible treasure of poetry at his disposal, from the most touching passages to the most elevated and sublime, whether he weep with Joseph forgiving his brothers, or mingle with an angel-chorus when repeating the accents of a David, an Asaph, or an Isaiah. The humblest Christian, with the help of his faith, lays hold on the past, and pictures to himself the scenes of the Gospel; or, anticipating the future, imagines on earth and in heaven, and for the day even of his death, scenes whose grandeur and beauty make the finest efforts of art pale beside them; and when

when these visions of the night have vanished, which took him so far away from the world and the present hour, it is sufficient that he be able to say with St. Paul, *whether it was in the body I cannot tell, or whether out of the body.* . . . My brethren, man is endowed with imagination, and his religion is essentially poetical.

III. Man was not placed in this world merely for the exercise of his reason and the research of truth, for the cultivation of his imagination and the research of the beautiful; he must, above all, seek and practise good; in other words, man is a moral being. He is so manifestly this by force and nature, that a man devoid of conscience is no more to be found than a man without religion. In the midst of the prodigious diversity presented by human life on our globe, in every degree of barbarism or civilization, under the influence of every kind of worship, upon whatever basis he rest his right of property, whatever circle he have traced for his family, man ever feels his conscience alive to the inseparable notions of good and evil; in the abysses of his soul man ever hears a mighty voice declaring to him, Behold good, and behold evil; from the moment he puts foot on earth and begins to walk, man sees ever rising at his side and walking with him these two terrible companions of his journey, good and evil. And what indefatigable efforts has he not made to distinguish correctly the one from the other, and too often, alas! what mistaken efforts! How many masters have offered to teach him this great lesson, and give him a light to illumine his conscience which they pretended inextinguishable! How many laws has he not framed for himself as laws of conscience, without perceiving that, in promulgating them, he pursued a mistaken path, and was seeking in his blinded conscience the very light that was wanting to it! These powerless attempts which God has taken care should not lead to despair, and the corrective of which lies in the principle that of every one shall be asked according to that which has been given him, are striking proofs that man is naturally a conscientious being, since in the place of real virtues, when he is ignorant of them, he exacts from himself factitious virtues, with which he rests satisfied. . . . God knoweth whereof we are made, and the religion he has given us is a moral system.

The moral system given to the world by Christianity is distinguished by three special features, which must excite the admiration of every sincere believer and every serious mind. This morality is not a distinct article of the Christian religion, which may be detached from its precepts and separated from the whole; on the contrary, the morality of the Gospel is found throughout the Gospel; the notion of duty, the obligation of holiness, the search

search for improvement, stands out with such irresistible force in every word of the book, in every fact of history, in every point of doctrine, that Christian faith without Christian works is like what the body becomes without life, that is to say, a corpse ; that is to say, nothing ; *faith without works is dead*. Then again, this morality alone is all-sufficing, and teaches the obligations of man in every relation of life, and in death as well as in life. In its law as well as in its dogma Christianity is a plenitude, and it is impossible, in spite of the inextricable confusion of man's destinies in this world, it is impossible that a man, whoever he may be, shall find opportunity to say, Here is a day in the midst of my days, and the Gospel does not teach me my duty for this day. . . . Lastly, and this is the most curious feature of our law ; Christianity does not lay hold of man by the holiness of his nature, by the purity of his creation, to impel him towards primitive perfection ; it attaches itself, on the contrary, to the greatness of man's fall ; it speaks to him of his weakness, in order to restore to him his strength ; it points out to him the abyss in order to draw him back to heaven ; it teaches him to despise himself, in order that he may end by loving himself ; in a word, it begins by convincing man of sin, and reserves to itself to convince him later of regeneration. My brethren, the wisdom of God is visible here ; the soil must be dressed before good seed can take root, it will then bring forth fruits of perfection and palms of immortality.

Man is a conscientious being, and his religion is a system of morality.

IV. Virtue would prove impracticable to man were he not endowed with sensibility, and virtue finds in love its most natural and elevated expression ; man is a being of affection ; man is created sensible, and in spite of the excesses of egotism and anger, which we remember with sadness, I do not fear to affirm, that a human life has never been spent without love ; I do not fear to affirm that every heart of man has loved, that every eye has been moistened at some time or other with tears of emotion, affection, or pity. Destined by his Creator for domestic life and society, placed in this world in a state of existence, so planned that solitude becomes impossible, and that he must inevitably mix with his fellow creatures, it was necessary that man should bear within himself an instinct of love, and that his natural inclination should lead him to love. And, indeed, one of the most admirable points of harmony which our world presents to us is the secret and intimate connection of our most sacred duties and tenderest ties ; a touching reciprocity exists between our conscience and our sensibility, an exchange of holiness and joy is established between them ; our virtues become simple acts of affection, contributing to our

our happiness, and our affection renders easy and delightful the sacrifices, subjection, and constancy which duty imposes upon us. We become better through the same means that enable us to love, and, on the other hand, our friendships and affections are purified by the trials of devotion, by the warmth of virtue.

My brethren, God knoweth whereof we are made, and his religion is a law of love.

One of the greatest benefits conferred on the world by the Gospel was to teach man how to love. To love is easy enough, but to love according to one's duty is less so. Thus when pagan antiquity often exhibits to us some of the noblest affections carried to excess, as patriotism, for instance, we find that even by that very excess these affections lead to hardness of heart instead of pity, and eventually change to egotism. Man then loved without knowing how to love. The Gospel, by its mild and practical lessons, above all by the example of our Divine Master himself—the Gospel, which regulates all our instincts and powers, regulates also our affections; it assigns to each its value, degree, and season; it ranges them all in their several order; some are made to serve as counterpoise to others, and are thus prevented from injuring or crushing one another, or being led away to mistaken or unjust preferences; they are tempered without being equalized; without being chilled they are restrained within proper limits, and their action directed without being compressed; they are held together and sanctioned by the common bond of charity, by the influence of that law which commands us to love our neighbour as ourselves. This is not all: as the heart of man is too vast for man to fill it, the Gospel presents to him a fresh object for his love—God, God himself; and reducing all religion, all worship to love, the Gospel tells us to love God with all our heart, with all our strength, and with all our thoughts. And as just motives for this love, the Gospel lays before us the creation with its wonders, Providence with its cares, redemption with its mercies, immortality and its hopes. All this is expressed by the Gospel in one single line—*God first loved us*. Only love is required as a return for so much love, and Christianity teaches us that we have always lived long enough when we have loved enough.

My brethren, behold man, and behold his religion; what harmony between them! Man is endowed with reason, imagination, conscience, and sensibility; God knoweth whereof we are made; our religion includes science, poetry, morality, and a law of love. If then the harmony of our nature and our religion be so complete, how comes it that its effect is so often lost? This we have still to examine.

One single cause explains how a religion otherwise so conformable

formable to our faculties, our instincts, and our feelings, should often exercise but a feeble influence on those even who profess and admire it. It is that they make use of their religion, they believe and practise it, if we may so speak, with only one of their faculties instead of all; they are Christians, some through reason, others through imagination; some through conscience, others again through sensibility; and the consequence is, if I may reduce my thought to figures, that they are Christians through a fraction only of the faculties of their soul; what remains neither believes nor worships. Their Christianity then adopts the colouring of the faculty which has laid hold of it, and they possess and admire but a curtailed, disfigured Christianity, which must prove utterly powerless in supporting them in the great occasions of life and in the great shadows of death.

Be religious through your reason only, and your religion will be insensibly reduced, perhaps without your perceiving it, to be but a course of history or a philosophical system. You will store your mind with one more science, you will have added nothing to your heart, your mind will be greatly enlightened, and you will learnedly discuss the truths of faith and the scenes of the Gospel, your heart will remain cold and unmoved. You will find a very curious epoch to study in the annals of mankind, viz., the mission of a Saviour and the establishment of Christianity; you will meet with an historical personage whose life and death are deserving of great attention—Jesus Christ; you will find a collection of perfectly connected precepts, Christian doctrine; a masterpiece of philosophy effacing every system of antiquity, and which has inspired every modern system; a complete theory, which embraces as much as the human mind can comprehend, and whose principles have placed the social condition of humanity on a new footing. And reasoning in this way, all these convictions will result from science and not religion; your belief will be historical and philosophical instead of being fervent and pious; it will prove listless instead of being lively, sterile instead of fruitful; it will occupy your intellect without finding its way to your heart. I know not what it may profit you for this life, still less how it will profit you in death; I see that you are learned and wise much more than a Christian. You are religious through reason only; you possess but a science.

Be religious only through your imagination, and you will inevitably fall into mysticism; your belief will be a dream, a chimera, a fantasy: it will be satisfied with words; it will be puffed up with emptiness; it will feed on pious deceptions; it will gain a strange and perilous taste for the marvellous; it will fear to understand; it will avoid light, and willingly envelope itself in
cunning

cunning and convenient darkness ; as the High Priest of Israel, who entered once a year into the sanctuary, it dares not gaze on the ark of the covenant but through a cloud of incense ; and at length by seeking such a quintessence of truth, your mysticism will become error. And do not imagine this extreme point so very difficult of attainment. When imagination rules faith, we soon fall into a curious habit of exaggeration, which consists in thinking the Gospel not sufficiently beautiful as it is. Without exactly confessing it, we begin to embellish, and in the secret recesses of our heart we delight in darkening its mysteries, increasing its holiness, adding yet more shades to its colouring, heightening its grandeur ; we take pleasure in adding yet more innocence to the manger, yet more agony to the cross ; we finish by introducing into Christianity supposed severity or mercies ; we render the grave more gloomy, heaven more beautiful, hell more hideous, and by means of thus losing ourselves in the clouds we have drawn around us, by means of resting upon mere shadows, these shadows vanish when we would fain seek the foundation of our faith. In the midst of these reveries we have taken a distaste to the realities of life and religion ; we have made to ourselves a poetical Christianity, which is but badly applicable to the events of everyday life ; we are poets and artists in our religion much more than Christians ; we are religious only through imagination ; our religion is but mystical, is but poetical.

Be religious from motives of conscience only, and you will exchange the name of servant, and bought of Christ, for that of a just or honourable man. My brethren, our conscience is always that of our country and our age ; the virtues of the world in which we take our place, the virtues of the time in which we live, are those which our conscience without further examination exalts and approves ; and if you reduce your religion to be but a system of morality, which will inevitably happen if you seek it with the help of conscience only, you will practise merely what is practised around you ; you will honour in your own conduct that which is honoured ; you will applaud according as the wind shall bring you the applause of the day, and satisfied, with yourselves to that extent, you will admit no further obligation of perfection. Your religion will become of convenient rigour, and you will imagine yourselves sufficiently religious without a positive belief, without a worship, without prayers, and without communion. What is religion worth, in fact, if probity suffice, and if, without believing or professing anything, conscience afford all the requisite resources for life and death, with all their changes and chances ; if we know how to sacrifice and devote ourselves in the hour of need ; if we know, what is still more difficult to learn, how to resign ourselves,

selves, and hope? But how often has this been proved! This morality without faith abandons us when most required—in adversity, in neglect, in mourning, in death—and when one or other of these storms arises, and envelopes and shakes us, we regret, alas! too late, that we sought for strength in ourselves and not in Christ, not in God. There is no longer time; religion is absent; we are not Christians; we are moralists; we are religious only through morality.

Lastly, be religious only with your sensibility, and love becoming the spring instead of the crowning point of the work; love, absorbing all—reason, imagination, conscience—without being able to replace all, love will become so vapid, loose, and shadowy, that it no longer deserves its name, that it loses its power and beauty, that it possesses no more true charity, and degenerates into a sickly habit of sterile emotion. The usual feature of this sonorous and empty charity is to be greatly moved, at least outwardly and in appearance, and to do but little; sympathy and tears are showered on the miserable and wicked, but nothing more is done for them, and the sight of so much misery is thought too painful for such profound commiseration. This sort of religious sensibility has caused God to be loved with an affection akin to sacrilege; has caused Jesus to be loved even to profanation; and more frequently still has mankind been loved with such fervour and pity—that no love remained for a family, for children, friends, or benefactors. These vulgar affections, felt by the generality of men, cherished by the generality of Christians, what are they indeed for a heart whose vast charity embraces with burning compassion the whole of the human race! This sort of sensibility loves from afar, and forgets the natural family at its side to pour forth its interest only upon the great family of men, who are all brothers. Sometimes taking a still more vague and mistaken direction, this sensibility loves God to the point of loving no one else, to the degree of crushing all other affection, to the degree of being selfishly lost in ecstasy and rejoicing at the death of a fellow-creature, because then the love for the creature is no longer put in competition with that for the Creator; and when we find faith with such hardness of heart, when we would fain have the duties of earth and family ties remembered, we are languidly told that we must love our relations in God. . . . What an impious play on words! what irreligious confusion of thought! what a corruption of the pure instinct of sensibility! My brethren, sooner or later we are entrapped in these snares of vanity if we try to love otherwise than man can love—when we assimilate our love for our neighbour with our love for God—when we refuse to leave God in His place and man in his. It has been thought that sensibility might engender religion,

religion, and religion thus becomes a mere reverie of sensibility

Christians, behold the shoals of danger, but the port of refuge is at hand. When you cultivate your religious sense, and lay hold of the Christian faith with only one of your faculties, the faculties which you leave undisturbed, forgotten, or idle, become discontented with this piety, in which they take no part, and rebel and cast it off. Recollect to make use of all your faculties then when appropriating Christianity to yourselves; work in good earnest; unite, bring together all your faculties, that through their general assistance you may believe. If it be possible let not one of them predominate in your profession of Christianity; if, indeed, one or other must prevail, if you be more of a logician than a poet, more a moralist than a being of affection, at all events do not sacrifice the weaker to the more active influences. . . Encourage the weak to resist the strong; and as you are commanded by God to love Him with all your strength, so seek his truth likewise with all your strength. Let a fruitful and salutary harmony enlighten your reason, elevate your imagination, sanctify your conscience, and purify and excite your sensibility. This is asking, it would seem, very much, but not too much. God has not endowed our soul with such admirable faculties for them to be at variance with one another; he established peace between them, and we ourselves are the authors of this intestine discord, by our ambitious partiality for one or the other. Try then to maintain or renew the divine equilibrium in these internal qualities, and your reason in its researches, your imagination in its flights, your conscience in its warnings, your sensibility in its ardour will then make you discover, believe, profess, cherish, one only and the same religion. Studies, poetry, morality and love, all will constantly lead you to the delightful certainty of one only God, our common Father, one only Christ, our universal Saviour, one only revelation as the complement of our faculties, one only Church on earth, and one only immortality in heaven; all will lead to this delightful thought that Christianity is sufficient for us, since it was given us by that All bountiful *God who knoweth whereof we are made*, and who will equally well know, at the moment of our death, how to confirm our salvation, and how to receive us into his paternal bosom, when on the threshold of eternity.

RECOLLECTIONS

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE EAST,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF CERTAIN

PASSAGES IN THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By Mrs. POSTANS.

IN perusing the historical books of the Old Testament, it is impossible for a reader acquainted with the East to be otherwise than powerfully interested and impressed with the numerous points of resemblance between the detailed facts given in the sacred writings, and his own experiences of the manners and usages of the people among whom he has journeyed or sojourned ; and in some instances the descriptions, so earnestly yet so simply and truthfully given by the inspired penmen, seem but as graphic portraiture of scenes of which the reader has been himself an eye-witness, so fresh are they, and so unchanged is the aspect of Eastern manners.

This observation will particularly apply to the second chapter of the Book of Joshua, where we read of the concealment of the spies by the woman Rahab, whose house was on the walls of Jericho, having a flat roof, on which she dried the stalks of flax, beneath which were hid the men of Joshua. In every walled town of India may such a house be seen with its small window looking over the open country, and every fact in the narrative given, the 'shutting of the gate,' when it was dark, a precaution always observed in Eastern cities ; the visit of Rahab to the spies, when 'she came up unto them upon the roof,' by means of stairs always communicating from the lower rooms of Eastern houses with the flat roofs, on which the inhabitants lay cattle forage to dry in the hot sunshine ; the letting the men 'down by a cord through the window,' the one used being probably the cord with which Rahab let down her water-vessels morning and evening into the neighbouring well, until 'she bound the scarlet line in the window' (scarlet in the East being a symbol of triumph and rejoicing), affords a graphic portraiture of a scene, which, if re-enacted in our time, would in every particular be in strict accordance with the manners of the day.

While alluding to the symbolic colour of the line directed to be placed in the window of Rahab by the spies, we may observe that this same scarlet is always used in India, both as flags to the temples and as personal exhibitions of security and joy, as
seen

seen in the habit of the people to scatter cinnabar, during the Feast of the Hooli, and to wear necklaces of scarlet silk or worsted thread on all great Hindoo festivals, so that 'a scarlet thread' would be very speedily procurable, even, as we see it was, with these spies; and I would also draw remark to the comparison that may be made, as concerns the colour *blue*. In Num. xv. 38, Moses is commanded to direct the children of Israel, 'that they put upon the fringe of the borders a riband of blue' as a memorial: upon the golden altar of the tabernacle 'they shall spread a cloth of blue,' we read in Num. iv. 11; and the cloth covering of the tabernacle was 'wholly of blue,' as we see in v. 4. With the natives of the East blue is the colour of protection. On first visiting Sindh, I enquired why the favourite mares of the Belooche chiefs had necklaces of blue beads; I was told, to protect them from 'the evil eye.' My water-drawer always saw that the one blue ball was securely tied round the throat of his little bullock, and a Hummall in my service, in India, who had been a sufferer from a stroke of the land-wind, at once tied a blue cotton thread round his ankle, on which he said the evil spirit that tormented him would be obliged to fly. The turquoise stone is often worn, in consequence of its colour, as a protection to the wearer against disease and evil influences.

In Josh. xxi. we read of the eight-and-forty cities given by lot unto the Levites, and with all we see the mention of their 'suburbs.' The suburbs of Eastern cities form one of their most remarkable characteristics. It is not only that they are collections or extensions of buildings beyond the walls, but that persons very important for number and utility reside there, who could not by reason of uncleanness be admitted to the city. The suburbs of the city of Jooneer, in Western India, probably resembled the suburbs of these cities of the Levites. Families of 'Mars' were there, in little huts formed of bamboos, over which were cast garments, turban cloths, and waistbands; these 'Mars' eat of things unclean, and of offal such as was commanded by Moses to be burned by the children of Israel without the camp, as we read in Lev. viii. 17. Lepers were in the suburbs of Jooneer, in separation from their fellows, as we read in Lev. xiii. 46, 'he shall dwell alone; without the camp shall his habitation be.' There were also Dairs, outcast Hindoos, whose office it was to remove the carcases of beasts, an office rendering them unclean, as we read was so with the Levites in Lev. xi. 39, 'And if any beast of which ye may eat die, he that toucheth the carcase thereof shall be unclean until the even.' And we know, that with the Jewish cities of old, as with the Hindoo of the present, cattle, bullocks, goats, asses, and camels abounded, people doubtless were set
apart,

apart, as these Dairs are to remove the carcasses of those that died, that uncleanness should not fall upon the people. The hide of an animal was unclean to the Jews, as it also is to the Hindoos, who, to avoid its contact, use silken reins and slippers of cloth : those who slay beasts allowed to be eaten by Moslems, also live in the suburbs, as well as dancing girls, Kalatnees, or gipsies of the East, and, in short, all persons, whose indiscriminate intercourse with others renders them unclean. When the character of an eastern city is considered, its crowded houses, narrow streets, and extreme heat, these rules, as sanitary measures, seem remarkably proper, and from what I have said of the suburbs of Jooneer, the reader will consider it probable, that without the walls of the forty-eight cities of the Levites, a similar population was gathered.

In Ruth iii. 4 we read of Naomi's instruction to Ruth, touching her behaviour to her kinsman, so that when Boaz laid down on the threshing-floor, Ruth should go in 'and uncover his feet.' Natives of the East care little for sleeping accommodation, but rest, where weariness overcomes them, lying on the ground. They are, however, careful to cover their feet, and to do this have a chudda or sheet of coarse cloth, that they tuck under the feet, and drawing it up over the body suffer it to cover the face and head. An Oriental seldom changes his position, and we are told Boaz did so because he 'was afraid ;' the covering of the feet in ordinary cases is consequently not disturbed. I have frequently marked the singular effect of this custom of sleeping when I have been riding out of a native city before dawn ; figures with their feet so covered lying like monumental effigies on the pathway, and in the open verandahs of the houses, a practice at once showing the necessity of closing the city gates when it is dark, as we read was the case at Jericho in Josh. ii., where probably the same habit obtained. Neither men nor women alter their dress at night, and the labouring classes or travellers, in a serai, where there are men, women and children, rest together, the men with their feet covered, the women, wrapped in their veils or sarees.

In ver. 15 we read, that Boaz said to Ruth, after she had risen up, before 'one could know another' (a very usual habit in the East, where, before dawn, from every house in a native city, the song of the grinders may be heard, the women being engaged in grinding the corn to make cakes upon the hearth), 'Bring the veil thou hast upon thee, and hold it. And when she held it, he measured six measures of barley, and laid it on her.' The veil of the women of the East is a piece of brightly coloured linen or silk, many yards in length, with borders at either side, and embroidery at each end. The end of this veil is secured upon
the

the waist, and then wound many times round the body, until perhaps six yards in length only remains; part of this is ingeniously folded into a number of full plaits that fall gracefully from the waist to the feet, and the rest cast over the head, where it forms a partial veil, and is regulated at the wearer's pleasure. The women usually carry grain from one apartment to another in this part of the saree, uncovering the head to do so, and I have very frequently seen them apply it to the same purpose as a winnowing basket; so that the using it to convey the 'measures of barley' to her mother-in-law by Ruth, is exactly the same use that the woman of India, did she require it, would apply her veil to in our times.

In 1 Sam. x. 27, we read, 'But the children of Belial said, How shall this man save us? and they despised him and brought him no presents.' The bringing presents in the East is ever a token of respect. It has occurred to me, when associated with the representatives of the British Government in India, to observe this, under many varieties. When I arrived, as a visitor to the court of the Nuwaub of Junagarh, the chelah, or favourite servant of the Prince, fully armed in Rajpoot fashion came to the serai, in which we lodged, accompanied by a train of servants bearing salvers, on each of which folded in a square of linen cloth, was a boddice, a saree, and a piece of fine muslin, sent by each of the ladies of the hareem. Meer Alli Moorad of Khyrpoor, in Upper Sindh, when I arrived in his dominions, sent me a horse fully caparisoned in Belooche fashion, which, according to courtly etiquette, was placed for a day in our stables and then returned. Princes usually offer a pair of Cashmere shawls as 'presents,' a Rajpoot offers a hookah, and a Belooche a sword. The ordinary merchants of the city of Shikarpoor came to the British agency, followed by a servant bearing a salver, with kismus (raisins), almonds, and sugar-candy, the whole covered with a handkerchief of English printed cotton; and on leaving Goozerat, the Nuwaub of Cambay sent me a tray, covered with sweetmeats, bottles of rose-water and attar, and in the centre a square of rich kinkaub, the produce of the looms of Aurungabad. It will be seen, therefore, that the sending presents to those who are the objects of respect is universal among the higher classes, and it is equally so among the poor. We read in 1 Sam. xvi. 20, that 'Jesse took an ass laden with bread, and a bottle of wine, and a kid, and sent them by David his son unto Saul.' Thus did the Shepherd of Bethlehem bring presents to the king of Israel. In travelling in India, our tents pitched in the vicinity of a small village inhabited entirely by cultivators, the halting place being selected by the servants for the convenience of procuring water, butter, milk, and

firewood, the patell or head man of the place scarcely allowed us to dismount from our horses before he appeared, followed by his servant, bearing under his arm a young kid of the goats as a present to us as strangers, this being considered necessary before he could offer his services to procure that which was required.

In ver. 18 we read of the varied accomplishments of David, the young shepherd of Bethlehem; he was 'cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war.' While on the borders of Beloochistan I had frequent occasion to remark this somewhat singular combination of character. The Belooches, armed to the teeth with sword, shield, and matchlock, will bring their flocks from pasture to pasture, tending them as shepherds; they will again form into bodies, and make fierce attacks on towns and villages, or join the armies of independent chiefs, each Belooche 'a mighty valiant man, and a man of war.' And at midnight, by their fires of crackling thorns upon the desert, while the moon shines brightly in the canopy of heaven, these wild Belooches, each man with his sitarr, formed of a gourd strung with wires, will play with a 'cunning' hand, strains of peculiar melody, singing to them traditions of their land, and histories of the mountain chiefs. During the Caubool campaign, and the excitement of the lower country, not an attack was made, not a body of men cut up, not a European officer slain, but the incident was chronicled by Belooche bards, and sung over their watch-fires, so that we see the accomplishments of David were such as might be found to exist in a shepherd's son of the present day in the East, and would be equally likely to attract the attention of the courtiers of a prince, who were anxious to soothe his distempered mind.

In 1 Sam. xvii. 45, we read that David said to the Philistines, 'Thou comest to me with a sword, and with a spear, and with a shield.' These are the arms common in the East. I have seen an Affghan not unlike what we may suppose the defier of the hosts of Israel to have been, a warrior six feet two in height, with masses of curling hair falling on his shoulders, and a turban of enormous size, heavy enough to resist any sabre cut. His arms, a spear with a long and tough bamboo handle, a Damascus blade cased in green Caubool leather, embroidered with verses of the Koran, and a shield of rhinoceros hide, bossed with gold; and thus armed did Goliath boast; but in 1 Sam. xvii. 50, we read, that 'David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling, and with a stone.' The shepherd and cultivating class in India are particularly expert in the use of the sling and stone. The shepherds use them to scare away dogs that would worry the young kids, and the cultivators to ward off the devastations of birds on their ripe grain. Immediately before the time of harvest, in each field,

a temporary

a temporary platform is erected, on which a watchman sits from dawn to eve, marking the coming of flights of parroquets and other destructive birds, while, as they wing their way over the field, he rends the air with cries, and a dozen slings, each with its smooth stone, are heard whizzing in the air, while the missive, skilfully directed, never fails of its mark. On the banks of Lake Munchor, in Sindh, I recollect seeing the Sindhian peasants killing wild-ducks by the same means; some of the horsemen who were our escort, regularly killed rock-pigeons with a sling and a stone as a provision for food, and sparrows also; such was their skill in the use of this ancient and simple weapon. It may be remarked also with reference to 1 Sam. xvii. 40, that the shepherds of the East always carry a staff which they hold in its centre, the object of its use not being as a support, but to beat bushes and low brushwood, into which the flocks stray, and where snakes and other reptiles abound.

In 1 Sam. xvii. 57, we read that the captain of the host took David, 'and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand.' I recollect being at a small town, near Dwaka, on the coast of Kattiawar, where much excitement had prevailed, in consequence of the daring violence committed by a Bharwutteeah chief, on whose head Government had set a price, but for many months he successfully evaded pursuit. At dawn one morning, however, my friend who commanded the detachment employed against the bandit was roused from his rest, and on going to the door of his tent a Wagherie (hunter) unrolled a heavy waist-belt, and from it fell the gory head of the Bharwutteeah chief. In tracking hog, the man had come upon the robber's lair; he shot him as he slept, then drawing his sword, 'cut off his head therewith,' and triumphantly brought the hideous trophy to the tent of his employer to claim his reward.

In 1 Sam. xviii. 4 we read, 'and Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was on him, and gave it to David.' In the East this manner of showing regard or approval is still very general. I recollect a tiger-hunting party held by Meer Alli Moorad in Upper Sindh, where that chief sat on a small tower with his personal friends to see the sport; a Sindhian behaved most valiantly, killing a tigress and her cubs, and the hero was brought up on the tower, when Meer Alli Moorad took from his neck a muslin scarf and bestowed it on the man, who felt himself distinguished above all honour and remunerated beyond all price. In ver. 7 we read—'And the women answered one another as they played, and said, Saul has slain his thousands and David his ten thousands.' The Mahratta women have a custom of thus answering each other in their songs, and the songs are usually triumphant records of the

heroic deeds of Mahratta princes under the attacks of the Moslem sovereigns of Delhi. I recollect riding late one evening at Ahmed-Nuggur, a fort of great interest in the annals of Mahratta warfare, when I observed, crossing the open plain from the old city, a line of Mahratta women, bearing water-vessels on their heads, not grouped, as is usually their habit, for the purposes of gossip, but advancing in a line, and, as they came, they chaunted in chorus the history of the Chand Bebee ke Nuggur, and as every fourth woman in the line ended a verse, the rest answered her in chorus, and thus they sung until the sounds of their triumph faded on the ear. In 2 Sam. xv. 1, we read that 'Absalom prepared him chariots and horses, and fifty men to run before him;' this last portion of his retinue especially appertaining to royal state. His highness the Rao of Cutch, whenever he came to visit us from the palace of the city of Bhooj to our house in camp, came without pomp, without the elephants or camels bearing drums, horsemen, or any of the state of ceremony, but before his horse ran some fifty footmen, vociferating his titles as he came, and who, as he dismounted, gathered round, shouting 'Ram, Ram,' with one accord, and salaaming to the ground. The same number of footmen always preceded the son of the Nuwaub of Junaghir when he visited us, and the Chiefs of Rajpootana observed a similar etiquette to that 'prepared' by Absalom.

In 2 Sam. xv. 2, we read, 'And Absalom rose up early, and stood beside the way of the gate.' On either side of the gates of eastern cities are guard-rooms, open to the street. Around the walls are suspended arms, shields, and matchlocks, and on the floor are spread small mats or rugs; on these sit persons concerned in the government of the affairs of the city, the Daroga, or chief magistrate, and others. Here foreign news is first brought, and the departing cossid, or messenger, is questioned, as with staff and sandals in hand, he rapidly seeks the gate, to depart upon his way; consequently, any man desiring popularity such as Absalom sought, would certainly plant himself on a spot so calculated for his purpose as 'the way of the gate.'

In 2 Sam. xviii. 24, it is written, 'And David sat between the two gates; and the watchman went up to the roof over the gate unto the wall, and lifted up his eyes, and looked, and behold a man running alone.' This verse is very characteristic of the present manners of the people of the East. The gates of cities, as I remember those of Aurungabad, have generally guard-rooms on either side, as already described, and over the gate a chamber with an open window, to which steps from below communicate; this again, on either side, is open to the parapet, running from bastion to bastion of the walls. As David sat to hear news of
Absalom,

Absalom, so would any chief in our day, who desired the latest intelligence. The watchman, in like manner, would ascend to the room above the gate, or to the flat roof above that, again to gaze forth in search of those who would bring tidings, and he who brought them would be a cossid or messenger, who, with a short staff in his hand, and his shoes bound in his girdle, would run swiftly, more swiftly over the bye ways of the East, and across its plains, intersected by deep nullahs or water channels, than could the horseman, compelled perhaps to a very circuitous route; and the fact is, that these foot messengers form a distinct class in the East, are accustomed to the employment of messengers from youth, and are able to evade observation on their journey. During my residence in Upper Sindh, at the period of the Caubool campaign, and the siege of Khelat, news was always brought by footmen 'running alone.' When fearing remark, these cossids would hide under the bastard cypress bushes of the desert, and the danger once past, they arose and swiftly pursued their way, when the watchman from the gates of Shikarpoor would see them and announce their coming, while the nearly exhausted man 'came apace and drew near,' or a soldier would run forward and take the letter from him; or perhaps he had no missive, but came to tell that which he had seen, as was the case with us when a tribe of Murrees intercepted and cut up one of our detachments in the Murree Hills; and this man who came having seen our people fall and our officers slain, ran, and brought the news, hoping for a rich reward.

We see in ver. 33, that the king 'went up to the chamber over the gate, and wept.' I have already mentioned the chamber over the gate of Roza, at Aurungabad, and here I was told that the Emperor Aurungzebe was in the habit of sitting, either alone or with his favourite, Musafir Shah. This chamber window commanded a view of all the environs of the city, and when I looked from it across the wide plains to the distant mountains, over the gardens of waving palms, and around on the magnificent architectural remains of palaces, towers, and fountains, I readily imagined that from such a situation did the heart-stricken king of Israel mourn the news brought to him by those who 'came apace' from the 'wood of Ephraim.'

In 1 Kings xviii. 5 we read, that Ahab said to Obadiah, 'Go into the land, unto all fountains of water, and unto all brooks: peradventure we may find grass to save the horses and mules alive, that we lose not all the beasts.' The governor so spoke, in consequence of the 'sore famine in Samaria.' This affliction was the result of a lack of the usual moisture necessary to give fertility to the earth: 'there shall not
be

be dew nor rain these years,' was the decree of their great Creator. Samaria, like all the land of Syria, was subject to heavy dews, which as we see in Egypt, at the present day, supersede the necessity of that rain which in European countries is required to nourish the earth, and swell the seeds in her bosom, and therefore the Jews were stayed, when the mighty fiat went forth for the punishment of the rebellious people. But in India, these dews are uncommon, and if rain is withheld for two years, famine ensues, the earth refusing to yield her increase. I have been in countries grievously afflicted by such seasons, when the land, like that of Samaria, suffered from a famine that was sore indeed ! This I witnessed both in Kattiawar and Cutch, neighbouring provinces. At the usual time when rain was expected, early in the month of June, the Rajputs of Cutch would consult their wise men, their seers, on the chances of rain ; time passing, they would go in bands with Brahmins and music to the tanks and their adjoining temples, invoking Doorga in her form of Bhowani, the Hindu goddess of Fertility, and Vishnu, the Preserver, to aid them, and give rain to their rivers, and corn to their lands. But as the heavens remained clear, hope by degrees forsook the people : the wells dried, and then the Banian women with their water-vessels were constrained to seek the beds of the rivers or nullahs (water-courses) to raise from the little pools what water might remain, and these would soon fail. Then the wells over the few unfailing springs would be sealed and guarded, and women would walk, their water-vessels on their heads, and their little ones clinging to their garments, some miles to a distant spot near the hills to bring water to knead the cakes and fill the cruses, that stand each covered with its little earthen saucer by the door of a native house. Brahmins, availing themselves of the permission given in their books of ordinances, used sand instead of water for ablution ; dry grain was eaten instead of kneaded cakes, and the cattle were driven in flocks to the banks of the drying brooks, where a little grass yet remained to afford them sustenance. But the second year (and I remember three that succeeded each other without rain, during my residence in Cutch) brought consequences yet more terrible ; the price of grain placed it beyond the purchase of the poor, the brooks were no longer fringed with their little bright strip of verdure, the pools of the rivers were now but basins of dry sand, and famine in its hideous aspect stalked through the land. Mothers offered the infant children they could no longer feed for the price of a few measures of grain—families left the homes of their childhood to wander forth to seek food in a distant province, and in tottering weakness perished as they went. The bones of cattle lay bleaching in the parching sun ; here and there a flight of crows
or

or a band of hungry dogs tore away the flesh of the poor bullock, who feebly sought the nullah, where it had been accustomed to find refreshment, and sunk, on the path, its dying eye vainly turned to implore forbearance from the carrion brood, hungering and thirsting for their horrible banquet. By degrees many died, some fled; the villages were deserted, and when once again the heavens opened, and the rain descended, and the floods came, I rode by and saw villages deserted, their oil-mills broken, their cottages fallen to ruin, their earthen water-vessels broken on the path, and the gaunt dogs, who rushed furiously forth, the only remains of life to be seen among those homes once surrounded with cheerful gardens, and echoing to the happy sounds of the grinder's song.

In ver. 28 of this chapter we read of the priests of Baal, that 'they cried aloud, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed forth upon them.' At a festival in honour of the goddess Kali (one of the forms of Doorga in her character of the Avenger), bands of fanatics, girded round the loins, and preceded by tomtoms, parade in native cities (where our government has not power to prevent it, as in that strong hold of Brahmanism, Nassick), and as they go, wound themselves with knives, the pain of which the actors are rendered insensible to, by the large quantities of bheng (prepared hempseed) and opium, commonly used by natives to dull nervous sensation; therefore, barbarous as the usages of the priests of Baal seem to have been, they were not more so than those of the worshippers of wood and stone in our time, of the deities, who sleep as 'Doorga' is said to do in preparation for her festival of the Dusserah, who journey, as according to Hindoo mythology Chrishna did from the groves of Vrij to Dwaka; who pursue, as did the elephant-headed son of Bhowani; or talk, as did the goddess, when she consoled the Monkey God, her favourite Huniman.

In ver. 44 we read of the coming of rain, after the seasons of great drought, and its described aspect is similar to that which I have marked with much surprise by the sea-coast in India. For days before the monsoon came on, the last season I was in Bombay, the air and sky was bright and calm as in the cold season, for not a cloud was to be seen, but suddenly a mighty wind shook the harsh leaves of the palms, and sounded through their plumed heads, as if blowing through metal tubes, and the people sang and blew trumpets in their temples, for they knew this sound was that of 'abundance of rain,' and preparations were at once made for it, by the people. Yet the sky was still bright, and the sun shone with its wonted splendour. A few days after this, a little cloud was seen in the west, so little that but for those who watched for it, it would have been wholly unobserved; and this increasing became

became lurid and electric, the heavens were darkened, and at midnight 'there was a great rain,' so great, that the palm-trees fell crashing down upon the cottages of the toddy drawers, many houses were washed away, and much property injured.

In 2 Kings xi. 17 we read of the proclamation of Jehu, that 'they hasted, and took every man his garment, and put it under him on the top of the stairs, and blew with trumpets.' This is a habit very usual in the East. A native, unless engaged in the absolute presence of his superior, does not wear his body coat, his ankrika, or garment, but folds it together with his waist-belt, and places it under him as he sits. I recollect this habit with the moonshees and attendants of Meer Jafur Ali; they sat on the stairs of the prince's house, each with his garment folded under him, and when called to the Meer's presence, hastily put them on.

In ver. 17 we read of the 'watchman on the tower in Jezreel.' Along the whole line of villages and towns on the border of the desert of Cutchee, between Upper Sindh and the pass of the Bolan, were towers, each with its watchman, and these men stood to espy the first coming of any company of Belooches who might be on the way to commit plunder or acts of violence. And in the same verse we see that Joram said, 'Take an horseman, and send to meet them.' In India all princes, chiefs, or persons in official situations, have parties of horsemen attached to their guards, who are used only as messengers to carry dispatches or ride forth in quest of information, so that had the watchman from the tower of Moobarukpoor in Sindh espied a coming band, a horseman would immediately have been sent forth, as we see he was by Joram, to bring intelligence.

At 2 Kings xxi. 13, we read, 'And I will wipe Jerusalem, as a man wipeth a dish, wiping it, and turning it upside down.' This simile, in the present day, would be formed on a common habit among the people of the East. A Hindoo uses always brazen vessels, a dish or two and a lotah; in the dish he kneads his dough for cakes, and the lotah holds water to soften it. When the cakes are baked on the hearth, and the Hindoo has eaten the meal he has prepared, his immediate care is to cleanse his vessels; rubbing them with a little earth, he pours a stream of water over them, wipes the dishes with his hand, and turning them upside down, rests them by the side of the hearth where they speedily dry.

Some of the points, which I have selected as illustrative of the coincidences between the manners of the Jewish people at the time when their history formed the theme of the inspired penmen, and the customs of Orientals in the present day, touch indeed on subjects trivial in themselves, but which become on that account,

in

in illustration of my subject, only the more interesting and curious. The prominent events of sacred history were those essentially belonging to their own time, a time when the Maker of the visible creation deigned to reveal himself to man, to bring him morally under His government with willing subjection, having chosen the people of this nation and time to be the recipients of such revelations of his laws ; these events could occur but once. Still there were, in connection with these, secondary facts, recorded naturally by the inspired penman, as expressive of the means by which weightier matters were effected ; and it is, I think, interesting to trace, and eminently useful to prove, that the people for whose instruction the greater facts were enacted and revealed, were in manners, habits, and usages, even that ancient people ! such as every day life still presents to our view in eastern Asia ; and the more this resemblance is traced, and proved in its details, the stronger becomes the interest, and the higher the value of this species of external evidence.

The Gentile sceptic, whose mind may be incapable of extending itself to the consideration of a different condition of social life, to that which forms the characteristics of his native land, and who remains ignorant of the influences of climate in forming the habits and manners of a people, may question the accuracy of details opposed to his own limited experiences, and the puny efforts of his reasoning powers being unable to grasp a truth, he takes the easier path of doubt ; but were a Brahmin of India, on the contrary, to study, even without accepting as truths, the facts contained in the historical books of the sacred volume, he would be satisfied that Judaism was a religious system, which had been composed in the land of which it speaks, by and among a people whose habits were similar to those with which he was conversant, and this conviction would probably influence his opinions much in favour of the authenticity of its records, when he recollected that they had been re-presented to the East by the teachers of a people singularly ignorant of and uninterested in oriental manners, as his daily experience proves to him the professor of Christianity to be.

It appears to me, therefore, that as such an effect would be produced on the reasoning mind of the Brahmin familiar with the usages of his people, and acquainted, by means of the Bible, with such facts as are there represented in connection with the great events of the early ages of the world, so an acquaintance on our part with the familiar usages and general characteristics of orientals, with their social prejudices, and their every day habits, would so prove corroborative of the minor details of sacred writ, that added interest more solemn, more general, more touching, might be given to those mightier events which, to the hearts and

ears

ears of some, seem yet to be deficient in that stirring, animating, exciting power, which truth, the real, the actual, alone can give on such a subject as sacred revelation. To some the portraiture of the past might thus become more vivid, the events might seem of nearer, of more actual, of more stimulating power—stimulating to enquiry, stimulating to faith, stimulating to obedience:—and from the impression, that the effect thus supposed, would indeed result from research into the customs of the people of the East, springs my hope, that, as facilities of communication increase between the east and west, this subject (on which, however inefficiently, I have ventured to write) may more and more excite the attention of intelligent observers, my own limited experience having been yet extensive enough, to have led me to the firm conviction, that the more diligently and ably research is made into the origin of the opinions of the people of the East, and the natural effects of them on their habits—the more research is made into usages, the result of climate, in connection with food, agriculture, sanitary precautions, and domestic life, and as such, equally affecting the natives of countries under similar latitudes—the more will the present manners of the people of India, though they may differ in their geographical position, be found in accordance with, and illustrative of, the sublime, natural, simply told, and most touching narratives of the sacred writings.

MORELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

By WILLIAM M'COMBIE.

The Philosophy of Religion. By J. D. MORELL, A.M.—London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849.

BEFORE proceeding to examine the leading principles of this work we have a preliminary difficulty to state. We doubt the possibility of the task the author has assigned himself. Religion, considered as an emotional state of the human soul—and it is under this aspect that Mr. Morell contemplates and discusses it—is something beyond the range of philosophy. Not having a logical but an emotional birth, it is a subject not belonging to Philosophy, but to the Natural History of the human mind. And were we to regard religion as expressing the external means divinely put in operation for calling forth the internal sentiment just referred to, a similar impossibility attaches to a philosophy of religion regarded in this sense. Such appliances originating in the sovereign appointment of heaven, and having

having thus a strictly supernatural source, are equally above the possibility of being produced by natural agencies, and of being accounted for by natural reason. A philosophy of the process of redemption is just as absurd as would be a philosophy of the process of creation. The matter is not a subject of philosophy, but a question of fact. If there has been any such thing as a supernatural revelation (and that is a question to be determined by evidence), then it must embrace facts and bearings of facts beyond the comprehension of reason, else it would cease to maintain a supernatural character. Nothing comes within the range of philosophy but what reason may account for; but all that reason can account for is, by that very fact, evinced to be physical, or in the established course of nature, which is governed by ascertainable laws, and not supernatural.

But though thus indicating this preliminary objection to the very nature of the attempt before us; we do not mean at present to enter on the disquisition to which its full elucidation and application would lead us, but shall take up the work as we find it. And as our space does not permit us to enter into it in detail, we shall confine chiefly ourselves to one bearing of the discussion it embodies, which however is the main one, viz., what we are to recognise as our religious guide, and our ultimate standard of appeal.

Various answers have been returned to this question; but we are concerned at present with only two, viz., that generally given by Protestants, and that given by our author.

Protestants generally recognise the Scriptures as the main source of religious knowledge, and the ultimate standard of appeal. Mr. Morell holds the source to be 'intuition,' or the 'intuitional consciousness,' and the ultimate standard the common intuitions of 'mankind at large.' We cannot at present enter into the psychological question in regard to intuition, nor is it exactly needful. Our purpose will be served by taking intuition or the intuitional consciousness as our author defines and describes it, and examining the consistency of his statements concerning it, and its competency, as so defined and described, for the functions assigned it. There is a vagueness and variation about our author's statement of the characteristics and functions of this faculty, which occasions a reviewer considerable inconvenience; however, by combination and comparison we must make the best we can of our materials:—

'There is one state of our intellectual consciousness by virtue of which we define terms, form propositions, construct reasonings, and perform the whole office that we usually attribute to a mind that acts *logically*; but there is another state of our intellectual consciousness, in which the *material* of truth comes to us as though by a rational instinct—

stinct—a mental sensibility—an intuitive power—a “*communis sensus*,” traceable over the whole surface of civilized humanity’ (p. 33). ‘This state of consciousness constitutes a kind of *intellectual sensibility*—an immediate intuition of certain objects, which are in no respect cognisable simply by the senses and the understanding. The faculty of which we now speak, and which may be termed *pure reason* or *intuition*, . . . brings us face to face with the actual matter, or reality of truth itself.’ (pp. 18, 19.)

‘Intuition implies a direct gazing on truth in its concrete unity’ (p. 342); ‘The knowledge involved in it could not have been gained by our own efforts’ (129); but ‘is presented to us immediately by God’ (128).

Moreover, we must be careful ‘not to confound the products of this intuitional consciousness with the fundamental *forms* of thought, such as are usually described in a table of categories; the product of intuition is never an abstract, formal, empty notion; it is precisely the reverse, namely, a direct perception of some actual concrete reality’ (p. 57). Again, ‘The great peculiarity of that portion of our knowledge which comes through the process of intuition is, that it is not derived from any previous knowledge whatever—that there is no *inference* in the case—that we receive it immediately as a direct manifestation to our minds’ (p. 129).

But this may suffice. Let us now examine the first example our author gives of the action of this faculty, which happens to be at once the most apposite and the highest possible. If the intuitional consciousness can be shown to have a direct perception of the Divine nature, then it will vindicate all that is claimed on its behalf. Let us see—

‘These two efforts of reason to seek the nature and origin both of the universe and the soul, *lead* naturally and *inevitably* to the conception of some common ground from which they are both derived. The soul is not self-created, but is consciously dependent on some higher power. There *must* be a type after which it was formed; a self-existent essence from which it proceeded; a supreme *mind* which planned and created my mind. So also with regard to nature. If the universe as a whole shows the most perfect harmony, all the parts thereof symmetrically adapted to each other, all proceeding onwards like a machine infinitely complicate, yet never clashing in its minutest wheels and movements; there *must* be some mind vaster than the universe, one which can take it all in at a single glance, one which has planned its harmony, and keeps the whole system from perturbation. In short, if there be dependent existence, there *must* be absolute existence; if there be temporal finite beings, there *must* be an eternal and infinite one. Thus the power of intuition, that highest elevation of the human consciousness, leads us at length into the world of eternal realities. . The period of the mind’s converse with mere phenomena being

being past, it rises at length to grasp the mystery of existence, and the problem of destiny.'—pp. 21, 22.

Now the reader will bear in mind that 'the peculiarity of that knowledge which comes through the process of intuition is, that it is not derived from any previous knowledge whatever—there is no inference in the case.' Does the knowledge this paragraph is intended to evolve and embody fulfil this condition? If it does, why the so frequent recurrence of the connecting 'must?' Is not that the sign or rather the very process of an inference? What indeed is the whole paragraph but a constant inferring of the unfelt and unseen from the conscious and the seen? 'The period of the mind's converse with mere phenomena,' we are told 'is past.' Is not 'the universe,' from whose harmonious adaptations a presiding mind is inferred, phenomenal? Is not 'dependent existence,' from which absolute existence is inferred, phenomenal? Indeed, it is all inference from the phenomenal together. From the existence of 'the universe and the soul' we are 'led inevitably to the conception of some common ground from which they are both derived.' The soul cannot be 'self-created,' it *must* have a type after which it was formed. 'If there be temporal and finite beings, there *must* be an Eternal and an Infinite One.' Is there here one single purely transcendental or intuitional element? If this intuitional consciousness be compelled to descend to inference at every step in realising the idea of God, we have our author's own authority for not expecting better success from its efforts in any lower department of spiritual knowledge, for, says he, 'to the intuitional consciousness there is no idea more positive, more sure, more *necessary* than this' (p. 39).

Intuitive truth we have been accustomed to regard as that which is perceived indubitably by its own light. But our author does not venture to claim any such clearness for his, so-called, 'spiritual intuition.' It admits of 'a progressive intensity, from the weakest up to the strongest power of spiritual vision, or of intellectual sensibility.' Intuition, if it is worth anything, must be an inward vision corresponding in clearness to the external sight. But what kind of intuition is that which does not realise its truthfulness in the individual mind; which 'is not uniform but varying;' which 'is exposed to all the variations of association and temperament;' which is liable 'to be disturbed by evil, by passion, by prejudice, and by a thousand other influences which distort the image, and tend to efface it altogether;' whose 'perceptions' will exhibit 'a deficiency and divergency proportioned to the inward disorganization of man's moral and intellectual being;' and which confessedly has failed to preclude a 'mass of conflicting opinions?' (pp. 55-59).

But

But though the perceptions of the 'intuitional consciousness' are often found to be dim, distorted, or almost effaced, our author has corrective and supplementary resources at hand. Here is one. — 'Conscious of this defect, the *logical* faculty comes to our aid. Knowing, as we do too well, that the intuitions we obtain of truth in its concrete unity are not perfect, we seek to restore and verify that truth by *analysis*' (p. 59). Again, 'In the defect of gazing upon truth as it is, by virtue of the interior harmony of our whole being with God, we seek a substitute by applying the aids of analysis' (p. 60). Indeed! We thought we were instructed by our author that it was of ultimate truths that the intuitional consciousness was cognisant—of the 'fundamental realities of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good'—of which 'we can gain no conception by a logical definition,' which are therefore, as well as in virtue of the very idea of them, incapable of analysis. Analysis of 'Substance,' of the 'Infinite,' of the 'Absolute,'—that which would effect this were indeed an intellectual solvent to which the physical ones dreamt of by the alchymist were but as water!

But if we have shown this, so-called, 'spiritual intuition' of our author to fail of the main characteristics of intuition, we have done nothing more than he has himself in more decided terms stated and acknowledged:—'Intuition . . . being the function of humanity, and not of the individual mind (!), the only means of getting at the essential elements of intuitional truth is to grasp that which rests on the common sympathies of mankind in its historical development, after all individual impurities and idiosyncracies have been entirely stripped away' (p. 55). 'This 'intuitional consciousness is progressive' (p. 55). 'Here, instead of a fixed result, we find a perpetual variation, and, regarding mankind *as a whole*, a constant progression' (p. 56). 'We trust *not* to the Catholic thinking of the past; we trust rather to that of the present, which contains in its embrace the fruits of the past, together with the seeds of the future' (p. 351). But how shall we decide what is the Catholic thinking of the present? Shall we receive, as embodying such, the system of Schleiermacher or Schelling? of Comte or Cousin? of Owen or of Proudhon? For all these, and many more in our time, loudly prefer each his claim to having expiscated the true system. On what ground shall we receive the system of one, and reject those of the rest, but on that of an individual judgment? And if we can receive none of them as embodying the matured development of the collective 'intuitions of mankind at large,' how can we ascertain and recognise what is such but by individual inquiry, and the exercise of individual judgment? We cannot fall back now on the 'intuitional consciousness;' for it was to clear it from the influence of 'individual impurities

impurities and idiosyncracies' that this very appeal to Catholic thinking was made.

But supposing this 'Catholic thinking' of our time ascertainable, what reason have we to plume ourselves on its superior truthfulness or stability over that of the past? What, on this system, had they who preceded us to trust to but the Catholic thinking of their times? And if their 'ideas' have become 'worn out,' may not ours, in turn, become the same? Where then is the fixity of this standard? where the stability of this boasted 'anchor of the soul'? (p. 350) Where the certitude of which the author has been in quest? But perhaps it is the privilege of our age to have attained settled and clear 'intuitions,' while those of all our predecessors were 'distorted' and 'dim.' If so, we should expect a general harmony amongst thinkers on these high questions. But never perhaps was there less of this. The old diversity prevails and deepens; and there is only one assumption on which we can arrive at the same conclusion as our author respecting the clearness and ascertainableness of the 'Catholic thinking' of our time; and that is, that transcendental eclectics 'are the people, and wisdom shall die with them.'

Such then is the guide to which it is the entire aim of Mr. Morell's book to induce us to commit ourselves. We must now turn our attention to that portion of his work which is intended to furnish 'a rigid analysis and clear elucidation' of what is implied in 'a Revelation from God.'

'In considering under which of the two great generic modes of intelligence (Reasoning and Intuition) we have to class the particular case involved in the idea of a revelation, we can have but little hesitation in referring it at once to the category of *intuition*' (p. 126). We have just seen the value of our author's 'intuition.' But, waiving a renewal of objections on that ground, we must remark that great part of what Christians receive as Divine Revelation, in other words, of the Bible, is not addressed to the intuitional consciousness, but is embodied in type, in symbol, in apologue, in dark prophecy. And much of its more direct teaching, so far from verifying itself in the intuitional consciousness, or being, on a bare suggestion, immediately self-seen that it must be so, remains altogether incomprehensible by the human intelligence—and must remain, at least to man in the present state, a subject not of intuition but of faith. The distinctive peculiarity of Divine revelation is to be sought not in its mode of communication—that has assumed many varieties—but in its moral purpose. It informs us *what is*, with the sole, uniform, and determinate object of inducing in us *what ought to be*.

'The act of revelation is always a case of pure intuition.' This involves

involves either the denial of the fact of God's having given the law on Mount Sinai by his own living voice, or excludes that law from the category of revelation. And, applied to the discourses of our Lord, it would involve either the denial of the divinity of his person, or of the fact of those discourses having been spoken by him.

But if Mr. Morell's theory bears hard on the revelation we are accustomed to regard ourselves as possessing in the Scriptures, he is prepared to make ample amends by his readiness to recognise the peculiar elements of revelation in sources extrinsic to them.

'Taking the generic sense of the term revelation, we may say, with perfect truth, that the universe is a revelation to the human mind. — 'Considering the mutual adaptation of the human faculties and the external world to each other; considering that there must be the exact sensibility which is requisite in the one, and the due presentation of the ideas of God embodied in the forms and developments of the other, can we reject the inference that the process by which we gaze admiringly upon the wonders of nature is a mode of intelligence that implies in its generic sense a direct revelation to us *from God* himself? The case is still plainer when we turn to the higher spheres of intuition' (pp. 128, 129). Nay more — 'The primary data of all branches even of scientific truth come to us by a direct intuitional process, that is, using the word in its broad generic sense, by an immediate revelation from God.'

The Bible has by no means even an equal claim with these divine manifestations to be considered a revelation from God. One main inference from the reasoning of the chapter before us is —

'That the Bible cannot in strict accuracy of language be termed a revelation, since a revelation always implies an actual process of intelligence in a living mind; but it contains the records in which those minds who enjoyed the preliminary training, or the first brighter revelation of Christianity, have described the scenes which awakened their own religious nature to a new life, and the high ideas and inspirations to which that new life gave origin. The actual revelation was not made primarily in the book, but in the mind of the writers; and the power which that book possesses of conveying a revelation to us consists in its aiding in the awakenment and elevation of our religious consciousness; in its presenting to us a mirror of the history of Christ; in its depicting the intense religious life of his first followers; and in giving us *the letter* through which the spirit of truth may be brought home in vital experience to the human heart.'—pp. 143, 144.

In full harmony with this our author holds that the peculiarity of the Christian revelation consists, not at all in the matter of it, or the truths it embodies:—'The whole peculiarity in the case of the Christian revelation centres in those divine arrangements, through the medium of which the loftiest and purest conceptions of

of truth were brought before the immediate consciousness of the Apostles, and, through them, of the whole age' (p. 145).

We place these paragraphs on record to show to what the eclectic assumptions on behalf of an intuitional revelation in the human consciousness tend. Nature, intuition, the 'intuitional consciousness' and 'common sympathies of mankind,' are all exalted, in order that the value and authority of the Scriptures may be depressed. This is the whole strain and tendency of the chapter under consideration, and indeed of the book. Nature and intuition are each a direct and immediate revelation from God, but 'the Bible cannot, in strict accuracy of language, be termed a revelation' (p. 143).

'The conclusion to which we must be brought is, that the Spirit of Truth, interpreted by Divine aid, and perceived through the awakened religious consciousness of true believers, is the real and essential revelation' (p. 158). Thus the Scriptures are subordinated entirely to our intuitional consciousness; for that is just what is meant by the cumbrous and most grotesque, if not profane, jumble of Christian and transcendental phraseology we have just quoted. Regarded verbally, as well as theologically, this sentence is a rare specimen of 'darkening counsel by words.' What is meant by 'the Spirit of Truth interpreted by Divine aid?' Is the expression, 'Spirit of Truth,' here employed to signify a Divine personality, or his teaching? If a Divine personality, then we are taught that he is *perceived* by the awakened religious consciousness, which, indeed, would not be a new doctrine exactly, but it has hitherto been confined to the rankest enthusiasts. But if by the 'Spirit of Truth' is meant, not a Divine personality, but his teaching, then we have even this internal revelation brought before us subject to that very inconvenience of the written one; which it was held forth as being its peculiar glory to obviate—namely, standing in need of interpretation. And it amounts precisely to this, that what each receives from this boasted immediate source, is just according to each one's spiritual perception, and subject to each one's own interpretation.

This may teach us the value of the perpetual objections brought by persons belonging to our author's school, against the 'letter' of Scripture, viewed as an authority, on account of the interminable diversity arising out of individual interpretation. We now find that the 'spirit,' of which we hear so much, needs interpretation as well as the letter. And even the very intuitional consciousness itself becomes a fertile source of diversity of opinion:—'Each man and each party views the letter of the word through the medium of their own religious conceptions, and finds in it a greater or less intensity, according to the development of their

intuitional consciousness' (p. 347). And so this 'intuitional consciousness' is not only subject to almost unlimited variations itself, but tends in consequence to propagate endless variations of interpretation and opinion. A rare source of religious certitude truly!

In respect to inspiration, the conclusion our author comes to is just such as might be expected. It implies nothing different from or higher than the current religious feelings and convictions of the writers of Scripture:—'*The word* is the natural and spontaneous expression of the Divine life which the inspired Apostles received immediately from God' (p. 158). Thus every Christian is inspired exactly in the same manner and the same sense as they were. Should we confine the privilege to Christians? On this theory, certainly not.

Near to the commencement of his chapter on inspiration, our author says:—'It is not our purpose at present to discuss the nature of miracles philosophically considered' (p. 152). A greater misconception as to the character of miracles than is revealed in this brief sentence, it is impossible to conceive of. If the nature of miracles is capable of being philosophically considered, then they cease to be miracles. They can become a subject of philosophy only by becoming physical processes. To talk of considering miracles philosophically, is equivalent to a proposition to consider creation philosophically, which, as we have already seen, can only become a subject of philosophy by ceasing to be creation, and becoming mere physical development. Miracles must be received as supernatural facts, altogether beyond the sphere of philosophy, or they are no miracles at all. Miracles are either the results of the immediate action of the Deity on natural objects, or they are such a use of physical agencies as entirely overbears their established action; in either case they must ever remain alike inexplicable. That this extraordinary misconception is not a mere lapse of the pen is shown by other expressions; as, for instance, in contrasting the power of performing miracles with inspiration, he says, that the former 'demanded an extraordinary *physical power*.' If miracles are wrought by physical power, then they are clearly at an end.

Inspiration is, in its *modus*, equally inexplicable with miracles and creation. It is one of the instances of direct Divine acting, of which it is the very nature that no account, coming within the comprehension of the human understanding, can be given. And it is surely a marvellous inconsistency to find such a stickler for 'pure reason,' 'intuitional consciousness,' and 'Christian consciousness,' as altogether distinct from and above the sphere of the understanding; yet, attempting with continuous purpose and incessant labour,

labour, to bring the modus of the most special and peculiar instances of immediate spiritual action within that sphere.

Yet so it is throughout the whole discussion. His transcendentalism ever and anon belies its character, and is but the same naturalism everywhere. Thus, 'The proper idea of inspiration, as applied to the Holy Scriptures, does not include either miraculous powers, verbal dictation, or any distinct commission from God' (p. 165). Inspiration depends upon 'the clearness, force, and accuracy of a man's religious intuitions.' 'As an internal phenomenon it is perfectly consistent with the *natural laws* of the human mind—it is a higher potency of a certain form of consciousness, which every man in some degree possesses' (p. 166). And again—'The effort of theology is always to give a definite form and scientific basis to our religious life' (p. 196). Yes, indeed! the whole labour alike, of eclectics, transcendentalists, and 'natural historians of creation,' has ever been to find a scientific basis of life, but they will return blind and baffled from the search to the last hour of time.

Apart altogether from the opinions expressed, we regret Mr. Morell's mode of putting some of his statements and arguments respecting the authority and value of the Scriptures. It is very unfortunate, and in unhappy taste, to say the least of it, and may appear to some readers to indicate more hostility than is expressed. As instances, we would point to paragraphs on pp. 159, 160, 161, 176, 177, 181, 186, which we cannot quote *in extenso*. With a similar disapproval we must refer to his again and again telling us that the New Testament Scriptures were written long after Christianity had established itself. Has not this too much the aspect of a sinister playing into the hands of the Straussian school? At all events, in this and other too numerous instances, there is indicated an animus towards what are held to be orthodox notions in this country, not consistent with the impartial calmness of the real truth-seeker, but characteristic rather of the special advocate. Besides, ere one set himself so systematically to loosen the hold which the Scriptures have hitherto had on all Protestant Christians as *the* authority in religion, one would need to be pretty sure as to what he had to substitute in their place. We should not like to incur the responsibility of such an attempt, even though we had the collective spiritual intuitions of the angelic hierarchy to offer to mankind in their stead.

In reference to Christian theology Mr. Morell finds that it has just these two 'essential pre-requisites'—'A religious nature awakened by the development of the Christian life; and the application of logical reflection to the elements of Divine truth, which that life spontaneously presents' (p. 202). From this he

anticipates, very naturally, that some may be surprised, 'that in enumerating the *essential* conditions of Christian theology, he should say nothing about the Bible.' His explanation of this rather singular omission is to the following effect.

Referring to his views and arguments in his chapter on Inspiration, he says, 'It will be seen that the existence of the Scriptures, *as such*, was not *essential* to the rise and maintenance of Christian theology at all. Take the case of any of the very early churches which had perhaps heard, or perhaps had not heard the preaching of the Apostles, but who certainly never enjoyed a sight of their writings. These churches, assuredly, could enjoy the power of true Christianity, and could have possessed a valid Christian theology as well as *we*. And yet there were no Christian Scriptures in the case: there could be, therefore, no poring over the letter—no induction of passages—no verbal criticism whatever. There could be simply the awakening of a new religious life by the proclamation of human sin and human recovery by Christ, the chosen of God on the one side, and their own attempts to bring such religious feelings and instructions into a clear reflective statement on the other' (pp. 202, 203).

Now it never fell to our lot to peruse a weaker paragraph than this. The Bible is not an essential element in order to the construction of a Christian theology, because the Christians of the apostolic age might have built up such a theology before the books composing the New Testament were written. But out of what materials?—the very same which we have now in these New Testament Scriptures, and which they received directly from the lips of living inspired teachers, who had been witnesses of the unparalleled facts these Scriptures record. What a puerile sophism to assign as a reason for not including the Bible among the essential elements of a Christian theology! But we cannot now enter on the questions which would here open up before us, and it is the less necessary, as we had occasion to discuss the relation of the Scriptures to Christian theology in a late number of this Journal.*

In Mr. Morell's chapter on Religious Certitude, of course the subjective is exalted at the expense of all objective grounds. The trustworthiness and value of the 'intuitional consciousness' as a ground of certitude we have already investigated. To that investigation we have no intention of formally recurring. Nor can we enter at present on the abstract question what measure of certitude is compatible with the nature of religious truth, and the

* *Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. III.—'Relation of Scripture to Human Inquiry.'

conditions of moral agency.^b All we can do at present is to examine one or two of our author's assumptions and arguments having a bearing on the position and value of the facts of Christianity.

Viewed objectively, Christianity is a religion resting on a basis of supernatural facts; and viewed subjectively, it is a state of the soul induced by a belief of those facts. Our conviction of this, instead of being shaken, is confirmed by such objections as the following:—'To regard Christianity as a question of *facts*, and make its certitude rest upon this basis, is eluding the whole point and stringency of the question, inasmuch as these *facts* are not resolved into their real elements, nor the grounds of their *religious value*^c exhibited' (pp. 307, 308). What may be meant by resolving facts, and especially the supernatural facts of Christianity, into their real elements, we can have no conception. But the Scripture narratives not only embody the facts on which Christianity rests, but the relation of those facts both to the Divine character and government, and to our spiritual nature and moral condition. If this is not exhibiting the grounds of their religious value, we know not what could do so. 'God so loved the world as to give his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' In this brief sentence we have three stupendous facts—the love of God—the consequent gift of his son—and the eternal salvation of the believer in him; and to the Christian consciousness, the religious value of the whole, irradiates that statement, with a light clearer than that of noon. But perhaps it is to the 'logical consciousness' that Mr. Morell desiderates the 'exhibition' of the 'religious value' of the facts of Christianity; if so, we only say, that such an exhibition is not only apart entirely from the primary purpose of the Scripture revelation, but essentially inconsistent with what Mr. M. labours throughout his whole book to show must be the generic character of revelation. 'The act of revelation is always a case of pure intuition' (p. 145); 'and the whole result is one lying beyond the reach of the logical understanding' (p. 126). It were, therefore, the grossest inconsistency in Mr. Morell to demand that the inspired narratives of the facts of Christianity should embody a logical exhibition of their 'religious value.' And yet we fear he does nothing less than this in the paragraph before us, for he desiderates their being 'resolved into their real elements,' and 'analysis' is the function of 'the logical consciousness' (p. 48).

^b For a discussion of that question we may refer the reader to an article on 'Authority in Religion,' in No. 7 of the *British Quarterly Review*.

^c The *italics* here and, with some few exceptions, throughout all the quotations are Mr. Morell's.

Our author goes on to say: 'Testimony can only refer to facts, and can have no validity as evidence beyond the value of the facts to which it testifies. The authenticity of a book, for example, can be known by testimony; its title to a divine origin must rest on grounds *entirely different*' (p. 308). The testimony of the evangelists not only embodies the facts, that a divine person appeared in the ordinary form of humanity, lived, taught, acted, and suffered for the salvation of the world, but also embodies the evidence he afforded of his being divine. The record not only embraces the public life and death of 'the man Christ Jesus,' and the moral bearings of that life and death; but also the evidence of his claim both to a divine personality and a divine mission. These facts while occurring on earth, and under the ordinary relations of humanity, yet evince always the presence in them of an element transcending all terrestrial and human agencies. And the one blends so uniformly with the other, that we cannot admit the mundane and human elements, without admitting also the divine. On the facts of Christianity, therefore, in all their historical integrity we take our stand, conscious that while we can maintain this position, we are secure of all that is essential to our faith.

But the importance of this question leads us to remark on yet another of Mr. Morell's statements in this connection:—'The very most that testimony can do,' says he, 'is to place us in the same position as the persons who witnessed the facts in question; and just as those persons accepted the spiritual truth on grounds with which testimony had nothing to do (because it did not in *their* case intervene), so also must we accept the truth, *not* because the witnesses asserted their belief of it, but because we have the same grounds for belief presented to us, *upon testimony*, as they had directly presented through their senses' (p. 309). If the reasoning in this paragraph be not sophistical, it is certainly exceedingly illogical and confused. The persons 'who witnessed the facts' on which Christianity is based, 'accepted the spiritual truth conveyed to them on grounds with which testimony had nothing to do.' Did they indeed? Was not much of this 'spiritual truth' conveyed to them by 'the testimony of Jesus'? And as to the attempt to depreciate the value of testimony, because they received the facts independently of it, inasmuch as 'it did not in their case intervene'—nothing could, we conceive, be more puerile. What was the ground on which they received those facts, and the spiritual truths they involved and exhibited, what but that of actual observation—they 'saw and believed.' The need of testimony of course is superseded where there is the opportunity of personal observation. And they *witnessed* the facts — 'That

—‘ That Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures.’ And their testimony to those and corresponding facts has formed the ground of faith in all succeeding generations, wherever the religion of Christ has been made known. Denude it of these facts and what were Christianity? Where were the Gospel? What good news were there to tell? Shake our confidence in the historical verity of the truth that ‘ Christ died for our sins,’ and the anchor of the soul is gone. We do not charge Mr. Morell with an attempt directly to invalidate these facts, but his system leads him to depreciate their value, and to displace them from that position, which, to an impartial eye, they must ever hold in the Christian system. Mr. M. would ever exalt the internal, or as he calls it, ‘ intuitive,’ at the expense of the documentary; but a healthful Christianity, we are convinced, will ever demand that the authority of the latter be sustained as paramount.

In the following sentence the possession of a susceptibility seems to be confounded with its exercise, or at least regarded as of necessity involving such exercise :—‘ We must suppose that if the Creator would communicate truth to his creatures, he gave them minds originally capable of feeling it, and originally capable of sympathising with it. In one word, the first revelation of God to man must have been an *inward* revelation’ (p. 328). That the human mind possesses an original susceptibility of feeling or apprehending spiritual truth we not only admit but maintain. But does this susceptibility necessarily embody the truth appropriate to it? Or rather may not the susceptibility be possessed and yet frequently not be awakened; as it is certain many minds possess the power of perceiving and recognizing much truth, which yet through life they never discover. If the susceptibility of feeling and appreciating truth, of necessity embodied and revealed all the truth appropriate to it, it would not be merely a susceptibility. It would be a gift rather than a power. And we might ask, is such a gift analogous to any of the other endowments of the human mind? But we content ourselves with this other simple question—Does the history of religion, or rather of the religions of the world evince that man is possessed of any such gift? If it does, what has been its practical value? Apart from the influence of all documentary and traditionary revelation, where even its manifestations?

From a certain party we have heard much recently of ‘ Catholic tradition,’ as the only sure guard against individual error; for this our author proposes to substitute the ‘ Catholic consciousness’ of the universal Church (p. 348). This, amid all perplexing
controversies

controversies and 'minor perturbations,' is to be the refuge of light and security to the individual 'Christian mind.'—'The Catholic consciousness of the universal Church has gone forward in its development; one point after another has been cleared up, one principle after another brought to light; and the calm, unbiassed, heaven-aspiring mind, standing aloof from the din and passion of controversy, sees the central course through which God is guiding his ark, and falls back upon the great Catholic hopes, convictions, and aspirations of the Christian mind in its upward progress, as its safest guide, its surest resource' (pp. 348, 349). Now admitting this 'Catholic consciousness' to have an unique adaptation to fulfil these high ends, how is it to be got at? Facts of consciousness, until they are expressed, are known only to the individual mind that experiences them. This 'Catholic consciousness' must be made up of individual consciousnesses, which can only be expressed by language; and thus it becomes subject, on our author's own showing, to all the difficulties attending the precise expression of mental states and experience, and that in an aggravated measure, as the intuitional experience is of all others the most difficult to express. Even this transcendental light must, unfortunately, stoop to convey itself from mind to mind by a 'letter' as well as the vulgar revelation we have in the Bible. And thus it becomes liable to all the infelicities and incertitude, which our author has, with such keen-sightedness, adduced against that medium of truth.

We have remarked on this work with all the freedom which the importance of the principles at stake demands; but we would not be understood as condemning the entire book. Apart from the vitiating influence of the theory on which we have felt it necessary at such length to animadvert, there is a good deal of valuable, and sometimes beautiful and impressive thinking. As containing examples of this, we would particularly instance the chapters 'On the peculiar Essence of Religion,' and 'On Fellowship.' But in maintaining and illustrating his favourite theory, the author is often chargeable with palpable inconsistencies, and betrays, sometimes, a strange ignorance of the power of scientific instruments, and of the appropriate sphere of their application. And that peculiar theory, which in our estimation vitiates his book, not unfrequently vitiates also his style, producing, instead of a distinct and perspicuous expression of thought, a cloud of ill-digested and confused verbiage. We can only give one or two examples:—

On page 196 he speaks of 'Divine things as *reflected* on the surface of our spiritual nature,' while on page 197 he tells us that 'the perceptions we obtain of spiritual things in the vital awakening of our religious nature, are *direct* presentations to the inward

inward eye.' On page 198 he informs us that 'religion pictures out before us, even to our own awe and astonishment, the wonderful revelations of God to man.' Religion picturing out the revelations of God before us is really a most extraordinary process. If such an operation had been demanded, we should have been inclined to have assigned it to imagination, concluding that religion would be concerned only to *receive* these revelations, and assimilate them as its life. On page 204, he describes the evangelical narrative as 'a *touchstone* whereby to *compare* the whole complexion of our own religious life with that of the apostles, and the spiritual features of our own character with the *image, mirrored* to us in the Word of the Saviour himself'!

In addition to such not unfrequent incongruities of style and figure, the incessant iteration of the bald elements of one theory, induces so frequent a recurrence of the phrases 'Intuitional Consciousness,' 'Christian Consciousness,' 'Catholic Christian Consciousness,' as to give them all the offensive savour of cant. And we must protest that in our whole lives we have never been more sick of any form of cant, than, on closing the volume before us, we have been of this; and never felt a greater relief than in making our escape from this hothouse of transcendental exotics into the sharp clear air of our native hills. There we feel ourselves again, not mere theosophic dreamers, but waking, living, individual, Christian men, and with just a plain English reason, heart, conscience, and spiritual emotions.

THE GOLDEN CALF.

EXOD. XXXII.

Translated from Saurin's 'Discours Historiques, Critiques, Théologiques, et Moraux, sur les Evénemens les plus mémorables du Vieux et du Nouveau Testament.'

By the Rev. F. A. Cox, D.D., LL.D.

VIRTUOUS and holy purposes, which originate in a sudden emotion of fear, are seldom put in practice. The Israelites, while seeing the lightning and hearing the thunder, said to Moses, 'All that the Lord hath spoken will we do;' but the lightning disappeared, the thunder was no more heard, Moses was no longer in the midst of them to demand the fulfilment of their promises; they forgot their vows, and madly violated them.

Some

Some Jewish doctors^a have said they imagined that their legislator had been devoured by the flames of Sinai, adding that the devil led them into this error; that he even showed them the rod of Moses, or had caused a phantom to appear in the air to induce the belief that it was his dead body. His absence became the more intolerable to them that the pillar of cloud seemed to be for ever withdrawn with Moses to the mountain, and they had too gross a mind to worship an invisible God who gave no sensible sign of his presence. They wished to supply the absence of the cloud, and to have a symbol of divinity among them. They said to Aaron, 'Make us gods,' or 'make us a god,' for the original admits of either of these translations.^b 'Make us gods which shall go before us; for as for this Moses, the man that brought us up out of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him; not that they were so stupid as to believe that the hands of men could give being to the Divinity, but they wished for some outward and visible object where they might deposit, so to speak, the homage they would render to the sovereign God. Thus, some rabbins have explained the words of Moses,—'Make us a sensible object of divine worship which shall be before our eyes, and be in the place of God, when reminded of the miracles done for us in Egypt.'^c

It is astonishing that Aaron should have offered no resistance to the people's proposal, or, if he did so, that Moses should have made no mention of it. It seems necessary that such a circumstance should have been recorded, and that we should have had a better guarantee for it than the testimony of certain rabbins.^d They have stated, if not as an entire justification of Aaron, at least as some exculpation, that his timidity was the cause of his compliance; that Hur had been massacred for wishing to oppose them; and that Aaron, ready to yield to their violence, said, in appealing to heaven, 'I raise mine eyes to thee, O God, who searchest the heart, and dwellest in the heavens: thou knowest that I act against my wishes.'

But Moses relates the criminal compliance of Aaron, immediately after having spoken of the criminal demand of the Israelites. He says that Aaron replied, 'Break off the golden earrings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me.' Some ancient writers^e

^a *Shemoth Rabba*, sect. 41, fol. 156.

^b It is true the word 'Elohim' is construed here with a plural, but this is often the case when the true God is spoken of (Gen. xx. 13; Exod. xxxii. 1).

^c R. Juda, in lib. *Cozri*, part i., sect. 97, fol. 47.

^d *Shem. Rab.*, sect. 41.

^e August., vol. iv., *Quest.* 41 in Exod.; Theod., vol. i., in Exod.

have

have presumed that this reply was given in order to discourage these foolish people, and that he supposed they would not wish for an idol which he fixed at so high a price. If this diminished the fault of Aaron it aggravated that of the Israelites. They felt no repugnance in furnishing these golden earrings taken from the Egyptians, which God had given them by virtue of his sovereign right over the whole earth and all contained in it, and thus anticipated the reproach of a prophet addressed to their descendants many ages afterwards—'As a wife that committeth adultery, which taketh strangers instead of her husband; Thou givest thy gifts to all whores; but thou givest thy gifts to all thy lovers, and hirest them, that they may come unto thee on every side for thy whoredom' (Ezek. xvi. 32, 33).

The history adds that Aaron took the offerings of the Israelites and made 'a molten calf.' But the words which he employs immediately preceding these last, furnish one of the most remarkable examples of the ambiguity of the sacred language; for they equally signify either that Aaron received the earrings in a bag, or that he graved them with an engraving tool. One of the most celebrated critics^a prefers the former interpretation, and founds his preference on reasons so plausible, that they might have appeared unanswerable, had they not been refuted by another critic of great name,^b who opposes them with substantial reasons, so that the principal conclusion to be drawn from this dispute is, that it is an argument in favour of critical scepticism.

A more famous question is agitated by the learned, which no less contributes to the same conclusion, and proves there are subjects on which it is possible to advance considerations equally probable in support of the most opposite opinions. It is asked what determined Aaron to choose the image of a calf as an emblem of the Deity? We will state the principal opinions of the learned on the subject; and if they produce the same impression upon the reader as they have upon us, he will remain still in suspense without taking a decided part in the dispute.

Some expositors^c have supposed that Aaron gained this idea on the mountain, where he was once admitted with Moses; and on another occasion with Nadab and Abihu, and the seventy elders. They maintain that God appeared exalted on a cherub which had the form of an ox; a thought on which the whole treatise entitled *Aaron Exculpated* turns. But this sentiment is incompatible with that extreme care which God took not to furnish on Sinai any pretext for idolatry, and with his own words to the Israelites in

^a In Ps. cvi. 20, it is called an ox.

^b Bocharti *Hieroz.*, part i., lib. 2. c. 34.

^c Fr. Moncaeus, '*Aaron. Purgat.*' at the end of vol. ii. of *Criticisms*.

^b Le Clerc.

Deuteronomy (iv. 15, &c.), 'Take ye therefore good heed unto yourselves, for ye saw no manner of similitude on the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire: Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a graven image, the similitude of any figure, the likeness of male or female, the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth.' The Holy Spirit has in these words collected together every species of animals, and expressly affirms that the form of none of them appeared on the mountain.

A learned prelate,^k in order to exculpate Aaron, maintains that his design was simply to furnish a hieroglyphic of the energy and power of God. He discovers some ancient monument, from which he shows, that among the Phœnicians the ox was an emblem of royal power. Eusebius has supplied him with some instances,^m and also Diodorus Siculus,ⁿ and Valerius Maximus,^o with others, from which he proves that the Romans had formerly the same hieroglyphic. On this ground he says that Aaron wished the Israelites to call to remembrance ideas of the power and energy of God, and to reimpress their minds with the splendid signs they had seen. In this manner he explains the words—'These be thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt;' and those other words of Aaron—'To-morrow is a feast to the Lord.' The idea is ingenious; but it is necessary to examine whether this hieroglyphic was used in the time of Moses, and whether this explanation accords with the reserve of Aaron, who alleges no such motive to exculpate himself, and, with the anger of God against him, which would have been so fatal, if Moses had not interceded in his favour.

The generality of expositors adopt a third opinion, namely, that Aaron made choice of a calf, because that animal was worshipped in Egypt.^p It is proved that the Israelites were infected with the idolatry of Egypt, of which we have numerous evidences. It is apparent from the exhortation of Joshua, 'Now, therefore, fear the Lord, and serve him in sincerity and in truth; and put away the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the flood, and in Egypt, and serve ye the Lord.' Josh. xxiv. 14; and the prophet Ezekiel, 'Cast ye away every man the abominations

^k Patrick on Exod. xxxii.

^m Euseb., *Præpar.*, lib. 1. last chapter.

ⁿ I know not what passage Patrick had in view, but Diodorus says positively that the oxen or bulls of Apis and Mnevis were worshipped as gods in Egypt (lib. 1). He also says that Bacchus was represented with horns (lib. 3).

^o Lib. v. cap. 6.

^p Le Clerc on Exod. xxxii. 2, in vol. i. of *Critiques*. Grotius, *ibid*.

of his eyes, and defile not yourselves with the idols of Egypt. . . . But they rebelled against me, . . . they did not every man cast away the abominations of their eyes, neither did they forsake the idols of Egypt' (Ezek. xx. 7, 8). Thus far the opinion of these critics is demonstrated, and on this point there is no ground of doubt.

They show also that all kinds of animals were worshipped by the Egyptians. This, however, is not so fully proved, but is very probable. If the question related to the times which followed those of Israel, we should find innumerable proofs in profane authors. Pomponius Mela^a expressly states that they worshipped the images of a great multitude of animals, still more, the animals themselves. Josephus^b says that 'if the religious ceremonies of the Egyptians were adopted throughout the world, it would be soon full of beasts, and there would be no more left for man. Strabo^c enters into greater detail on the subject—'There are animals,' says he, 'which all the Egyptians worship, as the terrestrial, the ox, the dog, the cat; those of the air, as the sparrow-hawk, the ibis; those of the aquatic tribe, &c. Every particular district worships in its own way, as the sheep at Thebes,' &c.

It is further assumed that the idolatry of animals was already established in Egypt during the sojourn of the Israelites there, which follows almost inevitably from the reply of Moses to Pharaoh—'Shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us?' (Exod. viii. 26; see also Deut. vii. 25; xii. 30, 31; 2 Kings xxiii. 13; Esdras ix. 1; Ezek. xx. 7, 8). The *abomination* of the Egyptians signifies the idols of Egypt; a word used in this sense in various passages of Scripture.

It is also demonstrated that long after the age of Moses the ox was revered in Egypt in a singular manner. Strabo affirms, in the book already quoted,^d that an ox was kept at Memphis, which was regarded as a divinity. Pliny^e expressly declares the same thing, and adds, that the Egyptians called this ox *Apis*, and that it had two kinds of temples, the entrance to one of them being most pleasant, to the other frightful. Herodotus^f describes this idol: 'Apis or Epatus,' says he, 'is a calf from a cow which

^a Pomp. Mela, *De situ Orbis*, lib. 1. cap. 9.

^b Joseph. contr. Appion, lib. 2. cap. 5.

^c Strabo, lib. 17. See also Herod., lib. 2. caps. 39, 40; Diod. Sic., lib. 1.

^d Strabo, lib. 17.

^e Plin., *Hist.*, lib. 8. cap. 46. See various testimonies to the same in Vossius, *De Idolat.*

^f Herod., lib. 3. cap. 38. See another description in Pomp. Mela, *De situ Orbis*, lib. 1. cap. 9.

never

never produced but one, and this could only have been by a clap of thunder. The calf, denominated Apis, has certain marks by which it may be known. It is all over black, excepting one square mark; on its back is the figure of an eagle, and on its tongue that of a beetle.*

There was formerly in the library of Cardinal Carpegna a fine medallion. It represents on one side the head of Antinous with this inscription, ΗΡΩΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟC, the *Hero Antinous*. On the reverse is the image of the god Apis, with this inscription, ΝΕΙΚΟΜΗΔΕΙΑ Η ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙC, *Nicomedia the Metropolis*. The emperor Hadrian had put his favourite Antinous among the number of the gods, but the worship of this unworthy deity was never established at Rome, and was neither appointed nor approved by any act of the Senate. Antiquarians remark that there is no Latin medallion of this pretended hero. It was in Egypt he was deified, and from that country his worship passed into Greece; and there Antinous was adored as a god far less from any veneration for him than from a mean sycophancy towards the emperor Hadrian. The Nicomedians distinguished themselves by their zeal for this new god, because he was born in their city. They worshipped him under the image of Apis, and struck this medallion to his honour.

It remains for examination whether this worship was antecedent to the idolatry of the golden calf, or whether it was established a long time afterwards. If it be proved that this worship was antecedent, it will also be demonstrated that that was the reason which determined Aaron to prefer the image of a calf to that of any other animal, and very many expositors, especially among the Fathers of the Church, were of this opinion. Some critics have thought that the worship of Apis originated in the benefits which the Egyptians received from Joseph, and that the ox was a hieroglyphic of that patriarch. A celebrated modern author² has employed immense erudition to establish this idea, strengthening himself by the testimony of some of the ancients, as of Julius Maternus, who lived under Constantine the Great, Rufinus, and others.³ He relies on a passage in Deuteronomy where Joseph is called an ox,⁴ and on the nature even of Pharaoh's dream, in which he saw kine coming up out of the Nile, a dream which saved Egypt. He relies also on the fact, that nothing was more common among the ancients than to represent abundance under the emblem of an ox; alleging other reasons, to which he adds arguments to prove that among the Egyptians Serapis and Apis

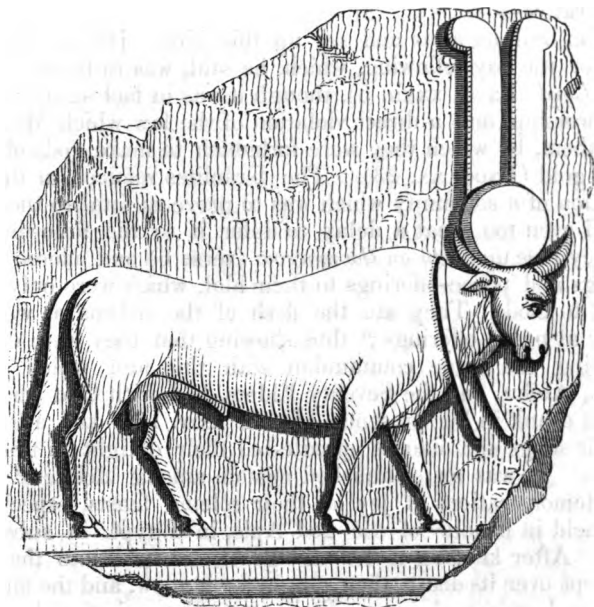
* Gerard Vossius, *De Idol.*, cap. 9.

¹ *Ibid.*

² Our translation is (*Deut.* xxxiii. 17), 'his glory is like the firstling of his bullock.'

were

were the same divinity. But all these learned reasons have been refuted by Bochart,^a and are invalidated by this single considera-



tion that no testimony is alleged, proving that the gods whom we acknowledge to have been worshipped by the Egyptians under the image of an ox, since the age of Moses, were already worshipped in his time.^b There are indeed presumptions, not to say demonstrations of the contrary opinion in the treatise of a distinguished prelate on idolatry,^c which we have had frequent occasion to cite. We, therefore, suspend our judgment respecting the precise motive which determined Aaron to set up a calf as the object of Israelitish worship, and conclude by this reflection, that had he offered any other object of worship, whether some other animal, or any plant, or a star, or any other production of nature, the learned would have asked, why this rather than some other? Many would have been the divisions of opinion on the question ;

^a Bochart, *Hieroz.*, part i., lib. 2. cap. 34.

^b The recent researches in Egyptian antiquity have established beyond question the prior existence in Egypt of this worship, which was doubtful when Saurin wrote. We introduce a figure of the ox-god of Egypt (Apis) from the most authentic source, the existing sculptures of that country.—EDITOR.

^c Tenison, *De Idololat.*, part vi.

each

each one would have found in antiquity, and in the nature of the case, probabilities to support his own sentiments, and perhaps have exalted them into demonstrations. But to resume the thread of the narrative—

Aaron built an altar and set up this idol. He proclaimed a feast for the day following, which, he said, was to be consecrated to the Lord (Exod. xxxii. 5), though it was in fact an overturning of his worship, and a direct violation of the law which Moses had given them, by which they were forbidden to make gods of silver and of gold (Exod. xx. 23). The Israelites rejoiced at the proclamation of a solemnity which was to prove so fatal to them. It seemed even too great a delay to defer it to the following day, and they rose up *early on the morrow* (verse 6) and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings to their idol, which were only to be offered to God. They ate the flesh of the victims as was customary at peace-offerings;^d thus showing that they were desirous of having the same communion with this idol which Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, and the Seventy Elders, had with God when they ate and drank in his presence (Exod. xxiv. 11), and afterwards by their songs and dances manifested their delight in this communion. It was an established custom among idolaters^e to give these demonstrations of joy at their solemn feasts, especially at those held in honour of the god Apis, in Egypt, in subsequent times. After keeping it for an age it was cast into the Nile; they wept over its death, then sought for it anew, and the finding of it diffused universal joy. The court, the priests, the people assembled, and made splendid banquets.^f The Israelites acted in a similar manner, which explains the words of Moses, ‘and the people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play’ (verse 6). Some have taken this latter expression in a more odious sense, conceiving that the people, intoxicated with joy, proceeded from idolatry to debauchery; for people are never more induced to break the bounds of morality than when they have broken those of religion. It was common with the heathen to commit abominable crimes after their banquets on the day of sacrifice.^g The term to sport (Gen. xxvi. 8) in the original text admits, perhaps, of this signification in other places, but there is no necessity for so understanding it here. The sin of Israel did not consist in rejoicing after their devotions, because God himself desired them to do so after the services he had ordained (Deut. xii. 7; Ps. xcv. 1);

^d Herod., lib. 2. cap. 40, and Deut. xii. 17; *Mishna de Sacrificiis*, tom. v., cap. 5, sect. 6.

^e Herod., lib. 5. cap. 17.

^f August., vol. v., *De Civit.*, lib. 18. cap. 5; Selden, *De Diis Syris* 1. Syntag., cap. 4.

^g Num. xxv. 1, 2. Athen., *Deipnosoph.*, lib. 2. cap. 3, and lib. 8. cap. 16.

but,

but, instead of consecrating their joy to 'the Rock of their salvation,' they bestowed it on an idol.

Thus while Moses entered into an eternal covenant between God and Israel on the mountain, the unhappy Israelites at the very moment violated its fundamental stipulation, which was to worship God alone. God declared this from the first, and no terms can be more emphatic than those which were employed on the occasion by the Holy Spirit: 'Go, get thee down; for thy people which thou broughtest out of the land of Egypt have corrupted themselves; they have turned aside quickly out of the way which I commanded them; they have made them a molten calf and have worshipped it, and have sacrificed thereunto, and said, These be thy gods, O Israel, which have brought thee up out of the land of Egypt' (Exod. xxxii. 7, &c.). God would even have had Moses consent to the destruction of the people, and promised to make him the centre of the promises given to Abraham, according to which the posterity of this patriarch would be numerous as the stars of heaven. The words are even still more remarkable: 'Now, therefore, let me alone, that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them; and I will make of thee a great nation.' Leave me, and I will destroy! God prepares to give free course to his vengeance, but at the moment of executing it, he is stopped by a greater power on the part of Moses. Moses resists God, but God cannot resist Moses. That arm, that invincible arm which inflicted so many strokes on Egypt, which destroyed the first-born of the Egyptians, and overthrew Pharaoh and his hosts in the Red Sea, that arm fell bound by the prayers of Moses, and God needed a sign from his servant to destroy a rebellious people. Moses knew well how to avail himself of the advantage conceded to him by the divine goodness, and the efficacy of his prayer. He multiplied the obstacles he had opposed to God, and according to the expression of the Psalmist, 'he stood in the breach to turn away his wrath' (Ps. cvi. 23).

After having intercepted the punishment he returned to the guilty, carrying in his hand the tables of stone on which God himself had miraculously engraved the law of the ten commandments (Exod. xxxii. 16). The Rabbins^b say it was done with a sapphire from his throne. These tables were written within and without, but the form is not indicated.

Joshua rejoined Moses; in what precise place is not mentioned, but it was when he descended from the mountain. He was astonished at the noise which he heard from a distance in the camp, and imagined it was the sound of people contending against each

^b See Ainsworth on Exod. xxxii., and the Targum on Solomon's Song, i. 11.

other in battle, and expressed his astonishment to Moses, who knew it was a noise proceeding from a still more melancholy cause. Scarcely had they reached the camp when their eyes encountered the idol. Moses, moved with holy indignation at this frightful object, dashed down the tables of stone in his anger, which contained the chief clauses of the covenant they were violating. He broke them before their eyes, and pointed to them, to make them sensible, as a Jewish doctor¹ judiciously observes, of the greatness of the loss they had incurred. After this he broke the idol to pieces, ground it to powder, strewed it upon the water which flowed from Horeb, and made these idolaters drink of it. Those who suppose² that Aaron imitated the worship of the god Apis think that Moses had an allusive reference to the ceremony of the Egyptians who cast that idol into the Nile,—a conclusion as doubtful as the basis on which it is founded. But what act could be more expressive to pour contempt upon this idol than to compel those who would render it divine honours to eat it? This however has appeared too simple an explanation for some expositors³ who fancy they find the greatest mysteries of the Christian religion in this proceeding, as if Moses meant to show that the Messiah alone, represented by this rivulet, could expiate their crime.

A singular idea which has been held respecting the water drank by the Israelites, is worth mentioning. There was an ancient tradition that the beard of all those who drank of these waters took the colour of gold; a tradition long preserved in the church. The celebrated Bochart⁴ refers to the fragment of a version of Exodus begun in the thirteenth century, in which the 27th verse of the 32nd chapter is thus translated :—‘Slay every man his brother, his friend, his neighbour, namely those who have the golden beards:’ and this puerile gloss is subjoined to the text—‘Those who worshipped the calf had their beards gilded, for the powder was stuck there by miracle.’ I have a bible in my study printed at Antwerp in 1531 which contains this gloss. To what fancies are the imaginations of men subject!

Moses afterwards addressed Aaron, and reproached him for having stripped the people of their choicest ornaments, that is, for having turned them away from the worship of God. Some Rabbins⁵ say that the Israelites wore crowns inscribed with the name of Jehovah; of which Aaron stripped them. Aaron replied

¹ Abarbanel in Exod., *Parasch. Thissa.*, fol. 211.

² See Grotius on Exod. xxxii. in vol. i. of *Criticisms*.

³ See Ainsworth on Exod. xxxii. 20; August., vol. vi., *contra Faustum*, lib. 22. cap. 93.

⁴ Bochart, *Hieroz.*, part i., lib. 2. cap. 34.

⁵ Targ. of Jerusalem on Exod. xxxii. 25.

like a man under an interdict who alleges an excuse of the insufficiency of which he is himself aware while waiting to find one that is available. Such is the sense of these words, 'I said unto them, whosoever hath any gold, let them break it off: then I cast it into the fire, and there came out this calf' (v. 24). Frivolous apology! How then could a mould come out having the form of a calf into which a quantity of melted gold is poured, sufficient to fill it? There is no foundation for the opinion of those^p who maintain that Aaron had no mould, but that the devil formed this idol; and thus they understand the reply of Aaron. But his words mark the disposition of a man who wished to justify himself, and who could discover no reason on which to found an apology, but knew not how to remain silent.

Moses resolved afterwards to inflict a punishment upon some of the guilty that might keep others in fear, and serve ever after as a barrier against idolatry. He called together all who were animated with any extraordinary zeal for the service of God. Instantly the Levites ranged themselves round him, and he issued that severe order which evinced that the affection with which he clung to the guilty did not prevent his lively sense of the outrage done to God, the supreme object of his love. 'And he said unto them, thus saith the Lord God of Israel, put every man his sword to his side, and go in and out from gate to gate throughout the camp, and slay every man his brother, and every man his companion, and every man his neighbour' (v. 27). The Levites obeyed, and sacrificed three thousand men to the wrath of heaven. A passage of St. Paul^q misunderstood has led some to translate it twenty-three thousand men, and this error in one bad version has spread through many others.^r

The strictest of all bonds are those we have with God; whatever are incompatible with these ought to be unreluctantly broken. However sanguinary the conduct of the Levites might seem, it deserves praise, because the ground of it was the command of God, and zeal for his glory. The term employed by Moses to induce them to act is worthy of remark. It is taken from the sacrifices—'Consecrate yourselves to-day to the Lord' (v. 29). 'To obey is better than sacrifice' (1 Sam. xv. 22). Moses eulogised this proceeding forty years afterwards: 'Of Levi he said . . . who said unto his father, and to his mother, I have not seen him; neither did he acknowledge his brethren, nor knew his own children' (Deut. xxxiii. 9).

^p R. Juda in *Pirke Eliezer*, cap. 45. See Patrick on Exod. xxxii. 24.

^q In 1st Epistle to the Corinthians x. 7, 8, where he is speaking of the plague related in Num. xxv. 9.

^r See Bochart, *Hieroz.*, part i., lib. 2. cap. 34.

After having thus offered three thousand victims to the wrath of heaven, Moses went up again into the mountain,* where he remained forty days, which were partly employed in soliciting favour for the rest of the guilty persons; and nothing is more worthy of imitation than the charity he displayed in his importunity. 'Oh, this people have sinned a great sin, and have made them gods of gold. Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their sin—and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy book which thou hast written.'^t Some divines suppose that Moses offered to sacrifice his eternal salvation for the love of Israel. We will not dispute with them, but a single word seems to me sufficient for their refutation, and that is given by M. de la Placetti,^u one of those men who has made himself most worthy of the praise bestowed by God on Moses, that he was the meekest of all men. 'Moses,' says this learned author, 'did not say that he consented to be effaced from the book of life on the condition that God would pardon this people; in that case we might imagine that he wished to sacrifice his salvation to theirs. On the contrary, he requests to be blotted out of that book, if his prayer were rejected; pardon their sin, or blot me from thy book. But who does not see it would be as monstrous to understand it of eternal damnation, as it is most appropriate to explain it of a premature death? What could be more impious than to say, I wish to be eternally lost, if thou dost not grant the favour which I ask? and what, on the contrary, more admirable than to say, if thou hast resolved to destroy this people, spare me the grief of surviving it, and hearing the insults and blasphemies of our enemies! Raise me to that world where I shall not drag out a life more bitter and unsupportable than death.' We subjoin to the words of this author a parallel passage in the book of Numbers—'And Moses said unto the Lord, Wherefore hast thou afflicted thy servant? And wherefore have I not found favour in thy sight, that thou layest the burden of all this people upon me? Have I conceived all this people? Have I begotten them that thou shouldest say unto me, Carry them in thy bosom, as a nursing father beareth the sucking child, unto the land which thou swearest unto their fathers? . . . I am not able to bear all this people alone, because it is too heavy for me. And if thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favour in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness' (Exod. xi. 11, 12, 14, 15).

We believe we can prove, not only that Moses had no desire to

* Lightfoot thinks it was three times forty days. See *Spicil. in Exod.*, sect. 31.

^t See on this expression Ps. lvi. 4; lxxxvii. 6; cxxxix. 16; Esdr. iv. 3; Dan. xii. 1; Philip. iv. 3; Rev. iii. 5. In these passages God is represented as keeping a register, after the manner of men.

^u M. de la Placetti's *Dissertations on various Moral Subjects*, ch. 15.

sacrifice

sacrifice his salvation, but that no hypothesis can be made to justify such a sacrifice. It appears to us there is excessive enthusiasm in the sentiments of some who have rendered themselves celebrated in devotional mysticism. We cannot subscribe to such a statement as the following :—‘ The good pleasure of God is the supreme object of the passive soul (*l’ame indifférente*) ; so that it would rather choose hell with the will of God than paradise without it. It would prefer even hell to heaven, if it knew that there it would have a little more of that good pleasure of God.’^a Among the saints proposed as models in Scripture, we find no example of the submission of Angelus of Foligni,^b who says in a start of enthusiasm—‘ Though I were damned I would not fail to do penance, and strip me of all for the love of God. If thou chooseth, O my God, to cast me into hell, defer it no longer ; make haste, and since thou hast forsaken me, end it, and plunge me into the abyss.’^c Nor can we approve the emotions of Catherine of Siena^a—‘ Though it were possible to feel all the pains of devils and of all damned souls, never could I say, however, that they were pains, so much a pure love would find of goodness in it.’

Moreover, we have we believe proved elsewhere,^b that the system of disinterested love is untenable, even with the limitations adopted by some divines, especially M. Elias Saurin, in his treatise on the love of God.^c This author maintains that the duty we owe to God extends even to the sacrifice of our salvation, and this vow ought to be in the heart of all Christians : ‘ I love God, and by the power of this love I give him all I *can* give him. I give myself to him, and with myself I give him all I am, and all I hope. I renounce all, so that God may be glorified, and to such a degree that if my salvation could be a sacrifice to the glory of my God, my salvation should cost me nothing in opposition to the glory of my God, as I am myself nothing in opposition to my God.’

But the supposition that the glory of God may require the sacrifice of our salvation is, in our view, not only impossible but contradictory ; but in logic it is very admissible to make impossible suppositions, though not to make contradictory ones. It is very admissible to lay down a false principle to ascertain what consequence would necessarily follow from it, but it is not allowable to lay down one which would destroy the very consequence itself which it is wished to deduce from it. It is not allowable to suppose that God affirms a contradiction, and to maintain that in this case it is necessary to believe in his word, because it is

^a See J. B. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, *Instruct. Pastor*, p. 331.

^b *Ibid.*

^c *Ibid.*

^d *Ibid.*

^b Saurin's *Sermons*, vol. iii. ; *Sermon sur la plus Sublime Dévotion*.

^c Part i., chap. 14, &c.

supremely

supremely true. For to suppose that God affirms a contradiction is to establish that he is not supremely true, and this supposition destroys the conclusion wished to be deduced from it. But it is clear, as it appears to me, that the duty of sacrificing his salvation, upon the supposition that the glory of God requires it, is a condition not only impossible but contradictory. Why, according to the idea even of those whom we oppose, is God worthy of so great a sacrifice from the intelligent creature? Because God is supremely amiable. But if God demanded such a sacrifice, he would no longer be supremely amiable; consequently he would no longer deserve to be supremely loved. This would be a God whose strange glory would be requiring that which is least glorious to a perfect being, namely, to damn everlastingly a creature who would be entirely devoted to him. This would be a cruel and barbarous God, who would take pleasure in seeing men suffering eternally who were capable of resolving to suffer eternally for his glory. We conclude, therefore, that the example of Moses does not countenance such a system of disinterested love as the sacrifice of one's own salvation.

It is added that God '*repented* of the evil which he thought to do unto his people.' Profound ignorance or malice only could have induced Julian the Apostate^d to infer from this expression that God is subject to change. It signifies that God granted to Moses favour for Israel, or rather the delay of their punishment, whose numberless crimes afterwards forced, as it were, the Deity to destroy them. Thus when God yielded to the entreaties of Moses he said, 'Nevertheless in the day when I visit I will visit their sin upon them' (Exod. xxxii. 34). By *the day* must be understood those melancholy times in which God seems to unite in one period the crimes committed by a people in many others, and the Jewish people had seen various occasions of this kind. The Jews say^e even to this day what their fathers have said before them, that no misfortune comes upon them which has not an ounce of the golden calf in it. They celebrate even now the anniversary of the breaking of the tables of the law by a solemn fast; and St. Jerome^f and some other expositors have thought that the prophet Zechariah had this solemnity in view when speaking of 'the fast of the fourth month' (Zech. viii. 19).

Thus far M. Saurin. It may be permitted to subjoin a few remarks. At the commencement of this dissertation the learned

^d Cyril of Alexan., tom. v., in Julian, lib. 5.

^e R. Isaac in *Gemar.* tit. *Sanhedr.*, cap. 11, fol. 102.

^f Jerom., tom. v., on Zech. viii. 19.

writer.

writer refers to the ambiguity of the original language, which he says may signify either that Aaron received the ear-rings in a bag or that he graved them with a graving tool, referring to the disputes on the subject as an argument for critical doubts. But we must beware of admitting the plausibilities of ingenious etymologists as evidence against the preciseness of historical statements. It is clear that the translators have committed an error in their rendering of Exod. xxxii. 4. The words are *וַיִּקַּח מִיָּדָם וַיִּצֶר אֹתוֹ בַּחֶרֶט*. The word *צָר* signifies to tie up or bind, as well as to form into shape, and *חֶרֶט* signifies a bag. Both these words are used in 2 Kings v. 23, where Naaman is said to have 'bound (or tied up) two talents of silver in two bags.' The rendering, therefore, of the passage in question should have been, 'and he received them, and tied them in a bag.' Having done so, he had them cast into a molten calf.

The pulverizing of the gold and rendering it potable has very much perplexed many writers, as it is supposed that so difficult an operation of chemistry could not have been performed in the wilderness. But though Moses could not have accomplished this by simple calcination or amalgamation, yet this drink might have been made after the present method, by making use of the Egyptian *natron* instead of tartar, which is common in the East.*

It is not certain that the conduct of Aaron is exhibited in this discourse in exactly the proper light, or that it has in general been fully understood. A careful examination of all the details and references in Scripture will, we think, make it obvious that while it is a mistake to imagine that Aaron did not commit a great sin, his criminality was not precisely of the kind usually imputed to him. It did not consist in endeavouring to supersede the worship of the true God by substituting idolatrous worship, nor in countenancing the absurdity that the services of the true and a false religion might be legitimately intermingled; although, while facilitating the worship of the golden calf, he reminded the people, 'tomorrow is a feast to the Lord.' When Jehovah spoke to Moses on the subject in the mount he said, 'Thy *people* have corrupted themselves,'—'*they* have made a molten calf.' The guilt of the transaction is also imputed to the people in general in the Acts of the Apostles, in the speech of Stephen—'to whom (Moses) our fathers would not obey, but thrust him from them, and in their hearts turned back again into Egypt, saying unto Aaron, Make us gods to go before us; for as for this Moses, which brought us out

* The reader will find some valuable remarks upon the arts implied in the fabrication and destruction of the golden calf in Dr. Memes' article, 'Fine Art among the Jews,' in the fifth No. of this Journal, pp. 60-70.—EDITOR.

of the land of Egypt, we wot not what is become of him. And *they* made a calf in those days, and offered sacrifice unto the idol, and rejoiced in the works of their own hands' (Acts vii. 39-41). In the apology by which Aaron attempted to avert the anger of Moses he pleads that 'he knew the *people*, that they were set on mischief,' and implies it was not he but they that made the golden calf. It seems, therefore, that he was not the instigator of this daring outrage, that he did not approve it, and made a faint opposition by reminding the people of the ensuing feast to the Lord on the morrow. What, then, it may be inquired, was the sin of Aaron if, adhering in principle to the worship of the true God, he neither originated nor sympathized with the idolatrous service? The answer is, he was a timid time-server; his principles were not strong enough for the occasion; he was afraid of personal consequences from the tumultuous gatherings of the multitude. He had the spirit of fear when the spirit of martyrdom was required, and partook largely of the character of that unworthy class of persons who are denounced in the book of the Revelations as 'the fearful.' His therefore was not so much positive rebellion as culpable timidity. It was a wrong to religion; it was a wrong to his own high character; it was a wrong to the God of Israel, whose servant he was, and whom he professed to obey. The creature's frown was more to him at the moment than the Creator's smile. This is precisely that miserable policy by which so many to the present hour dishonour their principles, disgrace their profession, and hazard their eternal welfare. They would fain have the crown of glory, but would be excused from the crown of thorns.

PAUL'S REBUKE OF WOMEN PRAYING WITH UNCOVERED HEADS :

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF I. CORINTHIANS, CHAP. xi. 10.

By the Rev. ROBERT KNIGHT.

ALTHOUGH the principal object of the following remarks is the elucidation of 1 Cor. xi. 10, yet I do not intend to confine them to the examination of this particular portion of the chapter. The examination of any portion of the sacred writings may be naturally supposed to involve an examination of the context; but, in the present instance, this is not the only nor the principal reason for doing so, for, having been led to investigate the passage, with a view of endeavouring to explain that part which is considered

sidered obscure and which has received various interpretations, I have been brought to regard the whole in a different light from that in which I believe it has been hitherto almost universally viewed, and to question the received interpretation of that part of it respecting which there has been among commentators no difference of opinion. Whatever minor differences there may be in the interpretations of the different commentators upon this passage, all of them, I believe, agree in this, that the censure of St. Paul is directed against the supposed practice of the Corinthian women praying or prophesying in their public devotional assemblies with their heads uncovered.

In the fourteenth chapter of the same epistle, in which these words are found, and in the thirty-fourth verse, the Apostle says, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak;' and in the second chapter of his first epistle to Timothy, the eleventh and twelfth verses, 'Let the woman learn in silence;' and again, 'But I suffer not a woman to teach, but to be in silence.'

In these expressions there is not the slightest ambiguity or room for difference of opinion; they are plain and pointed, and conclusively prove that it was quite contrary to the will of God, and to that subordination in which she was placed, and therefore to apostolical order, as maintained in all the primitive churches, for a woman to speak authoritatively in the assemblies of Christians.

Such being the case, the supposition that the Apostle's statements, in the present passage, refer to the apparel of the woman, can only be supported in two ways, either by conjecturing that, in speaking of her praying or prophesying with her head uncovered, he does not mean aloud, or as taking a leading part, but simply to her being present and joining in subordination or silently in the sacred services; or else, as Whitby supposes, 'Although the Apostle does not here approve of the woman's praying or prophesying in the churches, here he says nothing to the contrary, as intending to rectify that disorder when he spoke of other disorders in the case of prophesying.'

It would scarcely have been consistent with candour and common sense, much less with the wisdom and unfeigned sincerity of an inspired apostle, to take up any part of his epistle, with the censure of an impropriety in the doing of that which was radically wrong in itself, especially when that impropriety naturally sprang from the abuse with which it was connected, and when, moreover, he intended to forbid, in the same epistle, the abuse itself, and would therefore, with the abuse, remove the impropriety which was grafted on it.

But

But this is not the full extent of the inconsistency which such a conjecture takes for granted : for it farther supposes St. Paul to attack the outward semblance of insubordination, in the first place, while he leaves room by his silence for believing that that, in which the reality and substance of insubordination was manifested, was not censurable ; or by placing it last in order, was at any rate only censurable in an inferior degree, or that he gives directions how that is to be done, which his subsequent charge proves that he intended should not be done at all ; as if a parent should, in writing to a child, warn him against a practice, and, in the same letter, give him instructions how to follow it, and thus not only prove that he doubted his willingness to yield to his authority, but by placing the instructions how to follow the practice which he intended to forbid, first in order, give such a proceeding the greatest possible force.

It may be said, in the second place, that the caution of the Apostle is directed, not against their taking a prominent part, but merely against their appearing uncovered in the public assemblies ; but this position is equally untenable with the former.

In the first place, this interpretation does manifest violence to the language of the Apostle, for it would certainly have been much more natural for him simply to have spoken against their *appearing* uncovered, if this was what he meant, than to have made use of a phraseology not only ambiguous and likely to be misinterpreted, but positively defective, as limiting a direction, which should guide them at all times, to particular occasions and circumstances. If, moreover, the Corinthian women had laid themselves open to rebuke for want of modesty and shame-facedness in their deportment, it was not likely that this would have exhibited itself more prominently in their devotional meetings than elsewhere or at other times, for when were correct feelings connected with their deportment more likely to exist in all their strength and holy power, than when they were under the teaching of God, and met together in his name ? Hence it does not seem at all likely that the Apostle, in warning them against the manifestation of an improper spirit in their deportment, would have made use of an expression which would have limited this admonition to any particular place or circumstances, and less likely that he would have limited it to those in which it was likely to appear in its most mitigated form.

It has been supposed by some commentators that the declaration of the Apostle, ' That the woman should have power on her head, because of the angels,' refers to persons who introduced themselves into Christian assemblies with a view of detecting, if possible, some ground for accusation or calumny. The interpretation

tation proposed in the present examination of the text differs entirely from this, but the motive assigned by those who hold it for modesty of carriage, is in perfect accordance with the word of God at large, and with a particular passage, which refers to the very same subject. It was the duty of all Christians to let their light so shine before men that they might see their good works and glorify their heavenly Father. It was reckoned a qualification of high importance in a bishop that he be well reported of them that are without, and Christian wives were to seek to win their unbelieving husbands to the faith by their chaste conversation, coupled with fear, and by wearing the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, and so to act that the word of God might not be blasphemed; but the reasons for this conduct and for circumspection existed, if not in greater, in as great force in other places as in Christian assemblies. If any persons ever entered these with a view of accusing and traducing Christians, they must have been comparatively few in number; whereas when the women appeared in public elsewhere they were surrounded by hundreds of prying observers ready to detect the least approach to impropriety of conduct, to make the most of it, and from the slightest manifestation of it in circumstances which imposed upon them the strongest possible restraint, namely the presence of watchful enemies of their faith, to conclude that it existed in a greater degree, and was manifested in a more glaring manner where, surrounded by friends, they could act with greater freedom. If also they were to endeavour to win their husbands to the faith, it was not by their deportment in Christian assemblies, to which their husbands seldom if ever went, but when in their society, either in public or private. These will, I think, be admitted as strong reasons why the Apostle, if their outward deportment was what he had in view, would have been likely to have used language which would not have limited his injunction to any particular times or places, much less to those in which an impropriety was least likely to occur, and least liable to misinterpretation, from the comparative absence of enemies; and if this reasoning required farther confirmation, it will be found in the circumstance, that in those other portions of Scripture which refer to the deportment of the women, we find no such limitation.

It must be admitted, that, without doing much violence to the language, we might imagine that the Apostle refers merely to their presence when he uses the word praying; because praying is an exercise in which one person may engage, not only in silence, but in which they can unite with or follow another as leader of their devotions; but how could this be predicated of prophesying or teaching, which is perfectly inconsistent with silence, or even equality,

equality, not to speak of subordination, so that the interpretation, which understands the expression, as merely signifying the woman's presence, cannot be reconciled with the terms employed, or at any rate with the latter.

There is, however, another and an insuperable objection to this explanation, for it rests upon the supposition either that the women had not taken a prominent part in the devotional assemblies, or that St. Paul was ignorant of or did not intend to notice this abuse. But, from more than one prohibition against it, it is evident both that the women had taken a leading part, and that the Apostle knew of and strongly reprobated such a proceeding ; and hence we are justified in concluding that, in speaking in the terms employed in the passage under consideration, he must have had this practice in view.

The difficulties and contradictions attending both the preceding explanations are so palpable that they have led some commentators to conclude, in contradiction to the plain and express words of the Apostle, that the women were allowed to prophesy in the church ; but an examination of the fourteenth chapter will show this conclusion to be erroneous, for the express injunction that they be silent immediately follows the other directions with respect to prophesy. It is said, indeed, in the twenty-first chapter of the book of Acts, that the four daughters of Philip did prophesy ; but this seems to have been in a different sense from that in which the word prophesy is used when connected, as in the passage under consideration, with other stated and public religious exercises, as praying.

That the gift with which these virgins were endued was one which was not commonly or extensively bestowed, seems probable from the circumstance of the writer of the book of Acts taking special notice of it, which he would scarcely have done had it been a gift common to the ordinary members of the Christian churches, either male or female. It is therefore not unlikely that it was similar to the gift possessed by Agabus, who is mentioned immediately after them—namely, the prediction of future events ; while the prophesying to which the Apostle refers in the present passage, and those parallel to it, was clearly of a different character, and seems, from its effects, to have been a peculiarly close and searching exposition and application to the conscience, of that word which is quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword, piercing even to the dividing asunder of soul and spirit, and of the joints and marrow, and which is a discernor of the thoughts and intents of the heart ; for in reference to it, and its superiority over unknown tongues, the Apostle says, ' But if all prophesy, and there cometh in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced

convinced of all, he is judged of all, and thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so, falling down on his face, he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth.' But of what character soever the gift possessed by the daughters of Philip was, we have no reason for inferring that they exercised it publicly, or at any rate in a mixed assembly of men and women, of sufficient force to be placed in opposition to the express prohibition of such a practice by the Apostle.

From these considerations, and the inconsistencies which such interpretations involve, I have been led to think that the Apostle's admonition is not directed against their mode of apprelling themselves at all, and in support of this opinion I would adduce the following arguments:—

1st. According to the view which supposes the apparel to be the subject in question, the apostle is pursuing a double line of argument and admonition, and censuring not only the apparel of the woman, but that of the man also; and it would seem that an abuse had crept in, the origin of which cannot be rationally accounted for, the men having adopted the effeminate habit of wearing long hair, and veiling their heads when they prayed or prophesied in the church, and the women having assumed a proportionably masculine appearance when similarly engaged—a most extraordinary abuse certainly, and one which bears on the face of it such manifest improbability as to require very clear and decided testimony of its existence; and this testimony, it may I think be shown, does not exist in the passage itself.

It may be said, indeed, that the covering alluded to as worn by the man was not a veil; but it is evident that, if the Apostle is speaking of any material covering, it is the same, the use of which he approves of on the part of the woman, and reprobates in the man; and this receives farther confirmation from the connection between it and the long hair, which is also spoken of as censurable in the one case and commendable in the other, upon the same principles as the covering spoken of.

Unless it was a covering of this kind, the force of the Apostle's reasoning upon headship and subordination would be lost, for while a veil was looked upon as a mark of subjection, it was, I imagine, the only covering emblematic of this state, while many head-dresses were significant of the very reverse. Amongst ourselves, the wearing the covering of the head, while others are uncovered, is an emblem of authority of no mean order; and where not sanctioned by law or established usage, and from connection with office or decided eminence in rank, it is looked upon as an assumption of superiority, and regarded as offensive. It may be said in answer, that this arises from difference of custom, and that

that from the practice of modern nations we can draw no inference with respect to those of antiquity; but this is untenable. What has its foundation in nature is equally binding on all nations and in all ages, and will be in all the same; and if the Apostle is referring to any practice of this kind, he supports his argument on this principle, that his reasons against it are based on the laws of nature, and not on an arbitrary custom; but even if this was the case, we know that many coverings of the head were indicative of the very reverse of subjection, and that no known covering was significant of subjection but a veil. A Christian soldier in his helmet, an Olympic victor with his crown, or a Jew with one of those horns worn by eastern nations—to which, as emblems of power, we find such numerous allusions in the Old Testament—would have suggested a very different idea. Indeed the uncovering, and not the covering of the head, among some of the nations of most ancient origin, is still considered as a most degrading mark of subjection.*

Hence we are, I think, justified in concluding that, if the Apostle had in view their apparel, the wearing long hair and veiling their faces were the practices which he reproved in the men, and the reverse in the women.

It is evident, however, that if the women had laid aside their veils, and the men assumed them, they had not fully carried out the mutual transfer; for the women still wore long hair, and would have counted it disgraceful to have had it shorn; and here we have a strong argument against the supposition that their head-dress was the point in question, for the Apostle says that the long hair of the woman was a glory to her, for it was given her for a covering, and one of such a character as to be emblematic of the relation in which she stood to the man, and this covering and emblem she had not laid aside. Is it not then singular to suppose that he should censure the woman for the want of an artificial covering which their circumstances perhaps in some cases might not permit them to procure, while they wore the one provided by nature, which was as decidedly significant of subjection

* 'During the war which happened about ten years ago between the Towara and Maazy Bedouins, who live in the mountains between Cairo and Cosseir, a party of the former happened to be stationed here [at the well of Aban Szoueyra, in Sinai] with their families. They were surprised one morning by a troop of their enemies, while assembled in the sheikh's tent to drink coffee. Seven or eight of them were cut down; the sheikh himself, an old man, seeing escape impossible, sat down by the fire. When the leader of the Maazy came up, and cried out to him to throw down his turban and his life would be spared, the generous sheikh, rather than do what, according to Bedouin notions, would have stained his reputation for ever after, exclaimed, "I shall not uncover my head before my enemies;" and was immediately killed with the thrust of a lance.'—BURCKHARDT'S *Travels in Syria*, p. 471.

as any they could assume? There is also indubitable^b evidence that in those times the men wore short hair; and therefore to suppose the reverse in the Corinthian converts involves the supposition, that, possessing the light of revelation, they had erred in a point in which the light of nature had guided their heathen brethren correctly, or that increased light had given rise to proportionate error.

The arbitrary introduction of a sense, with reference to the word head, differing from that in which the Apostle introduces it, and which we have no authority therefore for concluding that he intended it should bear in any part of the passage, and that a sense as different from the one which he positively attaches to it as headship is from a fleshly head; and the confusion of these two senses, according to the general interpretation, render it suspicious.

Thus the head with which the Apostle opens his address, is, he tells us, a mystical one; but by the interpretation which supposes the attire to be the matter in question, it is made, by a mere presumption, to signify quite a different thing—namely, a fleshly or natural head; and not only so, but it is then arbitrarily taken in one sense in one, and in another sense in the other clause of the succeeding verses. For instance, verse fourth, ‘Every man, having his *natural head* covered, dishonoureth his *spiritual or mystical head*, that is Christ. But every woman praying or prophesying with her *natural head* uncovered, dishonoureth her *social head*, that is man.’

This sudden and unauthorized transition from the mystical sense attached to the word head by the Apostle, and the subsequent confusion of this mystical sense and that which has been thus obtruded, I consider inconsistent with the principles of sound exposition and accurate criticism, and therefore inadmissible, unless supported by unambiguous testimony from parallel passages, or worthy and direct historical evidence that such abuses prevailed.

The interpretation proposed in the present examination does not, however, exclude from the Apostle’s meaning, in the passage at large, all allusion to a material covering or head-dress. It admits this to be the case, but goes to prove that this is not the object of the Apostle’s censure, and that, where he makes an allusion of this character, he does so with a view of adducing it as an argument against another practice which he was condemning; and it possesses this consistency, that it does not introduce another sense than that indicated by the Apostle in reference to the word head, and then confound the two senses in an arbitrary manner.

^b *Horne’s Introduction*, iii. 408.

It grounds the transition from the mystical to the natural sense upon a marked difference and transition in phraseology—a sufficient basis, and perfectly consistent with the rules of sound criticism.

The object which I consider the Apostle as having in view in this passage, is not the censure of any particular dress when they prayed or prophesied, but simply the prohibiting the women from taking a leading part in any of the public services of the church ; and thus, in a promiscuous assembly, placing the men in a subordinate position, and one inconsistent with the social station which it was the will of God that the woman should occupy ; and having stated this, I will proceed to a free paraphrase of the passage, followed by some explanatory remarks, and then contrast the two interpretations.

Ver. 3.—But I would have you know that (spiritually or mystically) the head of every man is Christ, from whom he receives all his supplies of wisdom, and to whose influences and authority he should yield as prompt an obedience as the members of the body do to the head ; and the head of the woman, in a similar sense, is the man (she being subject to him by God's institution), and the head of Christ (in his mediatorial capacity) is God.

Ver. 4.—Every man praying or prophesying (*κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχων*), holding himself, or being apart from his head, allowing himself to be degraded in position, by descending from immediate to mediate connection with his mystical head, or else having anything (*τῷ subaudito*) upon his mystical head, that is, which by its intervention between him and Christ, leads him to look to Christ as it were through a veil, alluding to the woman's acting as a medium, in communicating his prayers to Christ, or his teachings from Christ, dishonoureth his mystical head, that is, Christ, both by lightly esteeming the privilege of immediate connection with so glorious a head, and by delegating to his inferior in authority a position between him and Christ, which is contrary to the due subordination and relative position of the members of Christ's mystical body.

Ver. 5.—But it is equally clear that any woman praying or prophesying aloud, while her social head, that is, a man, or assembly of men, depended upon her for guidance in their devotions and for teaching, and were thus placed in a position subordinate to her, did away, by such a proceeding, with the subjection which she owed to the man, stripped him of that authority and pre-eminence with which God had clothed him, and thus dishonoured her social head, or the man, by degrading him ; and in thus acting, she might be said to pray for or prophesy to her social head uncovered,

or

or with her social head uncovered, that is, stripped of that authority and pre-eminence over her which marked him out as a covering to her: he being socially to her what long hair was naturally, a covering.

Now this would be morally and socially as disgraceful, as it would be, according to the usages of the state of society in which the Corinthians lived, for the woman (here, where there is a transition to natural covering, it is to be observed that the word head is not introduced) to be shaven or shorn.

Ver. 6.—But if this was really disgraceful, it was so from its being emblematic of a woman having no acknowledged head or protector, and from her occupying a position as anomalous in the social and moral world as one without hair would be in the natural world. Let the woman therefore make no approach to such a situation by usurping that authority or pre-eminence associated inseparably with man's protection and her union with him; let her, in their public assemblies, be silent, and thus wear herself the garment of subjection, while the man, or her social head, praying for or prophesying aloud to her, was clad with that authority and pre-eminence which belonged to him as such.

Ver. 7.—For a man ought not to have his head covered, that is, any medium or mediator in a qualified sense between him and Christ, man being the immediate and direct representative of the invisible God, who alone had authority over him. But if the woman taught him publicly, or held him in a subordinate position, she then became to him what he should be to her, a covering, intercepting as it were the direct communication between him and his heavenly or mystical head, while he became subject to her teaching, and she usurped his position and authority.

Ver. 8.—For the man did not originally proceed from the woman, but the woman from the man; and as the man was the glory of God, being created in his image, so, in like manner, was the woman the glory of the man, being bone of his bone and flesh of his flesh.

Ver. 9.—Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man, as an help meet for him and to replenish the earth.

Ver. 10.—[On one account indeed she had and ought to have power over her social head, or the man, her desire being to him, lest, if she had not this power, the devil by his angels, or those who were his emissaries and children, might tempt her to incontinence.] Compare chap. vii. ver. 4. The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.

Ver. 11.—Nevertheless, although subordinate to man as having
VOL. IV.—NO. VII. H been

been originally created from and for him, yet notwithstanding neither was the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman in Christ, but mystically and socially united themselves, so as to be one flesh, they existed in him in joint dependance on their common head, as being heirs together of the grace of life.

Ver. 12.—For as the woman in the first instance owed her existence to the man, so the human race had been dependant on the woman for their continuance, and to her seed without the man for redemption: but both creation and redemption and all things are ultimately to be attributed to God alone.

Ver. 13.—But they could easily judge for themselves, without any abstruse or refined reasoning upon the subject; for nature itself taught them that it was unbecoming for a woman (the word head is here not introduced, in accordance with the reason assigned above) to pray uncovered; nature having provided her with an appropriate or material covering.

Ver. 14.—For nature itself suggests the impropriety of the most distant approach to subjection to the woman on the part of man, by leading men to consider even such a semblance of it as long hair, a reproach, which is the case even among those who have not gospel-light, as, for example, your heathen brethren.

Ver. 15.—But among women, on the contrary, long hair is considered a glory and an ornament, as being a natural and significant emblem of her relation to man, and as harmonizing with the subjection which she owed to him.

Ver. 4.—The first of these interpretations, which supposes *αὐτὸν* to be understood, of which Vigerus gives several instances, accords very strikingly with a passage in which angels, not women, are the intercepting medium between man and Christ. The passage is the nineteenth verse of the second chapter of the Epistle to the Colossians, in which the Apostle, reprobating the worshipping of angels, says, 'Let no man beguile you of your reward in a *voluntary humility*, and worshipping of angels, intruding into those things, which he hath not seen, vainly puffed up by his fleshly mind, and not holding the head, *καὶ οὐ κρατῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν*, that is, relinquishing or letting go his immediate hold of and connection with Christ, his head, by introducing, in a voluntary humility or subjection, mediators between Christ and himself. A comparison of the two passages will, I think, elucidate the one under consideration, and support the interpretation here proposed.

It is to be observed also that, according to the generally received interpretation, the assigning a sense not mystical to the word head, in the first clause of this verse, is grounded solely on the presumption that the Apostle is speaking of their apparel, but

to

to ground an interpretation upon a presumption, and then to establish that presumption by the interpretation, is a course of reasoning which is altogether inadmissible. In the interpretation here advanced, on the contrary, there is a reference to material covering in the sixth and thirteenth verses; but the case is quite different. In these places a difference of expression warrants the belief of a difference of signification, and there is, where material covering is referred to, a very marked difference. Wherever the mystical sense is intended, the word 'head' is expressed; where there is a transition to material covering, that transition is marked by the omission of the mystical word.

Ver. 5.—I have translated this verse, every woman praying for or prophesying to her head uncovered, or with her head uncovered, referring the word *κεφαλή* to her social head; and for this the following reasons may be adduced. If the Apostle had referred to a material covering, and had intended to say, 'Every woman praying with her natural head uncovered,' there are, I think, other expressions, less ambiguous, free from a harshness, which seems to attach to these words, understood in this sense, and such as he has used in other verses; for instance, simply uncovered, as in the thirteenth verse, *ἀκατανάλυτος*; or if *κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχον*, signifies having a covering on his head; would it not have been much more natural and appropriate to have applied to the woman the same term, and to have spoken of her as *μὴ κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἐχοῦσα*? The difference in both these expressions from one another, and from that which is subsequently used, seems clearly to indicate a difference of meaning, which the other interpretation completely sacrifices, but which is preserved by that here proposed.

Ver. 10.—That this verse is parenthetical, and does not form a link in the Apostle's chain of reasoning, or at any rate a direct one, will, I think, appear evident to any one who observes the closeness of connection between what follows and what precedes this verse; and that the 'nevertheless,' which begins the eleventh verse cannot, with any shadow of plausibility, be made to connect the remainder of that verse with the tenth, but is plainly the introduction of a qualification of what he had said in the eighth and ninth, to prevent those whom he addressed from forming any erroneous conclusions with respect to the position of the woman, and from falling from the extreme of allowing her to usurp an undue authority to that of looking upon her as a servile dependant. To correct any such false impressions as might have been grounded on his saying that the woman was of the man, and created for the man, he adds, 'nevertheless neither is the man without the woman nor the woman without the man in Christ.' Although therefore the words of the tenth verse, which intervene, are well suited to

introduce the caution, contained in the eleventh, against an abuse or misconstruction of what he had stated in the eighth and ninth, by adducing an instance in which the woman had equal power or authority with the man, yet they are to a certain extent digressive, and are so evidently parallel with what St. Paul had before advanced in the fourth and fifth verses of the seventh chapter of this Epistle, in which he says: 'The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband; and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife,' referring to the same subject and adducing the same reasons, and only differing in this respect, that in one Satan is spoken of and in the other his angels or earthly servants, for the word 'messenger' may be applied to either, that nothing can, I think, account for its being overlooked but the preconception that the Apostle's argument was directed to the head-dress, and the consequent necessity of making these words harmonize, *volentia volentia*, with this conjecture. The rendering *ἐξουσία* power, that is to say, a veil or token of subjection, seems as ill-grounded as the derivation of *lucus à non lucendo*, and is itself an argument against that view which requires so singular an interpretation, and in favour of that which is exempt from any violence to the language, assigns to it a meaning consistent with other passages of scriptures in sense, and with one in the same Epistle, almost in express phraseology, and which also gives it an appropriate connection and significancy, not to say a mere consistency with the whole passage, of which the other interpretation is destitute.

Although many reasons have been advanced to attach some force to the declaration, that the woman should have power on her head because of the angels, yet the most that can be said in their favour is, that they are ingenious but not satisfactory; that they have had more or less influence in leading to the toleration of an obscurity superinduced over the passage, but have done nothing towards removing it.

The interpretation here proposed does not, I think, seem to be attended with any of the contradictions connected with the supposition that the Apostle had in view the apparel of the Corinthians. It does not render it necessary to conclude, according to Scott, in opposition to several express prohibitions in scripture, that women were allowed to speak in the churches, or with Whitby, that he gives directions how that should be done which he intended should not be done at all, or that he rebuked the mere semblance of insubordination in the first place, and more at length than he did its exhibition in action; that he censured the woman for the absence of an artificial covering, while his own words clearly prove that she retained the covering provided by nature, and which was therefore the most emphatically significant of her proper position and relation,

tion, or to imagine that the Corinthian Christians, possessing Gospel light, had erred in a point in which their heathen brethren, possessing only the light of nature, had acted correctly. It frees St. Paul from the imputation of using a phraseology, not only ambiguous but defective. It does not without authority introduce a sense not indicated by the Apostle, and then arbitrarily interpret, now in one sense and then in another, the word which he employs ; but is consistent throughout, supposes the Apostle to be condemning a practice of far greater importance than the arrangement of a head-dress, and one which, being deeply inconsistent with the social relation of the members of that body of which Christ is the head, deserved his serious and earnest reprobation, and with the evil consequences of which he was so strongly impressed that, having once referred to it in the present passage, the magnitude of the abuse had, while the subject was under his consideration, and while he was writing, developed itself to his mind in all its extent, and led him to recur to it again in a subsequent part of his Epistle, xiv. 34, and to follow up his reasoning against it in the present chapter, and his declaration of its impropriety and opposition to the will of God, as illustrated by even the constitution and law of nature, by the authoritative prohibition, 'Let your women keep silence in the churches,'—a train of thought and of language consistent not only with the wisdom and candour of an inspired Apostle, but with the natural feelings of every person who has written under similar circumstances.

ON THE CHARACTER OF

EUSTATHIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF THESSALONICA,

CONSIDERED AS A REFORMER.

By Dr. AUG. NEANDER.

(Read before the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, Aug. 12, 1841.)

Translated by J. E. RYLAND.

THE national revival of the Greeks has an aspect so important on the future, that it imparts a fresh interest to our researches concerning their earlier history, and the labours of those distinguished men who appeared among them in the middle ages. Amidst the prevailing darkness of that period, some bright spots, here and there, irresistibly attract our notice.

Among these individuals must be ranked the noted compiler of
the

the Commentary on Homer—Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica, a man eminent not only for his learning, but for his noble character, animated by a wise and temperate zeal for reform, such as the regeneration of the modern Greeks seems to demand. His smaller treatises, published for the first time in 1832 by Professor Tafel of Tübingen, from manuscripts in the libraries of Basle, Paris, and Venice, enable us to form more accurate conceptions of his character, and of his position in relation to his contemporaries. They contain much information respecting the religious and moral state—the ethical history—of the Greeks in the twelfth century. On these points I beg leave to state some particulars. I would gladly have attempted a connected memoir of this eminent man, had the sources of information been sufficient for the purpose. Several valuable contributions to this object, documents of that period, are about to be given to the public by Professor Tafel in an Appendix to his first collection; but they have not yet appeared. The writings of the Archbishop hitherto published contained only scattered allusions to the events of his life, and many things in them require elucidation from other quarters. Of the two Byzantine historians of that age, Joannes Cinnamus and Nicetas of Chonæ, only the latter mentions Eustathius; this he does in two instances with high commendation of his acquirements and general character.

Eustathius, it is well known, flourished in the age of Comnenus, a period in which literary studies were pursued with great ardour. From the account of Bishop Anselm of Havelberg, who was sent to Constantinople as ambassador from the Emperor Lotharius II., it appears that an academy composed of twelve of the most eminent scholars, one of whom acted as president, was at that time in the Byzantine empire the ultimate authority in every department of learning; but this literary tribunal, if its decisions on all disputed questions admitted, as Anselm represents, of no appeal, must have exerted a very depressing influence on mental development. Though the Greeks at that time far surpassed the other nations of Europe in erudition, yet they were deficient in that vital creative power which enabled the latter to produce much greater results from less abundant materials. We find among the learned Greeks no such original and astonishing master-pieces of intellect as those produced by the acuteness and profundity of the schoolmen. Even the writings of Eustathius are marked by the defective discipline in which he had been brought up; in common with the productions of the later Greeks they want a healthy simplicity and a fresh originality; their turgid and artificial style and the accumulation of phrases from the ancient Greeks excite a feeling of disgust and occasion much obscurity.

On

On two occasions Eustathius took a part in the public transactions of his times, which accounts for his being noticed by the historian Nicetas. The first was under the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, whom he has celebrated in a funeral oration. Although this prince belonged to the better class of the Greek emperors, yet, in common with his predecessors, he was infected with that evil propensity, which made their agency so often injurious both to Church and State—the propensity to lord over the religious convictions of their subjects, and to decide on subjects on which they were unable to form an independent, well-grounded judgment. On this point Nicetas justly observes (*lib. vii.*): ‘Most of the Roman emperors were not satisfied merely with reigning; they looked upon it as great injustice if they were not entrusted with the irreversible decision of divine and human things. They wished to introduce new doctrines—to judge and issue mandates upon them; and often punished those who did not agree with them.’ In a more Byzantine spirit Johannes Cinnamus thought, that no one should be allowed to speculate freely respecting the nature of God, except the public teachers of religion, the most distinguished of the priests, and perhaps the civil rulers in virtue of their office.

There was at that time a form of abjuration in use for converts from Mohammedanism to Christianity, which was sufficiently absurd—an anathema on Mohammed with several additions. The emperor might indeed have good reason for wishing the adoption of a more intelligent mode of expression; but he attached an excessive importance to the matter; he pronounced this formula (explaining it in a way no one else had ever thought of) to be blasphemy. He put forth an edict against it, and would make his dictum overrule religious conviction. He thought it would have been ungrateful to God who had invested him with the supreme power, to allow the utterance of the anathema. Bishop Eustathius could not be silent on an occasion when his official position rendered it imperative to speak. He could not approve of the Imperial edict, but expressed himself freely upon it before a synod. The Byzantine emperor, not accustomed to such contradiction, was greatly incensed; he longed to bring Eustathius to trial, and it cost the patriarch of Constantinople much trouble to appease him. Of this emperor Eustathius says in his account of the capture of Thessalonica, § 14 (which contains many particulars relative to the political events of the age), that at his decease all the prosperity of the Roman empire vanished, as at sunset all nature is covered with darkness. After his death in 1180, Alexius II., an infant, succeeded to the throne. At the head of the government stood the widowed empress, or rather, her paramour, the

the Protosebastus Alexius Comnenus. The general dissatisfaction excited by the malpractices of this absolutely vicious administration enabled a member of the Imperial family, himself infamous for his vices, Andronicus, to seize upon the government. The young prince who should have shared it with him, was put to death. Many malcontents of distinction, both Greeks and Latins, assembled in Sicily, and by their influence the enterprise of King William II. against the Greek empire was undertaken. This brought severe misfortunes on the city of which Eustathius was bishop; he shared in those sufferings, and describes them in the narrative mentioned above. The governor of the city was Prince David Comnenus, who, though dissatisfied with the existing state of things, was filled with dread of the tyrant Andronicus; he neither seriously intended to defend the city, nor had courage or ability for it. Eustathius has described the conduct of this man with some degree of tartness. When he saw the catastrophe approaching, he implored the governor, as he tells us, but in vain, to take measures for the rescue of the unfortunate city. His own words are—*'The enemy pressed us—I pressed him, arguing, reproaching, pointing out his faults, telling him, but to no purpose, what he might have heard from others, had they spoken freely, and if the sad fortunes of the city had not closed their lips.'* Eustathius before the commencement of the siege might have secured his own safety, but he considered it his duty not to desert his charge under the impending calamities, and to use his utmost efforts for their relief. Thessalonica was given up to bloodshed and plunder. Fanaticism exasperated the fury of the soldiers, who were accustomed to regard the Greeks as heretics. The havoc was immense, but in scenes of death and pillage the venerable Eustathius appeared as a guardian angel for the unfortunate. His virtues and learning had won for him a reputation which commanded the respect of the Sicilian army, and his imposing personal appearance gave additional weight to his representations and pleadings. By his consolations and exhortations he strove to produce a salutary effect on the sufferers, and amidst all the tumult of military operations continued to hold divine service. Owing, however, to the fanaticism of the Latins who detested the Greek liturgy, this was interrupted, and Eustathius was obliged to apply to the commander of the Sicilian troops, who promised that in future nothing of the kind should happen. In a discourse preparatory to the Fast, he expresses his abhorrence of flattery, and shows how he obtained his end without having recourse to any such means (p. 84, § 35): *'Even in that woeful period of imprisonment, flattery was revolting to me, and therefore God helped me; for I spoke the truth as it ought to be spoken. And if at times*

times I roused the wrath of those chieftains against me, yet by the dew from above the fire was soon quenched.'

After the siege of Thessalonica, under the new ruler, Isaac Angelus, Eustathius read as an invitation to the fast an account of the calamities they had undergone before a public assembly, and made use of it as an exhortation to a reformation of manners. 'Let not the spirit of self-love deceive any one,' he said, 'as if such calamities had not justly befallen us.' He reproved, on this occasion, the prevailing dissoluteness of manners, especially the envy, slander, and deep-rooted habit of falsehood 'for which the God of Truth has turned away his face from us,'—the want of genuine friendship,—the ingratitude,—the hardness of heart which would not excuse a small wrong. When at a later period his fellow-citizens were again in unfortunate circumstances, he endeavoured to animate their hopes by reminding them of their deliverance from their former tribulation, and exhorted them to trust in the God of freedom who was still the same; who at that time when no signs of deliverance appeared, ere three months had elapsed, granted them complete deliverance from their troubles. (p. 75.)

It could not fail to happen, that Eustathius by his boldness as a strict censor of morals, would draw on himself the disfavour of many persons in the higher ranks. His language intimates that libels were written upon him and spread as far as Constantinople. He speaks of plots formed against him by his enemies, from which he was delivered, though we know not their precise kind (p. 104). To repel the imputations cast upon him, he was induced to prepare a vindication. Its tone is rather sarcastic. We learn from it the cause of the obloquy that he endured. He was blamed for not paying due regard to the distinction of ranks—for behaving towards the higher classes just as he did to the lower. A man of simple manners, who hated compliments and flattery, who was careful to maintain his devotedness to the cause of religion, might easily lay himself open to such an imputation, especially under the existing relations of Byzantine society. He justified himself partly by alluding to the reverses of fortune in those times; he who stood to-day in great honour, might be to-morrow an object of contempt; a rich man to-day might very shortly become a beggar. Further, it was objected to him that he took no pleasure in the acts of homage and signs of devotion, as they were then practised in an extravagant manner—the genuflections and bands of followers by which men of rank were distinguished. 'Have I been so long with you,' said he to his fellow-citizens, 'and yet you do not know me! Have you forgotten what I have said against that ambition which takes a vain delight in parading with
a numerous

a numerous retinue? Let a man think of that *last way* on which even *he* will be borne on his bier who while living is surrounded by attendants; he will then be insensible of the honour shown to his remains, or perhaps will be the object of ridicule to many' (p. 112, § 54). Against the extravagant devotion of the Byzantines he says—'If you pay your vows to God and his saints, then you may prostrate yourselves entirely on the ground; but suffer us to be men and to be honoured simply as such.'

Further, Eustathius found great cause for complaint in reference to the disruption of the marriage bond. He describes the vexations with which he had been harassed for more than six years on this head (p. 64, § 13). Not a day passed without his being pestered with applications from men and women; and notwithstanding the reverence they paid to the Archbishop of Thessalonica, he was subject to many insults if he punished offenders and reminded persons of their obligations. He lamented that spiritual means were not sufficient, and that it was needful to call in the aid of the secular power. He mourned over the levity shown in dissolving the marriage union;—the ease with which the laws of the church were thus set aside;—the manner in which ignorant priests deceived themselves, and were made tools of for such purposes;—and that fresh betrothments immediately followed divorces. Thus much may be gathered from his words (p. 65), that he had to do with a class of persons who in order to disguise their light-mindedness were in the habit of using high-sounding phrases: 'God, the all-sufficient,' said they, 'stands in no need of clergymen and church canons.' He endured much in attempting to check them in their evil courses. Those who were galled by his zeal for strict morals would gladly have got rid of him.

Yet Eustathius cannot be classed with men of a thorough reforming spirit, of which, indeed, the age in which he lived was hardly susceptible. He was not free from the infection of its dominant spirit, but was enthralled by the religious opinions then in vogue, as we may perceive from the tone of his thinking on monkery, fasting, and similar subjects. But so strongly was he animated by the spirit of Christian piety, that it spiritualized and transformed all that he had imbibed from the prevalent maxims of the age, and without demolishing what was established, he sought to influence and thus to improve everything; on all occasions he urged *love* as the essence of the genuine Christian disposition. In a discourse preparatory to a fast, he laid down as the first requisite a love not resting on the surface but deeply rooted in the heart. 'Let us only make this our own,' said he, 'and the whole train of virtues will follow. Whoever utters the word *love*, has in doing so named all goodness. If love be excluded from the soul, it is destitute

destitute of everything good. The state, the school, science, and all human intercourse subsist by means of it.' He finds the image of love in all nature. 'Even in plants an image of love is presented; this is known by those naturalists who tell us of the male and female in palm-trees; and he who has infused into all creatures the love of existence, has thereby given a revelation of love.' In another fast sermon he says (p. 86) that for right fasting, a spare diet and strict abstinence are not enough, which to most would be no hard matter. Sympathy shown to the needy according to our ability is especially required. The merciful God regards not only the *much*; he notices the *little* if given in proportion to the ability; even the least has its worth if given with joyfulness and confidence; and love is the salt which savours everything. 'If this be wanting, in vain shall we weary ourselves with praying and fasting,—with genuflections, vigils, and tears;—for to God who is love itself, nothing is acceptable from those who despise love.'

Eustathius has written a special treatise against an evil that was most hateful to him—*hypocrisy*—a vice with which in various ways the Greek life was contaminated. He begins with noticing an *ὁμορφία*, which serves the cause of goodness, understanding by it, conformably to the meaning which the Greek word admits of, the representation of a character on the stage, or the dramatic art. In reference to Tragedy, he appears as its advocate and eulogist; 'By such an art,' he says, 'could the men of former times, as the living can now, learn the manifold changes of fortune, the great diversities of character and the events of life. A living historical image of all the virtues and of all the vices was thus brought before the ancients, that they might strive after the one and avoid the other. The dramatist was a teacher of all the virtues, inasmuch as he brought the images of the bad upon the theatre not that men might form their lives on such a model, but might learn to shun them. He acted a feigned part, yet as a teacher he represented the truth.' He next mentions Satire and Comedy, of which he forms a lower estimate, and then makes a transition to the *ὁμορφία*, so called in the worst sense, which had now spread through society. Expressing his detestation of it, he says, 'I hold it better to appear as a drunkard than to pretend to fast; I know not whether any one can so detest hypocrisy as I do.' He then adduces many examples from actual life, of hypocrisy, dissimulation, and deceit in various stations and callings, and in conclusion exposes with bitter satire the assumed sanctity of the monks (p. 94, § 27). 'Such persons,' he says, 'are an untruth from head to foot. They deprive the gift of speech of all naturalness; they falsify it. For the most part they are silent, but if they are pleased to speak they lisp in an undertone, so that one can hardly tell

tell whether they *are* speaking. They make a show as if by the severities practised on themselves they had lost the power of utterance. What profit can be gained from the discourse of such persons those know best who have heard it; but I have no wish to be one of them. By such practices the ignorant man conceals his ignorance, for these people are altogether uncultivated; they would fain be silent, or say little, that they may not reveal their poverty, for monks who are really wise, men of literature, men of virtue, inducted into all good culture, exercise their voice and give dignity to language; with their thoughtful discourses they make glad the cities of God; with their whole appearance in harmony with nature they represent the truth of creation, as they strive by their actions to attain the image of God.'

Eustathius, it must be admitted, was not free from the error which arose from that obscuratation of the Christian faith which prevailed among his contemporaries in both Churches, and was not dispelled till the Reformation. In the contemplative life of monkery there was to his apprehension a higher stage of Christian perfection than in common domestic life or in civic society, since he did not perceive that it could give nothing higher than a representation of the supreme good in the grade of humanity, which Christianity aims at effecting by a realization of the kingdom of God. The distinction between a divine and human virtue belonging to the stand-point of antiquity, but taken away by Christianity, had mingled with his views. He misunderstood so far the nature of Christ's gentle yoke as if he had intended an easier rule of life for ordinary men, in contrast to the heavy self-imposed yoke of the monks. Yet in the case of Eustathius this error assumed a milder form, the native soundness of his mind. He sets himself in opposition to the false notion that a life of constant piety was incompatible with the common relations of life. He expressly combats this error in one of his fast sermons (p. 10), and exhorts every one in his own station to exercise himself in goodness; the true genuflection is internal humility: let each man measure everything external according to his own powers; bodily prostration is only a symbol of humility. 'Instead of many genuflections, only be skilled in the practice of manifold virtues; in God's sight this will not be of less value than genuflections, for to proceed in a way well-pleasing to God is more in harmony with nature, and more suited for active life than bowing the knee.'

Eustathius composed many treatises, which were much valued by his contemporaries, on the Reformation of the Monastic System; in these, as in all his writings, he sought by the infusion of a right spirit and disposition to improve the existing order of things, and

to

to render the monastic system more conducive to moral and literary culture. To this class belongs an epistle addressed to a noted 'pillar-saint' (or follower of Symeon Stylites) of Thessalonica. After some general commendation of his ascetic strictness, he tells him that the iron he wore might be equally injurious or salutary to him. The iron in itself was neither salutary nor hurtful, but was one or the other according to the disposition of the wearer. The main point was to draw nigh to God with a sincere humble mind. He warned him against sham holiness and pride (§ 38). He should be on his guard against condemning others; he should avoid haughty feelings and language, and wear the cross not merely on the surface but in his inmost soul. He ought to labour for the profit of others. 'Such an ascetic would be a public benefit. People of both sexes, learned and unlearned, high and low, assemble in this place. Towards these the pillar-saint must act in a right manner, or, in one word, apostolically; for he is to be all things to all men that he may gain all for the glory of God. He will not flatter, lest he should injure the cause of truth, nor will he be rude towards any one, that he may not be accused of an unbecoming freedom of speech. Nor will he indulge in indiscriminate praises, as is the practice of flatterers; nor will he pour down reproaches from his elevation, for that would be brutish. If many gifts are presented to him by devout persons, he will be far from hoarding them up, or from building a beautiful dwelling for himself with their produce; he will consider himself only as a channel by which such gifts may be communicated to the indigent who stand in need of them.' On the same principles he composed a treatise addressed to the monks on the improvement of the monastic orders. He attacks very sharply the deceptions practised by the monks, their making use of accounts of miracles and pretended visions to aggrandize themselves, to acquire wealth, and to carry on traffic and merchandise more profitably.*

He praised the arrangements of the Emperor Manuel Comnenus, who committed to the secular magistrates the management of the monastic revenues, in order that the monks might not be seduced to busy themselves with things foreign to their profession. Thus Nicetas Choniates, who utters the same complaints as Eustathius, also informs us that this Emperor endowed a monastery founded by him with no estates, fields, or vineyards, but only assigned it a fixed income from the imperial treasury (l. vii., p. 270). He reproaches them in strong terms for their hatred of literature (*μισολόγον τὸ τοιοῦτον φῦλον*). 'If a man of literary attainments come to them, to retire as into a haven from the storms of the world, they all look shy upon him; such a sort of person, they
say,

say, is of no use to them, they want no grammarian; they throw open their doors to ignorance and welcome it as a fit companion to their sanctity, while they banish far away the well-instructed scribes of the kingdom of heaven.'—He was desirous that monasteries should be the seats of mental culture and the means of perpetuating it, and lamented on the contrast between this their proper destination and their actual state. 'Those people from the workshops or belonging to the peasantry, who have turned monks for the sake of a livelihood, are totally ignorant of that divine wisdom by which man is brought into connection with God and learns to philosophize on divine and human things.'—We may learn from his lamentations how it came to pass that so many treasures of ancient literature have been lost. He pointedly reproves them for their disposing of books (§ 128, p. 245). 'You act like the Jews; you cannot indeed set Christ for sale, but you part with his works to any one who will purchase them, and that not for a fair price but for anything that is offered. Thou witless man! Why wilt thou make the shelves of the convent library as empty as thy own soul? and because thou art destitute of all knowledge, wilt thou clear away all the repositories of books? Let them retain their treasures; some wise man or friend of literature may come when thou art gone.' He admonishes them to study, that they may be able to write or say something valuable (§ 144). He adduces an instance from his own experience. He had heard of a noted book that a copy of it was preserved in the library of a convent. He enquired after it, but it was not to be found: he pressed the superior to give him the reason why it could not be found, who at last admitted that it had been sold, 'for,' added he, 'of what use could it be to us?' 'You pride yourself,' said Eustathius to the monk, 'on knowing only these things,—the prayers in the church, the cell, and the refectory. Know you not that for a genuine monk this will not suffice for the perfection of virtue, but that he certainly requires knowledge? I mean not only the divinest knowledge, but history and various sciences by which he may be useful to those with whom he has intercourse.' He speaks of the rage of the monks against every one who would not acknowledge them to be wise, workers of miracles, and saints. He must have suffered much in his own person from their attacks. If through the protection of God and the Emperor they have not accomplished their designs, yet they have done what they could. Such people will not be satisfied till they have deprived their enemies of life. He then adverts to that universal malady of the Grecian character, 'the virulence of party spirit which has brought all our affairs to ruin' (§ 167, p. 255).

Among

Among the memorable facts which may be learnt from the writings of Eustathius, we would mention, that among the Greeks there were at that time institutions for the deaf and dumb. He speaks of deaf and dumb persons as being apprenticed to various trades (p. 79, § 17). 'Some teach and others learn,' he says, 'not by words, but by actions, which may be called unspoken words or living thoughts.'

IS BIBLICAL CRITICISM UNFAVOURABLE TO PIETY?

By the Rev. HENRY BURGESS.

'We wish some means could be devised for making such researches as profitable, spiritually, as they are interesting to the intellect.'—*Journal of Sacred Literature*, No. IV. p. 368.

THE professed admirers of Christianity are divided into two classes, of which the characteristics are so distinct, that with the exception of having the same object of contemplation or study, they have but few points of resemblance in common. Let us select a few individuals of each class who shall be types of the genus, and endeavour to analyze their modes of thought and feeling. In the performance of this task we shall endeavour to avoid extremes, and shall draw as little as possible from the stores of imagination and fancy. Our object will be to answer the important question at the head of this article, and to show that the study of the divine oracles to the fullest extent of critical investigation must be in accordance with God's moral government, and consequently pleasing to Him, and favourable to an enlightened piety. If devout feelings and holy conduct are in any case not the result of such pursuits, other causes than biblical studies themselves must account for the failure.

To multitudes of Christian men, the region contained within the bounds of their faith, appears like a land of enchantment, amid the wonders of which they wander day by day, delighted with the sight of the eye and the hearing of the ear, but examining nothing and doubting nothing. As impressions from without they received their religious convictions, *passively*, as wax gives way to the pressure of the seal; and being thus intellectually cast into a certain mould, their characters undergo but little change. Through the vista of the present, they catch a glimpse of the past eighteen centuries,

centuries, whose events have in their minds the fixedness as well as the reality of a gallery of paintings, various indeed in their antiquity and brilliancy of colouring, but definite in their contour, and immutable in their sequence and historical character. To them, Christ and his Apostles are great men, poor indeed, yet clothed with a dignity like that of pontiffs or high priests. Primitive Christianity has its bishops with sacred robes, and a lofty ceremonial corresponding with that of succeeding ages, though a *little* less magnificent. Its calendared martyrs from St. Peter and St. Paul to the almost unknown St. Agatha and St. Chad, are all undoubted enlightened confessors, never erroneous in their principles, nor fanatical in their search after a public and cruel death. So far from distance of time being connected with the necessity for a searching criticism, it only 'lends enchantment to the view ;' an atmosphere of brightness covers all the remote scenery, and a halo surrounds the head of every saint, more refulgent as the period of his earthly existence recedes from the present. Christianity is of God ; not as the wheat among the chaff, or a little leaven hid in three measures of meal, but in its whole circumference of profession. In apostolic times—in the dark ages—and now—(heretics and the heterodox of course excepted) a oneness pervades this great community ; it has clear marks of divinity which are never interrogated, never doubted.

With what great ease minds of this character throw themselves on the soft cushions of a *fides recepta* when surveying the *present* aspects of their holy religion, or performing their customary devotions ! To them the sculptured cathedral is more than an object of taste, reflecting the zeal of a by-gone age ;—it is divine. The pealing organ and the chorus of sweet voices chanting the Psalms of David or the Nicene Creed, are not things of expediency, man-invented, and unessential ; they are linked in the fancy with the choirs of cherubim, and the harpers harping with their harps in the visions of John. Innovation must be rejected because it is new ; antiquity must be loved because it is old. 'The faith of our fathers' is a sentence of more than talismanic power ; it holds scepticism at defiance, and preserves him who knows how to use it from the misty and cold regions of mental perplexity. Thus submissive to external influences, persons of this idiosyncrasy drink in the dew of heavenlike Gideon's fleece when others remain parched and dry. Ancient creeds, authorized interpretations, current opinions respecting God and the soul and an immortal existence, are to them like the soothing sound of sweet instruments to those who sail on a summer's eve on the clear bosom of a mighty river.

If the past history and present customs of the visible church offer

offer no difficulties to the class of Christians we are now describing, it is equally true that the Bible is contemplated with the same easy, complacent, and untroubled spirit. The Book is of God without question, in all its sections, in all its words. Moses, holding in his hands the tables of stone engraven with the finger of God, could not feel more convinced of the divinity of the writing, than these men are of the heaven-born character of the collection bound together as the Old and New Testaments, prefaced with the dedication to King James, and subscribed, in many copies, with a list of the degrees of consanguinity within which a man may not marry. How this collection originated, on what authority its inspiration rests, what injury it has suffered by the teeth of time, that eater of all other things,—they do not enquire: there the book is, and seeing with them is believing. ‘What man is there,’ said the town-clerk of Ephesus, ‘that knoweth not how that the city of the Ephesians is a worshipper of the image which fell down from Jupiter? which thing cannot be spoken against.’ The very order or the collocation of the books, which is probably accidental, except where a natural sequence is pointed out, has the impress, they say, of the finger of Divine Providence. The Bible begins with the beginning of all things, and ends with Apocalyptic visions of future ages when this world shall have passed away. It even utters a commination against those who would alter in the least its present arrangement: ‘If any man shall take away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life.’ This threat, contained in one isolated portion of Holy Writ, and that the most obscure, is construed by them as referring to the whole canon of Scripture, and woe therefore be to the man who shall temerarily begin to examine the authenticity or to doubt the entire integrity of that which God has so plainly joined together as one! What would such blind admirers do if acquainted with the fact which lies patent on the page of history, that in the primitive ages the Apocalypse was only partially received as an inspired production, and that its place at the end of the Bible in our copies is not so occupied in some of the best manuscripts and versions? The views which are thus taken of the book when closed, and surveyed as a whole, characterize the devout exercises of these happy believers when they open its pages. Each text is a separate pearl which may be taken to adorn the spirit of any man in any age, or a piece of manna as palatable and nourishing now as when it first fell from the skies. A mighty quiver full of arrows against spiritual evils, it matters not which weapon is taken. A text in Chronicles appertaining to Joab or Abishai, contains holy mysteries as well as the precious sayings of Christ in the Gospels. Happy men! if an unwavering

faith built on custom, and a freedom from doubt arising from never examining, can constitute bliss !

Is this a correct description of a class, or is it a caricature and an exaggeration ? That all the features of the picture are found in any one individual we will not affirm, but we know they may be recognized in the genus. We say nothing respecting the objective truth or falseness of their opinions ; we merely affirm that they are subjectively impressed upon them by education and custom, not elaborated and deduced by a process of reasoning. Let us turn to another class placed almost at the antipodes of this extensive one.

Before our Lord entered on his public ministry, he was led by the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil, and each wile of the arch-enemy contained a doubt to be solved, or a truth to be confirmed. Thus, in every age, multitudes of his followers have had to conflict with the same foe, not for forty days only, but in some cases for as many years, and probably often through the whole course of a religious life. Childhood and youth have been spent in their case in the way in which those seasons ordinarily pass, amidst habitual levity and occasional and passing religious convictions. At length the attention is fixed, and the maturity of manhood brings with it the solemn necessity of finding out what is the truth. Different countries, says the enquirer, have different religions ; the Hindoos reverence the Shastres, the Mohammedans the Koran, and Christians the Bible. That *my* received source of religious sentiments is more worthy than those of other nations I am taught to believe and am willing to admit, but in a matter of such vital interest I must be solidly convinced. A Brahmin firmly believes in error because he has been brought up in it ; may I not be in danger of doing the same ? As an immortal and rational being, I must judge for myself.

If our enquirer is a private Christian engaged in the business of life, and having therefore but little time for theological study, he does all that can be demanded of him, and all that is necessary for his peace, when he confides in the judgment of the excellent men who, he has reason to believe, have given due attention to the grounds of the Christian faith, and have written books on its evidences. A rational and well-grounded confidence may thus be obtained with comparative ease, sufficient to prevent the disciple from being on the one hand the blind adherent of a party, and on the other from continuing a child, 'tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine.' Difficulties and doubts respecting doctrines and obscure texts, and matters of personal experience, must be grappled with as they arise, and will yield easily in proportion as they are treated rationally. In this manner
the

the man of business who is concerned for the well-being of his immortal soul, and submits patiently and conscientiously to discipline, will become a scribe well instructed in the things of the kingdom. He will have learned before he is old, that some of the cherished opinions of his youth were airy nothings, and that in the popular creed there are positions which no learning nor logic can sustain. But the same process which demolishes the unsound will consolidate that which is right and true. Whatever may perish in the fiery furnace of trial, that which is godlike will remain unscathed and become his comfort and delight; and what should a wise man wish for more?

But the Christian whom we would now follow into the wilderness is one who is called to teach others, and who feels he can only perform his high duties conscientiously by being himself thoroughly satisfied of the truth of the substance of his instructions. He begins his work, as an ingenuous and right-minded young man always will, in a spirit of deference to those who have been his guides, and naturally attached to the doctrines and practices of those among whom he has moved. His opinions are thus to him in a great measure traditional, as he has hitherto had neither time nor disposition to investigate everything on original grounds. But the same qualities of spirit which disposed him to submit to guidance when under tutors and governors, will make him examine more closely for himself when, on his own responsibility, he is called to preach the Gospel. Then the flowery paths of prescription and authority in things sacred must be exchanged for the sterile by-ways of suspicion and doubt and examination. It is well for him that only a part of what is before him becomes visible at once, or he might shrink dismayed from his troublous and prolonged task. Here we cannot but admire the arrangement of divine Providence by which no more is laid upon us than we are able to bear,—‘precept must be upon precept, line upon line, here a little and there a little.’

After having preached for a longer or shorter period, according to circumstances, the student finds it becomes more necessary for him to consult the original documents, that in all cases he may present to his flock, to the best of his power, the true sayings of God and not the traditions of men. He discovers, perhaps, to his great mortification, that a text on which he declaimed with great zeal and eloquence on the previous Sunday, has no existence in the form in which he used it in the original record; that the translators whom he followed mistook its meaning and gave a wrong rendering, which he adopted on the faith of the Authorized Version being a correct one. A single instance of misplaced confidence thus being distinctly recognized, there is no

peace for his conscience, and no personal pleasure in his ministrations, until he is able in every case to verify for himself the sense of the passages of Scripture which he makes the themes of his discourses. To become a Hebrew and Greek biblical scholar to such an extent as to be independent of translations, is a long task, although lightened by many mental pleasures, even if the average amount of learning has been laid up at college. It will demand much time. Desultory reading must be relinquished, and real hard work must be performed. At this stage of his intellectual history our student will probably become conscious of a secular influence exerted upon him by the mere labour of acquiring the languages of the Sacred Oracles, and may be tempted to think of relaxing his efforts, or falling back upon his former state of easy ignorance. That such a suggestion must be indignantly repelled we need not affirm. Let him continue faithful to his devotional exercises and conscientious in his work, and he need fear nothing. A priest entering into the holy place and bowing before the cherubim amidst clouds of incense, may be expected to feel more holy pleasure and excitement than the man who made the curtains of the tabernacle, or smelted the gold to overlay the divine symbols, but in the performance of God's will both are equal.

Arrived thus far up the hill, the aspirant after divine knowledge stops to take breath, and surveys the extent of his past labours. He is able to read the Hebrew and Greek Scriptures, not for the purpose of expounding a text merely, but *devotionally* and *constantly*, as he once read the Bible in his mother tongue in his daily and private meditations. It may be supposed that an attainment like this ought to satisfy; but what is the fact? What some would call the demon of doubt, but which we prefer to designate a desire to find out the whole truth, and a determination to be satisfied with nothing less, again comes upon the spirit of the student. He now begins to apply the same reasoning to the printed Hebrew and Greek text, as he used in questioning the authority of the English Bible. He cannot think it reasonable that a miracle should have been wrought to secure transcribers of manuscripts and printers of editions from error in the case of the Scriptures; and this *à priori* conclusion is confirmed by the confessed existence of various readings. Erasmus and the Elzevirs can only be authorities so far as they carefully collated and copied the oldest and best transcripts of the Greek text in existence, and this it is confessed by all they did *not* do. Another task is thus marked out, and it must be bravely and manfully entered upon. It must be ascertained what is *morally* (for in these matters demonstration has no place) that text of the Scriptures
in

in existence nearest to that which proceeded in old times from the pens of holy men. The field of biblical criticism is thus fairly entered upon, and the scholar takes his place with Kennicott and Griesbach, and a host of others whose lives were spent in establishing a correct text. Fortunately, the labours of these great men can be entered into by him, as a possession ready to his hand, and he can reap the harvest which they sowed and tilled. By a process far more simple and easy than theirs, he can thus obtain rational conviction, and preserve himself from the risk of founding or confirming a doctrine or precept on the mistakes or interpolations of a transcriber.

If biblical criticism could be circumscribed within the boundaries already specified by us, the question at the head of this paper need scarcely be asked, for it cannot be reasonably thought that an effort to ascertain *what is the Scripture* can be injurious to piety: we say *reasonably*, because many *do* think all such studies unnecessary, and more or less fatal to the interests of personal religion. All the studies indicated above concern the vehicles through which the truth has been handed down to us, but there are others which refer to *the substance* of the truth itself as attacked by detractors and impugners. The 'Introduction to the New Testament, containing an Examination of the most important Questions relating to the Authority, Interpretation, and Integrity of the Canonical Books, with reference to the latest Enquiries, by Samuel Davidson, LL.D.,' the first volume of which was recently published, is the very book to which we could have wished to refer as illustrating our meaning. In the preface the learned author says, 'It is the writer's belief that the books of the New Testament are destined ere long to pass through a severe ordeal. The translation of various continental works which have recently appeared in England, and the tendency of certain speculations in philosophy, indicate a refined scepticism or a pantheistic spirit, which confounds the *objective* and the *subjective*, or *unduly subordinates* the former to the latter. Many are disposed to exalt their *intuitions* too highly, to the detriment of the *historical*, as Kant did his "pure reason."' These sceptical objections of ancient and modern times are fully stated by Dr. Davidson, and are weighed by him in the balances of fair and impartial criticism. Here we are brought not to the side of a hill, but into the wilderness indeed, and it is in relation to the dryness of the study and the necessary absence from it of the green spots so pleasant to a devout mind, that Dr. Kitto uttered the sentiment at the head of these remarks:—'We wish some means could be devised for making such researches as profitable, spiritually, as they are interesting to the intellect.' Into this wilderness we feel sure our conscientious

conscientious student will come, for he will spurn no man's opinions without examining them. Can he do so safely? The question is thus fully brought before us, and we shall occupy the remainder of this paper by examining what are the effects of such studies on the mind, and whether they may not be promotive of piety as well as injurious to it.

The rule is universal, that what God has made necessary for us to do, we may perform with safety to all our best interests. Apply this principle to what is demanded of us in reference to the divine Word, and the controversy in hand is settled at once, for no object to which the human mind can direct itself more clearly requires deep and constant study for its elucidation. We will grant that God *might* have presented his will to us in some positive form, admitting of no interpretation, and calling for no exercise of thought for its full comprehension; as, for instance, a code of laws *might* have been written in golden letters on the blue groundwork of the sky, or the Bible, in its present size and form, *might* have been interpreted by miracle to each individual; or it might have been supernaturally multiplied in every age, each copy retaining the characters of the original autographs, and each reader, in every land, possessing the power of understanding it. Such things come within the bounds of possibility certainly, but, alas! for the supine and credulous, they have *not* been permitted, and a course very different has been adopted by himself and marked out for us, by the Author of our being. The New Testament was composed in detached portions, the writers of some of which are doubtful or unknown. Its historical documents and its epistles were written on paper or other perishable materials, and subjected to such mischances, that the hoariest antiquity cannot say that it ever saw them. Whether the writers of them anticipated that their productions would be handed down to posterity, or were intended by them to subserve merely passing exigences, cannot now be proved; it is certain they did nothing to form a collection, and in some cases were ignorant of the existence of each other's works. The first transcripts made from these apostolic relics have all perished, and our only authority for the canon rests on more recent manuscripts and some early versions. From these materials, now scattered over all the libraries of the civilized world, dusty, worm-eaten, and individually imperfect, we collect the words of eternal life. We firmly believe that God intended these records to be permanent, and to be the foundation on which men should build their everlasting hopes; but it is nevertheless a *fact* that they could have been presented to the Church in their present form only by toil and logical criticism and patient thoughtfulness. The easy reader of a gilt edged Bible, printed on fine vellum

vellum paper, type of the uncreased and smooth character of his faith, may talk of the folly of musty criticism if he please, but let him remember, that not in that workmanship of a refined age, but in faded parchments, in antique characters, the words of life are found, and that laborious scholars have translated and copied them for him. As the labours of the husbandman are shown to be indispensable because crops of wheat will not grow without culture, so biblical criticism proclaims its importance, because without it the bulk of men must be without bibles.

'We admit this reasoning to some extent,' say the objectors, 'but the work has now been done, and we ought to sit down and enjoy the results of the labours of those learned men whom God raised up to consolidate his word and establish the canon. Our fathers have lived holily and died happily without doubting anything respecting these sacred books, being satisfied with them as they are, and it is dangerous to moot any question which shall unsettle that happy state which God has brought about.' But, it may be replied, suppose a man *does* doubt, and what then? We are not reasoning on behalf of the satisfied, but for those who are not and cannot be, without going through the process themselves, by which others have answered the cravings and claims of truth, and become convinced that the Holy Scriptures as we have them are of God. Further, is not this a dangerous doctrine which leads men to be satisfied with authority, tradition, and custom? Reformers in every age have been obnoxious to this kind of logic; they have been doubters, and unsettlors of other men's minds, and have paid the penalty for independent thinking in the measure of persecution they have met with. It was this reasoning which in past ages threw Christian men into prison, and exposed scholars and mathematicians, *who could not help doubting*, to the rude jests and cruel violence of an ignorant multitude. We have just been reading Bulwer's *Last of the Barons*, and a passage there is so appropriate that we will relieve the dulness of this discussion by quoting it.

'And what mischance, my poor girl,' asked the Nevile, soothingly, 'brought thee into such evil company?'

'I know not, fair sir,' said the girl, slowly recovering herself; 'but my father is poor; and I had heard that on these holiday occasions, one who had a slight skill on the gittern might win a few groats from the courtesy of the bystanders. So I stole out with my serving-woman, and had already got more than I dared hope, when those wicked timbrel players came round me and accused me of taking the money from them. And then they called an officer of the ground, who asked me my name and holding; so when I answered, they called my father a wizard, and the man broke my poor gittern—see!—' and she held it up,

up, with innocent sorrow in her eyes yet a half smile on her lips—‘and they soon drove poor old Madge from my side; and I knew no more, till you, worshipful sir, took pity on me.’

‘But why,’ asked the Nevile, ‘did they give to your father so unholy a name?’

‘Alas! sir, he is a great scholar, who has spent his means in studying what he says will one day be of good to the people.’

‘Humph!’ said Marmaduke, who had all the superstitions of his time, who looked upon a scholar, unless in the Church, with mingled awe and abhorrence, and who, therefore, was but ill satisfied with the girl’s artless answer.

‘Humph! your father—’ but checking what he was about, perhaps harshly, to say, as he caught the bright eyes, and arch intelligent face, lifted to his own—‘but it is hard to punish the child for the father’s errors.’

‘Errors, sir!’ repeated the damsel, proudly, and with a slight disdain in her face and voice. ‘But yes, wisdom is ever, perhaps, the saddest error.’

How would Kennicott and Griesbach have fared had they fallen on those evil times! But God raises up such men as His own peculiar instruments, and whatever others may say or do, they must fulfill their mission.

God has not made all things so plain as to be discoverable by a glance of the eye, and among his secret things, to be developed only to the diligent searcher, is his Word; and if it is the duty of a man to satisfy his conscience with regard to its nature and claims, then biblical critics are called for, and their vocation is holy and honourable. Their pursuits *may* have an effect prejudicial to piety in many ways, as every good thing which man undertakes *may* become injurious to him. These sinister tendencies of the critical study of the Old and New Testaments we shall now point out, as we wish to entertain, ourselves, and exhibit to others, a candid and not one-sided view of this interesting subject.

In the first place, a man may become a biblical critic from improper motives. He may consider the possession of such attainments necessary to secure some worldly advantage, and employ himself diligently in sacred things, that by their influence he may obtain profane ones. It must be acknowledged the profession offers but few lures to ambition, and has but scanty portions of gold and honour to bestow on successful aspirants; yet so wayward is the human heart that it is quite possible it may take up this holy study for a mercenary end. In Germany professorships offering pecuniary rewards to those who excel in theology and biblical criticism are more numerous than in this country, nor are they there necessarily conferred on ministers of religion. Whether this

this is an advantage or not we cannot decide, but so little fear have we of men becoming students of the Bible for mere gain that we would gladly see those offices increased in number, which would enable students to devote their lives to this pursuit free both from the anxieties of the *res domi* and the engrossing duties of a pastoral charge. That this sacred study *may* be made to subserve base ends is no proof that its legitimate tendency is worldliness.

Secondly, biblical criticism may be pursued exclusively, to the neglect of other important duties, and may thus become incidentally a hinderance to piety. Dry and abstruse as the study appears to strangers, it has peculiar fascinations for the initiated. Men of refined minds and elegant tastes will be found eagerly turning over discoloured parchments brought from the monasteries of Syria, and bearing upon them the ravages of thirteen or fourteen centuries, the scattered leaves of portions of the Scriptures or theological treatises of canonized saints, and will devote years to the task of bringing the disjointed fragments into order. Such men are well repaid if by their labours a disputed text is settled, or an important various reading verified. The subject is also engrossing from its inexhaustibleness; there is always much to be done, higher land to be reached however elevated may be our present footing, and there is a danger of that becoming a passion which ought to be followed with sobriety. Like all other occupations this may be loved too much, for it is but the means to an end. Should, therefore, the end be lost sight of, the religious character will suffer, and piety decline, as knowledge increases.

In the third place, it is possible for a biblical critic to mistake his way, and while employed in unravelling that which God for wiser purposes has left complicated, become entangled himself in the meshes of doubt and error. But this only proves that the study is a responsible one, demanding a clear head and a warm heart in its disciples. We presume something of this kind must often occur, as this is an objection brought against such studies more frequently than any other, that it unsettles faith, and conducts its disciples to confirmed scepticism. In proof of this position we are referred to the Continent, where such strange doctrines have been propagated by men confessedly well skilled in the external knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. But when this charge of irreligion has been brought on such grounds, has it been sufficiently considered whether the rejection of portions of an old creed, and the admission of new opinions is necessarily unfavourable to piety? We should be guilty of a gross *petitio principii* if, when enquiring whether the free discussion of biblical topics is unfavourable to piety, we should reply, Yes, we know it is so, because it has often
led

led men to become heterodox! The Church has been too long plagued with this illogical mode of conducting the argument against those whose love of truth outweighs their attachment to tradition. Let but this disposition to cry down an antagonist be combined with secular power, and we have in existence that which aforesaid sent the excellent of the earth to prison and to death. If a man sincerely searches the Scriptures with a single desire to save his soul and glorify God, who shall dare to pronounce him an infidel and an unholy person because he arrives at conclusions uncommon and at variance with orthodoxy? If there are cases in which a scepticism produced by biblical studies is combined with an irreligious life, let us mourn over the abuse of that which is itself good, and resolve to value more highly and prove more constantly its legitimate purifying results. In this enquiry it should be remembered that men who never have professed serious religion may have become celebrated in this science, and that, consequently never having been pious, their pursuits cannot be accused of making them less so.

While we can discern no evils necessarily following from critical studies connected with the Holy Scriptures, there are some positive and inseparable advantages promotive of an enlightened piety, which must now be noticed. Let but these pursuits be contemplated as *duties*, not as amusements or learned fancies, and that peace and satisfaction will flow from their performance which always attend tasks worthily executed. In ordinary life, piety manifests itself not by retiring into deserts, or leaving homely and unattractive duties for sentimental meditations, but by diligence in our various callings, and a sanctified employment of our powers in those spheres marked out for us by divine Providence. To be blind to coming perils or existing exigences may secure for a man some present comfort, but his religious principles will have a better arena for their exercise by his grappling manfully with obstacles. Is not the piety of many of this easy and confiding character, seeing no difficulties in the Bible, and becoming willingly blind to all its perplexing questions? Surely that man must do a work more acceptable to God who surveys all that is doubtful with a calm determination to be satisfied respecting it, and thus builds up on a firm foundation the superstructure of his belief. No one doubts that a missionary is in the path of duty who labours year by year among a barbarous people, surrendering his own personal comfort if haply he may win some spirits to obedience to Christ; yet we feel convinced that a biblical critic is discharging an office equally divine in its origin, and as productive of his own religious improvement. To settle a disputed reading by searching in almost illegible manuscripts may not be so pleasing a duty as writing a hymn or preaching a sermon,
but

but it is a duty notwithstanding, and in reference to personal piety may be equally profitable.

In a healthy mind the pervading principle brought to bear in biblical criticism is a *love of truth*; and we mention this as the *second* circumstance indicative of its favourable bearing on personal piety. To bear witness to the truth is the grand object of all religion, and the revelations of the Old and New Testaments are constantly maintaining an antagonistic position against the errors of the times when they appeared. The sequence of our duties approved and sanctioned by God appears to be this:—Search for truth first, then sit down and enjoy its blessings. Some pleasures will be ours in the search, but it is only when that is finished that the highest felicity can be enjoyed.—‘Yea, if thou criest after knowledge, and liftest up thy voice for understanding; If thou seekest her as silver, and searchest for her as for hid treasures; Then shalt thou understand the fear of the Lord, and find the knowledge of God. For the Lord giveth wisdom; out of his mouth cometh knowledge and understanding. Then shalt thou understand righteousness, and judgment, and equity, yea, every good path’ (Prov. ii. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9). Let the lonely student remember this to cheer him amidst his labours, when depressed by the weariness and watching of his arduous task. Let him follow still in the footsteps of Christ, who was a man of sorrows in this world through his constant advocacy of the truth. In the midst of all difficulties he will have the divine approbation, and at last obtain the joy set before him. Looked at in this light, a sincere biblical scholar may be the highest style of a Christian man.

Lastly, great benefits are conferred on others by the labours of the scholar in this department of knowledge. We have before shown that the possession of Bibles by the mass of mankind is owing to the literary and critical labours of the few; and the far greater part of human beings will still have to depend upon scholars for the certainty and stability of their faith. The Bible is a boon to man in proportion as its positions are undeniable, and therefore he is the best friend of the private Christian who takes care that nothing but what is impregnable shall be put into his hands. We believe with Dr. Davidson in the passage before quoted, ‘that the books of the New Testament are destined ere long to pass through a severe ordeal.’ Doubts and difficulties, once confined to a select few, are being unfolded to the many, and the safety and pleasure of a good man will soon require that all that can be said against the Scripture shall be grappled with, and either admitted or authoritatively contradicted and set at rest. We would let the most unlettered person enjoy his Bible in peace, unapproachable by infidel objections, and this will be accomplished
when

when all that objectors can advance is brought into conflict, investigated, and decided upon. Then indeed will the Word of God 'look forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners.' A pursuit which is destined to accomplish this is a noble one, and the most enlightened and fervent piety may be expected to accompany it.

With what a simple grandeur do the great verities of our holy religion erect their head above all the strife and rebuke and blasphemy which for eighteen hundred years have endeavoured to depress them! How untiringly does the Bible still perform its great work of converting the soul, purifying the heart, and inspiring hopes of immortal bliss! If it were not of God, would these sublime objects be accomplished so continuously, whatever changes may take place in ecclesiastical affairs, or whatever fresh assaults may be made upon its bulwarks? Shall we then fear for the future? That be far from us. We will not fear what *enemies* can do; much less will we be apprehensive that the efforts of *friends* can hurt this glorious edifice. Every weapon and every friendly instrument brought to bear on this temple can only show the depth of its foundations, and clear from the moss and dust of years the fine chisellings of its entablature.

ON THE

INTERPRETATION OF GENESIS, CHAP. IV. 7.

By the Rev. J. W. DONALDSON, D.D.

No Hebrew scholar needs to be told that the brief account of the first sacrifice mentioned in the Old Testament is beset with many and very serious difficulties. The various opinions, which have been propounded by previous commentators, may be seen collected in Schumann's elaborate edition of the Book of Genesis (Lips. 1829). That editor speaks of the verse referred to above (iv. 7) as '*hic locus vexatissimus, quem crucem interpretum, antiquitus et conservatam et propagatam, haud inepte dicas*;' and I am sure that no person, thoroughly conversant with classical criticism, will be satisfied with any one of the explanations which have been already given. In stating the conclusion at which I have arrived, I have omitted, as far as possible, all reference to the theological bearings of the question. Acting on the views which I have elsewhere

where advocated,* I have dealt with this passage in a purely philological spirit. And I must remark, that, before dogmatic inferences can be drawn from this or any other difficult passage in the Old Testament, we must be prepared to show that our criticism and exegesis rest upon a strictly scientific basis—a caution too generally neglected by divines.

The text stands as follows :

תָּלֹא אִם־תִּימִיב שָׂאת וְאִם לֹא תִימִיב לְפָתַח הַמָּוֶת רִבֵּךְ וְאֵלֶיךָ תִּשְׁקָתוּ
וְאָתָּה תִּמְשָׁל־בּוֹ :

Or, in an English transcription :

hā-lō'h 'him-teitiv s.. 'hēth, wē-'him lō'h thēitiv, la'-petha'h 'hadhā' hth rōvētz? wē-'hēleikā t..shūqāthō wē-'hattāh tim..shōl-bō.

That the text was not very certain, or not very legible, even when the LXX. made their version, is pretty clear from their rendering of the passage, which runs thus : οὐκ εἰν ὁρθῶς προσ-
ενέγκης, ὁρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλγης, ἡμαρτες ; ἡσύχασον· πρὸς σὲ ἡ ἀποστοροφὴ
αὐτοῦ, καὶ σὺ ἄρξεις αὐτοῦ. From this it seems probable that the Alexandrine Jews used to read לָאֵתָּה *lā-sē' hth*, and לִפְתָּח *li-ph'thōth*, or לְנַתָּה *lē-nathēa'h*, for שָׂאת *s, 'hēth*, and לְפָתַח *la-'petha'h*. They must also have taken רִבֵּךְ for the imperative רִבֵּץ *rēvōtz*, and probably confused between תִּשְׁקָתוּ *tēshūqāthōw* and תִּשְׁקָתוּ *tēshūqāthōw*. Notwithstanding these indications of ancient uncertainty, all modern commentators, with the exception perhaps of Houbigant, have acquiesced in the text as it stands, and have either not seen or have arbitrarily set aside the internal evidence which proves that the passage is both corrupt and mutilated. Thus they are not only willing to take the feminine הָמָוֶת *'hadā' hth*, with the masculine רִבֵּץ *rōvētz*, for which there is an obvious alternative, but they find no difficulty in referring the latter part of the verse to the same feminine noun, which not only involves a similar violation of concord, but, what is much worse, introduces an irreconcilable inconsistency in the sense of the words themselves. For in the other passage in which the same collocation occurs—namely, in Gen. iii. 16—the subjection of the woman to her husband is pointedly declared. If therefore the words in the passage before us refer to הָמָוֶת *'hadhā' hth*, they must mean that Cain would have the dominion over sin, and not *vice versâ*, as the commentators would have us believe. To say nothing of grammatical difficulties, it seems to me so unlikely that any promise of advantage to Cain

* In a book called '*Maskil le-Sopher: the Principles and Processes of Classical Philology applied to the Analysis of the Hebrew Language.*' London, 1848.

should

should have been connected with the negative alternative — namely, with the supposition of his evil-doing—that I should have been led to conclude *à priori* that something had fallen out before these last words. The following considerations will, I hope, convince most persons not only that is there a *lacuna* here, but that we may restore the words omitted, or their necessary tenor, with a very fair amount of probability.

In the first place, I would observe that, as Cain's murderous attack upon his brother is immediately connected with these words of the Almighty, and as there is nothing else to explain the deed which follows, it would be reasonable to conclude that the promise, which they involve, was addressed to Abel, and not to Cain. On that supposition the case will be perfectly analogous to those of Esau and the brethren of Joseph, who formed plans for making away with their younger brothers respectively, in consequence of expectations interfering with the privileges of primogeniture (Gen. xxvii. 41 ; xxxvii. 18, sqq.). In the second place, a promise of this kind would convey to a younger son something not previously possessed by him, and which might therefore be considered as a reward to him and as a derogation to the first-born. But it would not have much force if it were intended only to confirm rights already existing, and necessarily taken for granted. The phrase in which the promise is contained is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same as that which proclaims the subjection of Eve to Adam. But there is no reason why it should not also express the degradation of an elder son from his hereditary privileges. Indeed, with regard to the most emphatic part of it, וְהָיָה לְךָ *'hattâh tim..shâl bô*, 'thou shalt have dominion over him,' it is worthy of remark that the verb מָשַׁל *mâshal*, used here, is the very word employed by Joseph's brethren, when they indignantly reject the inference to be drawn from his dream : וְהָיָה לְךָ *'him mâshôl ti-m..shôl bânû*, 'shalt thou actually have the dominion over us?' (Gen. xxxvii. 8). If therefore we had no evidence beyond that furnished by the latter part of our text, I should be convinced that in the passage, as it originally stood, the Almighty was introduced as addressing to Abel a promise, inconsistent with the birthright of Cain, and therefore serving as the suggestion and inducement for the fratricide which is described immediately after.

A more accurate examination of the former part of the text will lead to the same conclusion. For it appears to me that the word וְהָיָה *s,'hêth*, which has given so much trouble to the commentators, is of itself sufficient to show that the birthright of Cain is referred to in this enigmatical and oracular sentence. If we turn to the passage in which the sin of Reuben is connected with the

the loss of his birthright, we shall find this same word in an unmistakable signification (Gen. xlix. 3):

יְהִי שְׁמֹתְךָ יְהִי עוֹ:

יְהִי עוֹ אֶל־תּוֹחַר

jether s..hêth w' -jether 'hâz,

pa'haz..tâ kam-ma'âm, 'hal-tothar.

i. e., 'although thou, O Reuben, hast the pre-eminence in *dignity* and the pre-eminence in power, yet, as thou hast boiled over like water, be thou no longer pre-eminent.' I have followed Luther, Michaelis, Dathe, and others, in reading תּוֹחַר for תּוֹחַ, and have interpreted the word, with Gesenius, with a reference to water boiling and bubbling over. We have the same metaphor in the original force of the Greek *χλιδή* and *ὑβρις* (see New Cratylus, pp. 412, 414); and the converse metaphor is involved in the Latin *confuto, refuto*. The prohibition אֶל־תּוֹחַר '*hal-tothar*, nearly amounts to an abnegation, as in ch. xlix. 6. The word שְׁמֹת *s..hêth*, which I have rendered 'dignity,' is properly the feminine form of the infinitive from נָסָה, 'to elevate, exalt.' Robertson (*Clavis Pentateuchi*, p. 252) is obviously right in his rendering of the word: 'eminentia, dignitas magna, nempe *principatus* primogenituræ proprius. Sic reddenda est hæc vox נָסָה, Gen. iv. 7. Ubi cum *honorem*, tum *potestatem* superiorem exprimit, qualis antiquissimis temporibus fuit *primogenituræ* prærogativa.' The whole passage quoted above refers to the loss of Reuben's birthright: 'For he was the first born; but, forasmuch as he defiled his father's bed, his birthright was given unto the sons of Joseph' (1 Chron. v. 1). Now the words in Gen. iv. 7, are also addressed to an elder son; and the passage just quoted shows that the *dignity* of birthright might be forfeited by misconduct. What interpretation, therefore, of the question put to Cain would be more natural than this? 'If thou doest well, is there not, or hast thou not, the dignity or elevation of birthright?' And then the other alternative follows in a very just antithesis. For רָבַץ signifies 'he couched or lay down like a quadruped;' and as in Gen. xlix. 9, it is opposed to יָקִים מִי *mi j..q' menû*, 'who shall rouse him up?' so here it forms a very good counterpart to שָׁמָה, the primary meaning of which is 'a lifting up' or 'exaltation.' It seems to me very probable that the n at the end of תּוֹחַת ought to be repeated before רָבַץ, and that we ought therefore to read תּוֹחַת רָבַץ *ti-r..batz*. So that the meaning of the words addressed to Cain is as follows: 'Dost thou not know that elevation (dignity, or primogeniture and its privileges)

privileges) is dependent on thy doing well ; and that if thou doest not well, thou art grovelling (πέπτωκας πτώμασιν χαμαιπετής) at the gate of sin ?' This, I conceive, is quite sufficient as a declaration to the elder son of his forfeiture and degradation : and if we compare this passage with ch. iii. 14-19, we shall see that the spirit of this antique style required that a corresponding announcement should be made to the younger brother. I have already shown that the next words must have been addressed to Abel, and I think that the following considerations will show that they were the conclusion of the promise vouchsafed to him.

In the New Testament we have the following references to Abel. The Epistle to the Hebrews states (xi. 4) : πίστει πλείονα θυσίαν Ἀβελ παρά Κάιν προσήνεγκε τῷ Θεῷ, δι' ἧς ἐμαρτυρήθη εἶναι δίκαιος, μαρτυροῦντος ἐπὶ τοῖς δώροις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἀποθανὼν λαλεῖ. And in Matthew's Gospel (xxiii. 35) we find the following expressions : πᾶν αἷμα δίκαιον ἐκχυνόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἵματος Ἀβελ τοῦ δικαίου. From these passages, I think we may fairly infer that in the original text of the book of Genesis the Almighty declared to Abel that, having offered his sacrifice in faith, and as an atonement typical of the Messiah's mediatorial death, he was held to be righteous ; and, as a corollary to the contrary declaration to Cain, that his brother's birthright was transferred to him. The following sentences, which I have derived from other parts of the book of Genesis, appear to me to contain the necessary sense of the words omitted in the text under consideration :—

וְהָקֵל אֱמֹר כִּי עָשִׂיתָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וְהָאָמֶנֶת בִּי הִנֵּה אֶחָשְׁבֶה לָּךְ
צָדִיקָה וְתַהֲיָה נָדִיר לְאָחִיךָ

Or in English characters : *û-l.-Hevel 'hâmar ; kî 'hasithâ 'hêth had-dâvar haz-zeh* (Gen. xxii. 16), *w..he'hêmantâ bî, hinnêh 'he-'hsh..vehâ lêkâ tzedâgâh* (xv. 7), *vê-tih..jeh g..vir l..a' h'kâ* (xxvii. 29). That the force of this supplement may be more immediately obvious, I subjoin a literal version of the context, in which the interpolation is placed within brackets : ' And it came to pass after a lapse of time that *Qaïn* brought of the fruits of the ground a *min'hâh* or gift to Jehovah : and *Hevel*, he also brought of the first-born of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And Jehovah paid attention to *Hevel* and to his *min'hâh*. But to *Qaïn* and his *min'hâh* Jehovah paid no attention. And wrath was kindled in *Qaïn* and his countenance fell. Then said Jehovah to *Qaïn* :

' Why is wrath kindled to thee ?

And why has thy countenance fallen ?

Is not dignity this,—to do the deeds of the righteous ?

If thou doest not well, at the door of sin thou art crouching.

' [And

‘[And to *Hevel* he said :

‘ Since thou hast done this thing, and hast placed thy trust in Jehovah,
Lo ! I have counted thy faith as the meed of the righteous for thee ;
Lo ! thou art lord and king in the room of thy first-born brother ;]
His desire shall be thine, and thou shalt domineer o’er him.’^b

I venture to hope that, as far as internal evidence is admissible in such a case, the reasonableness of my suggestion will speak for itself. That such *lacunæ* in the Hebrew text are not uncommon, that they are indicated in the MSS., and recognized by the Masora, is well known. Thus, in the very next verse there are indications of a *lacuna* in many of the MSS., and, as Rosenmüller mentions, ‘ ipsi Masoretharum nonnulli codicibus Hebraicis hanc notam adscripserunt : פסוק במצוץ פסוק (lacuna in medio versu). Alii contra, et quidem plerique, monent lectorem פסוק כלל, nullam esse lacunam.’ Now as I do not believe there is any necessity for the proposed addition of נִלְכָּהּ הַסֶּדֶךְ *nilkâh has-sâdeh*, ‘ let us go into the field,’ in ver. 8, I am disposed to believe that the Masorethic note properly belonged to ver. 7, and its contradiction to ver. 8, after the note had got misplaced.

If any one object to the proposed addition, because, as Abel was killed, and did not supersede his brother, no transfer of birthright could have been promised to him, I will just say in passing—for a full examination of the point would carry us into dogmatic theology—that the privileges bestowed upon Abel, like those involved in the blessing conferred upon Jacob, were properly of a spiritual nature, and the Jews seem to have understood expressly that these prerogatives were unaffected by his death. Thus the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews says twice that, *though dead*, Abel is still a preacher of faith in the atonement (xi. 4 : δι’ αὐτῆς [τῆς θυσίας] ἀποθανόντι λαλεῖ ; xii. 24 : αἵματι θαντισμοῦ κρείττονα λαλοῦντι παρὰ τὸν Ἀβελ).

^b I have given a sort of hexameter cadence to the words of Jehovah which appear to be rhythmical in the original. The same has been done, I presume involuntarily, in the authorized version of Isa. i. 2, 3.

MISCELLANEA.

REMARKS ON ROM. IX. 3.

By the Rev. WILLIAM MILLIGAN, M.A.

‘ For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh.’

FEW passages of the sacred writings, unconnected with any of the more important doctrines of religion, have given rise to a greater variety of opinion, or been the subject of more discussion than that above quoted. This may have arisen partly from the sentiment that it has been supposed to convey, and partly from the language in which it is delivered; while not a few, viewing it in the light of what they suppose the Apostle ought to have written, rather than in that of what he has actually written, have explained it more according to their own preconceived notions than according to any fair exegesis of his words.

Passing various less important or probable opinions entirely by, it may be remarked that the main difficulty of the passage lies in the word, *νήχουμι*, and that in explaining this word we have simply to determine between the conditional meaning ‘I could wish,’ and the meaning of the past ‘I wished.’ In the former case we shall have to refer the sentiment to Paul the believer, in the latter to Saul, the persecutor of the followers of Christ; and hence it is obvious that if grammatical considerations do not absolutely require us to adopt one of these meanings to the exclusion of the other, we shall have facilities afforded us for coming to a decision by considerations arising from the fitness or unfitness of the sentiment in the circumstances under which it was uttered.

The most important argument urged in favour of the meaning ‘I wished or prayed,’ is unquestionably the assertion that it is not grammatical to render the simple imperfect by the meaning of the conditional. This argument has lately* been brought forward by Professor Dunbar, who says, ‘it is absurd to say with some critics

* In the *Biblical Review* for October, 1848.

that

that the imperfect is sometimes used for the optative with *ἄν*. It is never so by any good writer.' The authority of this well-known scholar may surely be accepted as sufficient, so far as the classical writers are concerned; but we must again urge with Winer, Tholuck, Stuart, and almost all commentators on the passage, the use of the imperfect indicative in Acts xxv. 22, and Gal. iv. 20. Could a consistent meaning be given to these passages while *ἰβουλόμεν* in the one case, and *ἤθελον* in the other, were translated as simple imperfects, it might then be admitted that we ought to adopt the same rendering in the passage which we are now considering: but it appears impossible to do so. In Acts xxv. 22, the whole tone and bearing of the narrative require us to understand Agrippa's wish to hear Paul as one excited in his mind at that particular moment by the narrative of Festus. We have not only no evidence that Agrippa ever had entertained that wish before, not only does it at once strike us in reading the whole passage that his curiosity was now for the first time raised, but on any other supposition there is a baldness, a nakedness in the remark which forms a powerful argument against rendering the verb as a simple past. We would have expected, in conformity with the common use of the imperfect,^b that some other circumstances would have been mentioned, fixing more accurately the season in the past when the wish had been entertained, or the reason why it had not been gratified; or as the wish was certainly in the mind of Agrippa at the present moment, we might have looked for the perfect tense of the verb, which would then have comprehended both the idea of the past and of the present. Nor does it argue against the rendering 'I could wish *were it possible*,' that Festus immediately answers 'to-morrow thou shalt hear him.' Agrippa might have well thought that the opportunity of hearing Paul was past. Festus had already declared that he had resolved to send him to Cæsar; why should the prisoner have to plead a second time before a subordinate tribunal?—he had appealed unto Cæsar, unto Cæsar he should go.

Again in Gal. iv. 20, the context absolutely forbids us to take *ἤθελον* as a simple past, for even if we should consider the meaning of *ἄγχι* doubtful, the *ὅτι ἀποροῦμαι ἐν ὑμῖν* fixes the whole sentence to a present signification, nor is this less required by the preceding verses. Surprised and pained by the information which he had received of the falling away of the Galatians from the simplicity of the Gospel, and remembering (i. 6) their livelier appreciation of the grace of Christ when he was previously among them,

^b Compare for the use of the imperfect Winer's *Gram. des neutestam. Sprachidioms*, pp. 306. 311.

the Apostle expresses, in ver. 18, his wish that they would be equally zealous for what was good though he was now absent; and then, in ver. 19, in holy anxiety for their spiritual welfare, he describes, in strong language, his *present* longings for it; how would it at once break in upon the impassioned train of thought which he is pursuing, and which he continues in ver. 20, &c., if we were to understand *ἡθελον* as a past? whereas a consistent and appropriate meaning is given to it when we translate, 'would only it were possible that I could now be with you.'

Since then in both these passages we must understand the simple imperfect in a conditional sense, why should we not do so in another?

But it is again objectionable to adopt as the sentiment of the passage 'it was my constant wish or prayer that I myself were accursed from Christ,' referring this to the time when he persecuted the Church, for—

1. How could the Apostle have wished or prayed that he might be more accursed or alien from Christ than he then was? He considered Christ to be an impostor; he was animated by the fiercest spirit of persecution against him, and by opposing his cause to the utmost of his power, he thought he was doing God service. How then could he be more an enemy to him than he actually was? how could he pray for a more bitter hostility than he then had? or how could the intensity of his zeal be increased? It was at that time not so much his prayer that he might be anathema from Christ, as his boast and glory that he was so, and that he could claim both from the Sanhedrim and from his countrymen the honour of being his most determined opponent.

2. To say that he felt pain now, 'lest his example then should have tended to encourage his countrymen in their unbelief,' is at least putting a thought into his mouth which is not elsewhere spoken of in Scripture. Pain on that account he certainly may have felt, but so far as the evidence of Scripture goes, the thought upon which he most dwelt, was not the harm that might have been done by his zeal against Christ, but the good that should now be done by seeing such a sinner as he had been, converted and made a preacher of that faith which once he destroyed (Gal. i. 13-17; Phil. iii. 6-10; 1 Tim. i. 15, 16; Acts xxvi. 9, &c.). His humility and sorrow were indeed deep and true when he reflected that he had been 'a blasphemer and persecutor, and injurious;' but that great thought which filled his soul in reference to his countrymen was this, See how I have been saved by grace: O that you would only come and be saved too!

3. This rejecting of the Gospel by the Jews he ordinarily connects not with any example which he had set them, but either with
God's

God's mysterious dealings, or with their own self righteousness (Rom. xi. 1-11 ; x. 2). He sees that there is a vail upon their hearts which prevents their turning to the Lord. 2 Cor. iii. 15.

4. There is a want of correspondence between this rendering and the strong assertion in vers. 1, 2—'I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart : ' why ? because I once prayed to be anathema from Christ, and so may have confirmed them by my example in unbelief ? Is it not much more suitable to adopt the rendering of our version ? I have all this sorrow because they still continue out of Christ, yea, I could even wish myself accursed from him, if my fall might be their salvation. The exceedingly strong language of these verses is the natural outburst of that same feeling which had been glowing in such fervour and such rejoicing confidence at the end of the eighth chapter. These are our blessed privileges, he exclaims, O my countrymen, would that they were yours ! We interrupt the thought by rendering *νήχόμεν* in the manner proposed by the learned Professor, and the whole passage constitutes far too impassioned a torrent of eloquence and feeling to permit us to do so without very decided cause.

5. The expression '*τῶν συγγενῶν μου κατὰ σάρκα*,' still further militates against the proposed rendering. Surely it is from a Christian standing point that these words are spoken, 'My brethren according to the flesh.' When did this feature in their state come prominently to his view ? Was it not after he was himself a Christian, and was living *in the spirit* ? Not as if he here used these words by way of depreciating them, rather do they express the depth of his love, that love which, kindled in the love of Christ, burned with so steady and so bright a flame. He only states the truth when he implies that they are not his brethren in the spirit ; nay, it is this that is the very ground of his sorrow—yet still fallen, alien as they are from all he loves and hopes for, they are his brethren according to the flesh, and his longing desire is that they were also united to him in spirit. But all this implies that he was speaking as a Christian, and not putting himself in the position which he occupied when he was still a persecutor.

6. It is only by keeping to the ordinarily received translation of these words that we give true force to vers. 4, 5, for all this enumeration of their privileges is but a deepening of the thought, how sad that they who have so much should yet want that which is the crown of all ; but we want adequate cause for the enumeration if we make the thought of ver. 3 sorrow for the evil which he by his example had done them.

Neither is the objection that the ordinary translation gives us
an

an 'impious thought' a valid one. We answer with the deeply spiritual Bengel, 'non capit hoc anima non valde provecta. De mensura amoris in Mose (Exod. xxxii. 32) et Paulo non facile est existimare,' and with Tholuck, 'The objections which have been brought against this "portentosus amor," as Bucer styles it, arise all from a cool way of contemplating it, which altogether forgets what a loving heart, in the fervour of its passion, is capable of uttering.' *Com. on Rom.* ii. 183; Menzies' translation. And who so fervent, so full of love, as the great Apostle of the Gentiles? the more we realize to ourselves his feelings, the more we can form to ourselves a clear idea of what he was, the less shall we be startled by this sentiment; and so far from finding with some in the concluding verses of chap. viii. a reason against this rendering, we shall rather find a confirmation of it. We shall then see a peculiar force in the αὐτὸς ἐγὼ of ver. 3, which so emphatically carries us back to these triumphant exclamations, σφόδρα ἀρμολίως παρενεθήκη καὶ τὸ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ, τῶν ἥδη περὶ τῆς ἀγαπῆς τῆς περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν εἰρημμένων ἀναμνηστικῶν.*

It appears then on the whole that the common rendering should be preferred.

I cannot, however, conclude these remarks without stating another mode of translating these words, suggested by a friend, which has at least the merit of originality, which obviates some of those objections already stated against the rendering 'I wished or prayed,' and which gives a very consistent and beautiful meaning to the passage. Agreeing with Professor Dunbar that *νύχουμην* must be translated as an imperfect, and yet sensible of the objections that may be urged against translating 'I prayed,' he proposes to render by the Homeric usage of the words 'for myself boasted that I was,' &c. He would then adopt the suggestion of the late Dr. Morehead—who, however, spoils his own idea by proposing that the clause should be read interrogatively—and would enclose the words *νύχουμην γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*, in a parenthesis, connecting ver. 2 with ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδελφῶν μου. Referring, then, the clause at the beginning of ver. 3 to the period preceding Paul's conversion, we have, in support of this rendering, whatever confirmation may be derived from the fact that at that time he did boast of his hatred to the name and cause of Christ; that this was indeed then his distinguishing characteristic, and that now he might well look back upon that melancholy period of his history with continual grief and heaviness of heart. In this way too we have a clause to complete the sense of ver. 2, which seems on the common rendering to be abruptly

* Theodoret, as quoted by Tholuck in *loc.*

broken off. If then we adopt as the thought that connects the first clause of ver. 3 with the passage, that he need not be altogether discouraged, that there was still some hope of *their* conversion, since even the persecutor and blasphemer had obtained mercy, or if, what is perhaps still better, we suppose the connecting thought to be the feeling that he knew by experience the misery of that state of alienation from Christ in which they still were, we shall have the following as the translation of the whole passage—‘I say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart (for I too once boasted that I was anathema from Christ, and I know therefore the sadness of that state), for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh, who are Israelites,’ &c.

Those who can satisfy themselves that they may adopt in the New Testament the meaning of ‘I boast’ for the verb *ἐύχομαι*, may perhaps approve of this translation, which seems free of difficulty, and gives a very interesting meaning to the whole passage; but more evidence would be needed to confirm such a translation of the word before it could be generally adopted.

ON THE BAPTISM OF FIRE.

By the Rev. W. NIBLOCK, M.A.

‘He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost and fire.’—Matt. iii. 11.

ἐὰν μή τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος.—John iii. 5.

διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας καὶ ἀνακαινώσεως πνεύματος.—Tit. iii. 5.

As interpretations of these several portions of Scripture have been published in your fifth number, opposed to the expositions which I gave of them in your third, I beg you will allow me room for a short reply in your next. I shall feel particularly obliged by your complying with this request, in consequence of my anxiety to gratify as soon as possible the wishes of the Rev. Charles Hole expressed in his critique, that he writes with the hope of calling forth something more upon the subject.

It will be recollected that I understood the term fire in Matt. iii. 11 as qualifying the baptism of the Holy Ghost, and the whole passage as signifying the baptism of the Spirit especially on the day of Pentecost. Our Saviour, speaking of the baptism of his disciples with the Holy Ghost in Acts i. 1-5, manifestly alludes to the

the prediction of John the Baptist, when he said they should be baptized with the Holy Ghost and with fire, in reference to the Holy Ghost sitting upon each of them as with cloven tongues of fire. The peculiar appearance of the fire (that of tongues) was emblematic of the diversity of languages which the Apostles would be enabled to speak. The baptism of the Holy Ghost and fire denotes not only the miraculous influences of the Spirit by which the New Testament church was solemnly consecrated to God, but also his regenerating and sanctifying influences which, like fire, purify, soften and inflame the heart with love to Jesus. The Rev. Mr. Hole, in reply to me, says, 'now clearly fire cannot qualify Holy Ghost.' Why not? He assigns no reason, and I am not aware that any reason can be assigned. I am still of opinion that the term fire is exegetical of the phrase the Holy Ghost; and this Mr. Walker, one of your contributors, says may be the case. Mr. Hole says again, 'if it be replied that the expression means the Holy Ghost acting after the analogy of fire, as fire, or resembling fire; here we have,' he says, 'fire defining, not qualifying, and consequently the alleged examples become useless.' What alleged examples? I suppose he means the examples of hendiadys which I have cited. Mr. Hole must be surely aware that whether the latter noun define or qualify, or explain the former, it does not alter the nature of hendiadys. I used the word qualifying in the greatest extent of meaning as signifying, defining, explaining, or whatever the noun following the copulative predicates of the one that precedes it. Mr. Hole says, 'he shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, even with fire is clearly inadmissible.' Why so? The Rev. gentleman might as well say that the original is not admissible. The reason that he gives for the inadmissibility of the language is that the idea of fire is quite subordinate in the writer's mind to that of the Holy Ghost. But this is clearly no reason at all. 'Were it baptize with fire and (even) the Holy Ghost, it would be a different matter,' he thinks, 'for the main idea would then be last, as it ought to be:' aliquando bonus Homerus dormitat. The writer in employing this language has evidently mistaken the nature of the figure in question altogether. It is the explanatory idea that ought to be last, and not the main idea.

After having endeavoured to supersede the construction which I have given of the passage under review, Mr. Hole brings forth one of his own. 'By fire,' he says, 'is denoted something quite distinct from, and wholly different to, the Holy Ghost; that, in fact, it means the fiery baptism of judgment, the doom of God's judgment on the impenitent.' The word baptism in the language under consideration is employed to symbolize the work of the Spirit.

Spirit. It cannot be an emblem of purification and of utter destruction—a symbol of salvation and an emblem of the torments of hell at the same time. No word can have two meanings the one radically different from the other, especially in such a connection as the word baptism stands in the phrase under examination. Baptism, as a religious ordinance in the New Testament economy, is a sensible sign of an invisible grace; it signifies and seals our engrafting into Christ and our engagements to be the Lord's: it is a symbol of purity of nature and a seal of final salvation to all genuine Christians to whom it is administered. A deliverance from the guilt and defilement of sin, and a participation in all the blessings of the covenant of grace, are uniformly the things signified by the ordinance of baptism. The divers baptisms enjoined under the Old Testament dispensation were also symbolical of inward purity. Baptism cannot therefore be an emblem of punishment or of utter destruction, inasmuch as it is always connected with inward purity and final salvation.

Mr. Hole attempts to prove that the word baptism is used as a metaphor of punishment by our Lord where he says, I have a baptism to be baptized with, and how am I straitened until it be accomplished? Can ye be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with? The sufferings of Christians for the cause of God and truth may be called a baptism, not simply as they are sufferings, but as they are significant of purity of heart and sanctity of character. The death of our Saviour too may be called a baptism, not as suffering or punishment, but because it was a proof of his internal holiness and devotedness to God, and because it was introductory to the exercise of his kingly office and investiture with all dominion both in heaven and in earth as mediator, as well as the means by which he laid the foundation of the everlasting happiness of all believers. The other passages to which the rev. gentleman refers to prove that baptism is used as a metaphor of punishment, have (in my humble opinion) scarcely the appearance of a relation to the point at issue. I must therefore conclude my review of Mr. Hole's production by saying that, in my opinion, he has completely failed to establish his interpretation of Matt. iii. 11.

Let us next examine the strictures which Mr. Walker makes upon my mode of interpreting John iii. 5. I expounded the phrase *ἐὰν μὴ τις γεννηθῇ ἐξ ὕδατος καὶ πνεύματος* as a hendiadys, and as signifying regeneration. This, I think, is clearly its meaning from the whole tenor of our Lord's discourse with Nicodemus. Mr. Walker thinks otherwise. On the supposition of hendiadys, he says, we should have expected the more important word to come first, and the qualifying one second, *ἐκ πνεύματος καὶ ὕδατος*.

It

It is perhaps scarcely correct to say that the more important word should come first, because it may so happen that the explanatory word may be as important as the one which it explains—as is the case in the phrases, ‘God and our Father,’ ‘God and our Saviour.’ It is always necessary, however, that the explanatory or qualifying word be second, and the one explained the first. In John iii. 5, the expressions born of water and of the spirit, on each side of the copulative, signify the same thing, the latter expression being exegetical of the former. It does not appear to me that born of the Spirit and of water could properly be a hendiadys, as Mr. Walker suggests, because the latter phrase would not be so well understood as the former.

The leading objection, however, which Mr. Walker appears to have to my exposition is, that it obliges us to understand water as symbolical of the regenerating virtue of the Holy Spirit, contrary, as he supposes, to Scripture usage. Again, he says, ‘I do not think that anywhere in Scripture water is used as the emblem of the sanctifying or purifying operations of the Spirit.’ Now I freely confess that my exposition does require us to understand water as denoting the purifying influences of the Spirit; it is certainly based on this foundation, and if it be not solid, the superstructure which I have raised upon it must fall into ruins. I have not, however, the least fear of this result, because I think it can be satisfactorily shown that water is used by the sacred writers both in the Old and New Testaments as a symbol of internal purification. In confirmation of this sentiment I adduce the following portions of Scripture, namely, Isa. xii. 3; Jer. ii. 13; Ps. xxxvi. 8, 9; Prov. xiv. 27; Jer. xvii. 13; Zech. xiii. 1; Isa. xli. 18; xliii. 19, 20; xxxv. 6; xlv. 3; lv. 1; John iv. 10, 14, and vii. 37, 38, 39; 1 Cor. x. 4; Rev. xxii. 17, and vii. 17. I cannot at present enter upon a critical examination of these several portions of Scripture without prolonging this discussion to a greater extent than I wish. On John iv. 10, 14, and vii. 37, 38, 39, Tittmann’s Commentary may be consulted with profit. Tholuck says of the latter passage that, under the water which is to be communicated by the Redeemer, and which is to become in man a fountain of life, Christ meant nothing else than the quickening energies of the Spirit of God. I am fully satisfied that Mr. W. has not brought forward any satisfactory evidence to invalidate my interpretation of the passage of Scripture under consideration.

As water is significant of the quickening and purifying influences of the Spirit of God, no argument has yet been adduced to prevent us from regarding Tit. iii. 5 as a hendiadys, and as meaning regeneration. The language runs thus, *διὰ λουτροῦ*, by the washing,

washing, the word *λουτρον* signifying the fluid, or the vessel that contains it : *παραγενεσις* that has regard to regeneration, or that is symbolical of regeneration, even the renewing of the Holy Ghost ; the phrase following the copulative being explanatory of the one that precedes it. In concluding this article I should like to call the attention of Mr. Walker, as well as the readers of your Journal, to a few of the mistakes which, I think, this gentleman has made in his observations on 1 John v. 6-11.

The great work of our Lord, he observes, comprehends two parts—the putting away the filth of our evil nature, and the forgiveness of sin. Now, in all seriousness, I would ask this writer is this all that he thinks the work of the Saviour comprehends? No ancient type, he thinks, was adequate to express the communication of a new nature, nor could any of the washings carry the thoughts beyond the getting rid of external defilement ; and, again, he says the work of the Spirit was typified by oil. I cannot see, for my part, how these several statements can be reconciled with each other. In another place this writer observes that my exposition of John iii. 5 obliges us to understand water as descriptive of the regenerating virtue of the Spirit, rather than of the means by which the new nature is obtained, viz., dying and rising again with Christ, from which the quickening operation of the Holy Spirit is to be distinguished ; the latter being in fact the result of the former. I do not know the meaning of the latter part of this sentence, perhaps the writer may design to teach the doctrine of baptismal regeneration. It was reserved, he thinks, for the ordinance of baptism, to present to the senses a complete idea of death and resurrection, by the burial of the person in the waters, and his rising again ; and the thing signified was, for the first time, associated with a sign perfectly adequate to set it forth (Col. ii. 12 ; Rom. vi. 1-10 ; Matt. xxviii. 19). In these observations Mr. Walker has completely misrepresented the symbolical character of baptism. The texts which he cites have no more to do with a burial of the person baptized in water and his rising again, than they have to do with the doctrine of justification by the imputed righteousness of Christ. It is nowhere taught in the Bible that the emblematical significancy of baptism consists in immersion and rising again. The Rev. Peter Mearns has well explained Col. ii. 12 in the last number of the Journal, and Rom. vi. 1-10 ought to be expounded on the same principle. All explanations of the emblematic nature of baptism by immersion in water and rising again completely fail in giving a true representation of that ordinance.

ON

ON "THE SECOND SABBATH AFTER THE FIRST."

By J. VON GUMPACH.

Ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ ἐπορεύθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς σάββασιν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων· οἱ δὲ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπεινάσαν καὶ ἤρξαντο τῶν σάββων καὶ ἐσθίειν.—Matt. xii. 1.

Καὶ ἐγένετο παραπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων κ. τ. λ.—Mark ii. 23.

Ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ διαπορεύεσθαι αὐτὸν διὰ τῶν σπορίμων κ. τ. λ.—Luke vi. 1.

It not unfrequently occurs in the three first Gospels that the sacred writers differ from each other as to the more or less concise terms which they individually employ to express the same common import; and that the one particularises what is stated by the two others in a more general manner—a variance of which the passages submitted to the attention of our readers furnish a striking illustration. Whilst both St. Matthew and St. Mark relate the incident mentioned to have taken place on one of those Sabbath days on which at that time our Lord, accompanied by his disciples, used to take a walk through the corn-fields, St. Luke states it to have happened ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ. The meaning of this, evidently a technical term, which occurs in no other place, has from the days of the early Fathers been subject to various interpretations; numerous conjectures having been formed in regard to it, some of them remarkable for their peculiarity, none, however, for either a rational or a plausible character. The only point upon which the majority of, if not all, critics are agreed, is, that the Greek word δευτερόπρωτος conveys generally the sense of 'the first in reference to a second.' In conformity with this opinion, Scaliger (*Emend. temp.* p. 557) asserted our σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον to be the first sabbath reckoned from the second day in Passover (מִפְסָחֵת הַשֵּׁבִית, Levit. xxiii. 11); and Lightfoot (*ad Matth.* xii. 2) having adopted the same view, it derived much additional strength from his authority, and has since maintained itself, almost to the exclusion of every other hypothesis. By Van Til and Westein the σάββατον δευτερόπρωτον was assumed to be the first sabbath of the second month (Hjar); and by Capellus and Rhenfeld the first sabbath in the year from the date of its second epoch, the Jews commencing their ecclesiastical year with the month of Nisan, and their civil year with the month of Tishri. Others have ascribed to our expression the meaning of the first of two succeeding sabbaths, or that of the first sabbath in the second year of the sabbatical cyclus. Others again have proposed still different interpretations.

Whatever may be the relative merit of these various conjectures, they

they are not only unsupported by real argument, but, in our judgment, are moreover irreconcilable with the sacred text itself, inasmuch as they represent the Jewish year to include but one *σάββ. δευτερ.*, whilst the words of the Evangelists most clearly imply that those festival days were of at least not unfrequent occurrence. In the former case St. Luke ought to, and undoubtedly would, have written *ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ*.

The reason why every attempt at a natural and satisfactory explanation of the sentence under consideration has hitherto proved unsuccessful, would seem to us to be, that the term *δευτεροπρωτος* has, *a priori*, been taken to contain a chronological element, without any inquiry as to whether there be the very slightest ground for such an assumption. In our opinion there is not. Supposing even the *σάββ. δευτερ.* might be shown to correspond, in our parlance, to the first Sunday in a leap-year, or to the first or second Sunday after the Epiphany or after Trinity, what could possibly have been the object of the sacred writer in making mention of such a circumstance? The essential question was and is, whether the disciples of our Lord *did transgress the law at all*; not whether they did transgress it in a leap year or in a common year, or on a first or a second Sunday after Trinity. That question St. Luke negatives at the very outset of his narration; and yet upon its silent affirmation theologians and commentators ever have insisted and still do insist.

According, namely, to the Jewish law (Exod. xxi. 14; *Mishna, tr. Sabb.* vii. 1; *Sanhed.* vii. 8, &c.), observed in all its rigour at the time of our Lord, the plucking and rubbing of ears of corn on the Sabbath, both as being a preparation of food and an unnecessary exercise of the body, undoubtedly constituted an offence punishable with death. But that the disciples had, at all events, not (as must be admitted by those who hold the *σάββ. δευτερ.* to be a Sabbath proper) rendered themselves culpable of so serious a transgression is proved by the very nature of the charge brought against them, the Pharisees simply asking, 'Why do ye that *which it is not permitted to do* on sabbath-days?' True, the Authorized Version renders the words *ὃ οὐκ ἔστιν νομίμῳ* of the text, 'that *which it is not lawful to do*,' but erroneously so, as will become apparent when it is remembered that the Talmudic treatise on the Sabbath contains a long and tedious list of works prohibited and permitted to be done on that day, and to the latter class of which the subtle and casuistical question of the Pharisees evidently refers. If the occurrence had taken place on a sabbath proper, the transgression of the disciples could have admitted of no doubt, and the Pharisees, having a legal accusation to prefer against them, would hardly, though met by the striking counter-question of our Lord, have evinced

evinced a forbearance not only in dissonance with their public character, but, moreover, with their public duty. St. Luke, therefore, as already intimated, rebuts their charge at once as a groundless imputation, by premising that the day of the incident was a sabbath of second rank, on which the law freely and positively did permit the censured act (Exod. xii. 16; *Mishna*, tr. *Megilla*, i. 8).

Thus we take the simple meaning of *σάββατον δευτεροπρώτον* to be 'a Sabbath of second rank,' in assigning to *πρώτος* the sense of 'the highest or the best of its kind,' in which it occurs in numerous passages of the New Testament, and translating the words *ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν σαββάτῳ δευτεροπρώτῳ* of St. Luke literally, 'And it came to pass on a second-rate Sabbath,' or freely, 'And it came to pass on one of the minor high-feastdays.' Such a day is by the Talmudists called *יום שני*, and its observances differed but little from those of the Sabbath proper, excepting that on the former the preparation of every kind of food was permitted, and that it was altogether not quite so rigorously kept as the day of Jehovah (*Jer. Gem. tr. Jevam.* viii. 4).

The correctness of our view in regard to this much-discussed passage, imparting, as it does, to the latter a clear and forcible motive, and placing the imputed transgression of the disciples in its true light, is, we venture to think, so striking in itself as to require no further proof. Still we may as well here adduce what little evidence remains in support of our interpretation. The Pharisees asking the disciples, 'Why do ye that which it is not permitted to do *ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν*?' the use of the plural form of *σάββ.* in this connection seems to us to pointedly indicate that the Sabbath proper is not meant; for if so, the Pharisees could not but have said *ἐν τῷ σαββάτῳ*. St. Matthew certainly has *ἐν σαββάτῳ* for *ἐν τοῖς σάββασιν*; but this construction, so far from impairing, tends materially to strengthen our argument, because *σάββατον*, without the definite article being, in the days of our Lord, a common term for high-feastday and Sabbath (which may be satisfactorily proved from Josephus, *Antiq.* xvi. 6. 2), the use of the definite article, as a natural consequence, became indispensable whenever the Sabbath proper, as distinguished from a high-feast day, was to be expressed (comp. St. Luke vi. 7). St. Matthew, therefore, by evidently avoiding the definite article, shows that he was not speaking of the *שבת*. In conclusion, we may add that also the general terms of the Gospel narratives are highly unfavourable to the supposition of the related occurrence having taken place on a Sabbath, inasmuch as on that day it was unlawful for the Jews to go beyond a Sabbath-day's journey (Acts i. 12), a short distance of between five-eighths and three-fourths of an English mile (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 8. 6; *Wars*, v. 2.

2. 3), from the confines of their habitation or from the walls of Jerusalem (*Gem. tr. Eruvin*, iv. 42).

Among the strongest proofs of the genuineness and authenticity of the sacred writings of the New Testament are to be numbered the difficulties they present. In most cases, however, as in the present instance, those difficulties may be solved by viewing and attentively considering them in connection with the leading feature of the narrative, of which they stand part, and by bringing to bear upon them a sufficient amount of that knowledge of the constitution at the period of Jewish life and society with which the Evangelists suppose their readers to be familiar. Not unfrequently, therefore, it may happen that the true import of some Scriptural passage appears to us obscure and difficult, merely because it was judged by the writer so self-evident as to require no explanation.

WHO THE SERPENT WAS THAT BEGUILED EVE.

By the Rev. A. GORDON, M.A., Walsall.

THE common opinion in regard to the serpent in the temptation antecedent to the fall is, that Satan either assumed the likeness of a serpent, or employed as an instrument a real serpent in this melancholy affair. The following are the words of Calvin, '*Verum satis multa sunt Scripturæ testimonia, quibus palam clareque asseritur os tantum Diaboli fuisse serpentem*'—*But there are sufficiently numerous proofs in Scripture in which it is obviously and plainly asserted that the serpent was merely the mouthpiece of the devil.* Our own Matthew Henry says, '*It was the devil in the likeness of a serpent. Whether it was only the visible shape and appearance of a serpent as some think those were of which we read (Exod. vii. 12), or whether it was a real living serpent actuated and possessed by the Devil is not certain; by God's permission it might be either.*'

But such a view is to my mind beset with difficulties. We can hardly separate from such a transaction the idea of a miracle, and I do not believe that God would permit the devil to work a miracle for the purpose of deception. The lingual organs of the serpent were altogether unfitted for the utterance of articulate sounds, and it could not it is certain have uttered the words imputed to it but by miracle. The case of Balaam's ass reproving the madness of the prophet was a real miracle, and it was, as all real miracles have been, on the side of truth.

But further, how came it about that the woman without any token of surprise enters into conversation with the serpent? One would

would think such a remarkable phenomenon as the serpent speaking would not only have awakened surprise, but suspicion also. Her mind was then untainted by sin, and I cannot but think it exceedingly strange she should have entered with perfect composure into conversation with a mere creature which she knew had neither naturally the power of speech nor the gift of reason, more especially when it proceeded to interrogate her in reference to a divine command.

The common view moreover can with difficulty be reconciled with all that is recorded in ver. 14: 'And the Lord God said unto the serpent, Because thou hast done this, thou art cursed above all cattle, and above every beast of the field: upon thy belly shalt thou go, and dust shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.' Can we conceive of the infinitely wise God thus addressing himself to an irrational creature, and consequently an innocent one? Besides, was the serpent present when thus spoken to, or was it summoned into the Divine presence by miracle? This too we cannot realize. How could that be denounced against the serpent as a punishment which was both its original and natural mode of locomotion? We dismiss the opinion that the serpent ever moved in an upright attitude as absurd, and incompatible with its anatomical structure.

The difficulty attending such questions, and other considerations, compel me to reject the common interpretation. But it may be asked, then, what would I substitute?—Would I give to the whole history a rationalistic interpretation? Certainly not. There is in this portion of Scripture, as well as in some others, a middle course between the literal interpretation of our own pious commentators, and the more lax views of the German school. That prince of expositors, Calvin, has furnished in my view, in the following passage, a key to the correct explanation of the whole narrative. '*Diximus alibi Mosis crasso rudique stylo accommodare ad popularem captum quæ tradit.*' A mode of instruction is no doubt employed to suit the popular mind, in the then incipient stages of civilization. I would therefore understand the entire narrative as a highly figurative representation adapted to popular apprehension, making known the melancholy truth, that man had disobeyed a positive precept of his Maker, and thereby involved himself and his posterity in guilt and ruin. The devil was no doubt the prime agent in the temptation, the craft and subtlety of whom is fitly symbolized by the serpent. I do not see any difficulty in literally understanding that part of the history which intimates that the act of disobedience consisted in eating the fruit of a forbidden tree. Should we regard this too as figurative, it at least conveys the idea that the offence consisted in the infraction
of

of a positive precept, the very character of which left such violation without excuse. With regard to what is narrated (ii. 14), concerning the sentence passed upon the serpent, I consider the language as teaching, in a highly figurative or symbolical manner, that God pronounced a righteous sentence on the devil, the author of the temptation, and that what God said concerning the serpent is presented to us as if he spoke to it directly for the purpose of making a deeper impression on the mind of the reader. Should we, moreover, suppose that Moses, under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, copied this part of his narrative from some ancient records in existence at the time he wrote, it gives additional probability to the view I have taken, which I cannot but think serves greatly to remove from the passage the mythical appearance which surrounds it, and renders its meaning much more simple and easy.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THEOLOGICAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

By Professor EDWARDS,* Theological Seminary, Andover, U.S.

MY DEAR SIR,—I venture to send you a short paper on our Theological Seminaries for insertion in your excellent Journal. Should you find it useful, it may not be wholly inappropriate. I have written in some haste so as to be in season for the steamer. I am much interested in your valuable Journal, and earnestly hope that you will find a more and more discerning and appreciating public.

Your fellow-labourer, very faithfully and fraternally,

B. B. EDWARDS.

THE study of Hebrew and of other Oriental languages in the United States is confined, for the most part, to the members of the theological seminaries, and to those who have been educated in these institutions. A brief statement in regard to the present condition, course of study, &c., of the principal seminaries may not be unacceptable to the readers of the Journal of Sacred Literature. It may be proper to mention that the number of inhabitants in this country is now not far from twenty millions, spread over thirty states and three or four territories. The country, not including the late acquisitions, California, Oregon, New Mexico, &c., extends about 3000 miles from east to west, and 1800 from north to south. These facts are mentioned so as to account for the great number of educational institutions established among us. A main argument, however, in favour of their multiplication is re-

* Editor of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*.

moved by the facilities for intercommunication through railways. The principal denominations of Christians in the United States are as follows :—Presbyterians, Old School 2400 churches, New School 1700 churches ; Wesleyan Methodists, 5000 ministers ; Regular or Calvinistic Baptists, about 7900 churches ; Orthodox Congregationalists, 1750 churches ; Roman Catholics, 900 churches ; Protestant Episcopalians, 1300 churches. There are, besides, many small sects, *e.g.* Dutch Reformed, 276 churches ; Evangelical Lutheran, 800 clergymen, rapidly increasing ; several sects of Baptists, Presbyterians, &c.

The whole number of theological schools is forty-one. Of these four are patronized exclusively, or nearly so, by the Orthodox Congregationalists ; four or five by the New School Presbyterians ; five or six by the Old School Presbyterians ; three by the Protestant Episcopalians ; ten by the Baptists, and one by the Methodists. The last-named denomination have but recently begun to educate their ministry at regularly established seminaries. It should be stated that, in one of the Presbyterian seminaries—the Union Seminary, in the city of New York, of which Dr. Robinson is one of the professors—many congregational students acquire their education. Six or eight of these seminaries have a connexion more or less intimate with the colleges established in their respective localities. The others are entirely independent institutions. The whole number of students or undergraduates now belonging to these forty-one seminaries is about 1300. The largest number is found at the Princeton seminary, Old School Presbyterians, viz. 150 ; at the Union seminary, 91 ; at Andover, 90. The number at the other institutions varies from 4 to 64. The course of study in nearly all occupies three years ; the young student is fitted for college in the elements of Latin, Greek, mathematics, &c., in schools, called academies, classical schools, Latin schools, &c., in two or three years. He then repairs to one of the colleges, of which we have from 100 to 120, where he occupies four years in the study of the sciences, languages, &c. He then enters upon his strictly professional course at the law, medical, or theological school. Thus the time spent in study before one enters on the active duties of life is nine or ten years.

The course of study at most of the theological schools is substantially the same ; the whole or the greater part of the first year (junior year) being occupied with the exegetical study of the Old and New Testaments in the originals ; the second, or middle year, in natural and Christian theology ; and the last, or senior year, in ecclesiastical history and sacred rhetoric ; the composition and delivery of sermons, &c. In some institutions exegetical study is pursued more or less throughout the three years ; a small portion of the first year being devoted to natural theology. In the seminaries attached to some of the denominations, church government occupies a somewhat prominent place. In all, or nearly all, the schools, the studies are exclusively professional, there being not more than two or three institutions of a mixed character, like the dissenting academies in England. The members of the senior class are allowed to preach during the whole or the

the greater part of the year, being licensed for that purpose by the Association, Presbytery, &c. The members of Baptist seminaries are accustomed to preach during the entire course.

I will subjoin some particular statements in regard to the Andover Theological Seminary, as I am more conversant with its history and condition. It is the oldest of the theological seminaries in this country, having been founded in 1807. It is situated in the state of Massachusetts, twenty miles north of Boston. It is liberally endowed by several distinguished Christian merchants and others in the vicinity, who gave several hundred thousand dollars for the purpose of establishing four foundations for professorships, for erecting three seminary buildings of brick four stories in height, for providing a fund for paying the board of the student in part, for building dwelling-houses for the professors, for establishing a library, &c. The most distinguished of these benefactors was William Bartlet, Esq., who may be truly regarded as one of the benefactors of his race. About one thousand students have completed their course at this institution, and about five hundred additional have been members of it for longer or shorter times; not far from one hundred of these are labouring or have laboured as missionaries in heathen lands. The institution is equally open to Protestants of all denominations. The Professors—now four in number—must be Congregationalists or Presbyterians; with two or three exceptions they have been Congregationalists. A printing-press, furnished with types in most of the Oriental languages, has been in operation near the seminary for many years. The academical year is divided into two sessions of six and three months, separated by vacations of five and seven weeks. During the first term of six months, the junior class pursue the exegetical study of the four Gospels in Dr. Robinson's Harmony; mostly by verbal recitations, but partly by lectures from the professors on the more difficult topics. Some attention is also given to Biblical geography and antiquities. Each student is required to read one or more dissertations on prescribed topics; there are also extemporaneous discussions occasionally. Simultaneously the class pursue the elementary study of Hebrew. During the last month of the term the easier portions of the Hebrew Bible are read and interpreted. In the summer term of three months one or two of St. Paul's Epistles, the more difficult portions of the Hebrew Prophets, of Job, the Messianic Psalms, &c., are studied. At the close of the two terms a public examination is held, which is attended by Committees of the Guardians of the seminary. Voluntary classes are formed among the students for the study of Chaldee, Arabic, &c. Many of the students are able to avail themselves of the German helps which are now so bountifully provided. Throughout the middle year the study of systematic theology is pursued, mainly by lectures from the professor; the students taking copious notes, being subsequently examined upon them. Extemporaneous discussions are also held on some of the more difficult points; mental and moral philosophy in its bearings on theology is also taken up. In the senior year a course of lectures in pastoral theology is delivered; church history is studied both by lectures

lectures and recitations. The text-book hereafter is to be Davidson's translation of Gieseler; in sacred rhetoric, Campbell's 'Philosophy of Rhetoric' and Whately's 'Rhetoric' are studied. Great attention is bestowed on the preparation and criticism of plans of sermons; each student is required to present for criticism four sermons, at least, written out in full. The public speaking of original essays, by the students in rotation, is attended by all the classes once a week; an assistant teacher in elocution and another in Hebrew are employed.

ON THE MIRACLE OF JOSHUA.

SIR,—Being utterly unknown to you, I have felt much hesitation in making up my mind to send you the following remarks in reply to Mr. von Gumpach's dissertation in your fifth number 'On the Miracle of Joshua.' I choose rather to incur the risk of being considered intrusive, than that the opinions advanced in that article should remain unquestioned.

Its reasoning is of three kinds, arranged chiefly in the following order. There is, 1. A principle laid down *à priori*, respecting 'the necessary qualification of a miracle,' fitted to create the wish that the miracle related in the 10th chapter of Joshua had not been related there at all. There are, 2. Arguments intended to show, that the supposition of a real miracle would render the narrative inconsistent with itself. There are, 3. Critical and exegetical remarks in favour of a proposed new translation and interpretation of the passage. It is perhaps not unnecessary to observe, that the above arrangement of arguments does not seem to be favourable to an impartial investigation of the truth. It does not appear to be in general a safe method of interpreting even uninspired writings, to commence by an attempt to determine, on *à priori* grounds, what the writer ought, or what he was likely to say; far less is this admissible in the study of the Holy Scriptures. It is a sound principle of inductive philosophy, that we must base our theories on previously ascertained facts, instead of attempting to square facts into accordance with pre-conceived theories. Now *the words of Scripture in their unforced grammatical meaning* are the facts of the Bible interpreter, to which all pre-conceptions must give way. The writer of the article does indeed limit the application of his own *à priori* principle to cases of doubtful interpretation; but it is not clear that the interpretation of the present passage would ever have been considered doubtful, but for the previous (and perhaps unconscious) application to it of the principle in question.

Under shelter of this protest, let us proceed to consider the most important arguments, in the order nearly in which they have been advanced.

I. We must altogether demur to the assertion, that 'the necessary qualification of a miracle is its answering some grand, lasting, and ostensible purpose,' if by this be meant that every miracle which God enables His servants to perform must have an ostensible purpose, of which

which the grandeur and duration shall be apparent to us. Tried by this rule, not a few even of our Saviour's miracles would become incredible. We are no competent judges in the matter. The incomprehensible One, whose counsels embrace eternal ages, and whose works, for aught we know, are linked into one connected system through infinite space, may have more and greater purposes to answer by a single miracle, than he may see fit to reveal to us, or 'than are dreamt of in our philosophy.' What though the ostensible purpose of the miraculous prolongation of the light of day, in answer to Joshua's prayer, may have been nothing more important in our eyes than to enable the Israelites to complete their victory over their Amoritish foes; there may have depended on that day's victory, in a greater degree than we are now in a condition clearly to perceive, the ultimate conquest of the Land of Promise, the settlement of the chosen people therein, and their consequent isolation from the world for the purposes of the theocracy, until the fulness of the time when the Son of God should become flesh; and were we able to trace its consequences in their successive development and in their full extent, we might possibly find that it possessed all the *grandeur* of an essential step in the progress of the kingdom of God on earth, and that its results are to have a *duration* commensurate with eternity. Or (if additional suppositions be needful), God may have seen that the Israelites were in danger of attributing their victory to their own prowess, or to the happy accident of a storm of hail, and may have purposed to convince them that the honour of the work was His: or perhaps He designed, by the manifestation of His glory in the heathen's sight, to demonstrate to some even of them the folly of their idolatry, so as to lead them to 'take hold of His covenant;' and in either view, were the issue but the everlasting salvation of a single soul, who can estimate the magnitude or the duration of that result? Conjectural possibilities are endless; and how then can we, ignorant and short-sighted as we are, be entitled to determine that the occasion was an unfitting one for the exercise of the mighty power of God? Nay, suppose we were unable to assign any probable reason whatsoever worthy of the divine wisdom, what then? Are we to deny the reality of the miracle? To do so, would be as if some theorist should argue, that because no use has yet been discovered for the *spleen*, it would be derogatory to the wisdom of God to suppose that he had really created it, and that all the anatomists from the beginning of the world till now must have been mistaken in thinking they had found it in the human body at all. Enough for us, if God has clearly revealed all that is necessary for our salvation; we may surely be contented to allow that He may have done many things of which he has not seen it meet to tell us all the reasons; humbly trusting that if we be willing to submit to the truth, 'what we know not now, we shall know hereafter.'

II. It will be unnecessary to dwell at equal length on the several arguments which have been adduced to show that the supposition of an actual miracle would render the Bible narrative inconsistent with itself.

1. We cannot see that Joshua's prayer for the miraculous staying of the
the

the sun and moon was at all inconsistent with the most assured faith in the divine promise of victory which he had previously received ; any more than Paul is to be regarded as lacking in faith, when, after having first stated that God had promised him the life of all who were with him in the ship, he subsequently declared that the abiding of the mariners on board was the necessary means in order to that result, and that otherwise the passengers could not be saved. Shall we not on the contrary say, that Joshua, seeing with a general's eye and a divinely enlightened mind that a prolongation of day was necessary in order to the utter scattering of the hostile forces, found in the promise he had received his very *warrant* believingly to ask that miracle from God ?

2. 'The fighting of the Lord for Israel' appears to us to be an expression quite as applicable to the miraculous staying of the sun in his course, as to the destructive storm of hail.

3. The statement that 'the presumed miracle rests upon an erroneous view of the mighty mechanism of God's creation,' is an old objection, which was long ago repudiated by Sir Isaac Newton. I regret that, not having the *Principia* at present beside me, I am obliged to quote from memory. Treating of Real and Apparent Motions, he says (if I remember well) in substance, that *they err who suppose that the sacred writers should have framed their language in accordance with the real motions of the heavenly bodies, and not according to those apparent motions which alone men understood.* How utterly unintelligible would Joshua's language have been until a few centuries ago, had he commanded the earth to pause in its rotation ! He desired the continuance of the sun and moon in those spots of the firmament where they then were : neither Israel nor he himself, as I suppose, knew how this was to be accomplished ; enough for them that God heard the request, and that accomplished it was. But should it be objected, that nothing but ignorance of the stupendous magnitude of the supposed miracle could have permitted the belief that it had really happened, we may call attention to the remarkable circumstance, that the narrative represents Joshua as commanding not the sun only, which would have been sufficient for his purpose, but the moon also, to stand still ; a fact not easily explicable save on one of two suppositions : either that the ancient Israelites believed that the whole vault of heaven revolved round the earth, carrying the sun and moon along with it, so that if one of these bodies was to be stopped, the other must necessarily be stopped at the same moment,—a miracle this, that must have appeared to them at least as stupendous as a pause in the rotation of the earth ; or that Joshua's words, and the historian's record, were both framed *by divine inspiration* to accord with that very character which, by the constitution of the solar system, though unknown to them, the miracle must necessarily present. Objectors may be allowed to choose which term of this dilemma they like.

4. The negative objection, drawn from the want of express references to this miracle in the later portions of Scripture, cannot prove, in opposition to the obvious meaning of this narrative, that it is not recorded here..

III.

III. We might now have permission to stop, for there are no other *positive* arguments adduced against the established interpretation of the passage. The remainder of the article under consideration is simply an attempt to show that 'the sacred text *will bear* such a construction as to admit of a natural solution' of the miraculous narrative and of its supposed difficulties. Now really, were this possible—could it be evinced that a passage, which has been all along considered as narrating in the clearest terms a miracle of the most stupendous nature, was in point of fact so ambiguous that it could with equal propriety be understood in such a sense as that it should narrate nothing of the kind, our faith in the sincerity of Scripture language would be overthrown, and we should renounce in despair the idea of being able to discover with certainty the meaning of the plainest portion of the word of God. But we are not reduced to such a necessity; we cannot admit that even the possibility of a new interpretation has been evinced; on the contrary, we are satisfied, and will attempt to show, that the proposed rendering is utterly inadmissible.

The principal grounds on which it rests are the following:—1. That the words in Josh. x. 12, translated 'then spake Joshua unto the Lord,' *will admit also* of being rendered 'because Joshua had spoken to the Lord,' and may accordingly be understood of a prayer for divine assistance *previously* uttered by him, and *already* answered in the form of a destructive storm of hail, and which need not be considered to have any reference to the subsequent narrative respecting the sun and moon at all. In the absence of *any* proof of this alleged use of the particle *כי* (for the reference to Jer. xxii. 15 must surely be a *lapsus oalami*), we make bold to affirm that if *כי* be ever a conjunction meaning *because* (of which we remember no instance, and greatly doubt), at all events when followed by a future tense with a past signification, it never is so, and cannot give the verb a *pluperfect* force, but is always an adverb meaning *then*, in the sense of *thereupon*, *thereafter*. Not to interrupt the argument, we throw the proof of our assertion into an appended note, and proceed to draw the conclusion that the *only* grammatical rendering of the phrase *כי ידבר יהוה אליו* is that of the Authorized Version, the very opposite, in so far, of the proposed new one; and that Joshua's prayer, here recorded, had reference therefore to the staying of the sun and moon, and, as far as we know, to that alone. The transposition of the following words, 'and he said in the sight of Israel,' into the form 'but in the sight of Israel he said,' which was found necessary in the proposed new translation in order to disconnect the subsequent miracle from the preceding prayer, is unwarranted and inadmissible.

2. It is argued that Joshua's command to the heavenly bodies to stand still, may be viewed as nothing more than the poetical dress given in the book of Jasher to the concluding words of an harangue, supposed to have been delivered by the general to his soldiers before the commencement of the battle, to the effect that the sun, now standing above their heads, should not begin to move downwards in the sky, nor the moon, now resting over the valley of Ajalon, have visibly shifted its place

place in the heavens, ere the victory should be gained. And in support of this gloss a Talmudical notion is quoted, that the sun does actually remain stationary in mid-heaven every day for an hour at noon. Now without waiting to enlarge on the obvious remark, that the staying of the *moon* is left wholly unaccounted for in this quotation, we must, *in the first place*, protest in the strongest manner against the attribution to the venerable personages of Old Testament history of the modern absurdities of the Talmud. We observe, *secondly*, that while poetry does undoubtedly admit of sublime apostrophes and daring images, that author whose images should for 3000 years remain so unintelligible as to be mistaken for narratives of real facts, would not be entitled to the name of a poet, but of an inflated utterer of wild bombast. *Thirdly*, we remark, that the prose writer who in quoting a bold poetical image should do so in such a manner, and should so interweave it with his narrative, as that every plain person should understand him to be relating a real event, would be guilty of a more inconceivable absurdity still, if not of a more shameful deception. And, *fourthly*, granting that it was merely 'until the people should avenge themselves on their enemies' that Joshua called on the sun and moon to stand still, we cannot see how this interferes with the established interpretation at all—it is evidently the very thing understood by every ordinary reader as Joshua's motive for the miracle performed.

3. It is asserted, lastly, that it is not absolutely necessary to translate the words *כִּי יִהְיֶה הַיּוֹם*, as in our version, 'about a whole day;' but that they may be made to accord with the naturalistic view of the passage by rendering them '*it seemed* a whole day.' Now, not to speak of the curious psychological phenomenon of one short hour *seeming* to soldiers in the heat of battle as long as a whole day, we remark that the expression '*it seemed*' conveys a great deal more meaning than is at all admissible as a literal rendering of the little particle *כִּי*. It is not a translation, but a comment; and the interpretation that cannot stand without its aid is self-condemned. It will not be denied that the Authorized Version gives the natural and simple meaning of the phrase, according to the usage of the Hebrew tongue.

On all these grounds I think the writer of the article on which I have commented is mistaken in the view he has expressed of this celebrated passage. I have perhaps to apologize to him for the controversial tone of what I have written; but as I had nothing *new* to advance on the subject, and my only purpose has been to defend the established interpretation against the arguments which he has employed to overthrow it, I do not know that I could have written otherwise. If, however, an apology *be* needed, let it be this—that the principle involved in his arguments is capable of a much wider application, and if once admitted may, and in consistency must, be extended to many of the other miracles recorded in the word of God, perhaps even to most of them, if not to all. The interests at stake are too momentous to be left thus at the mercy of an erroneous principle.

ciple. May I not then be pardoned for endeavouring to prove its erroneousness, in accordance with the maxim *obsta principiis*?

Note referred to in p. 151.—I need hardly remind the Hebrew scholar that the real sense of the word כֵּן is *then*, like which English adverb it is used in more than one shade of meaning. 1. It is fundamentally a simple adverb of time, corresponding exactly with the use of the Latin *tunc*, at *that time*, *then*, a force which it generally has when joined to a verb—in whatever tense—*provided that tense retains its own proper import*, or to a clause which has no verb at all. See it thus used with the pret. in Gen. iv. 26; Exod. iv. 25; Mal. iii. 16; Jer. xxii. 15: with the future (retaining its future signification) in Deut. xxix. 19; Ps. ii. 5; xcvi. 12: and without a verb in Gen. xii. 6; Josh. xiv. 11. There are some instances in the later Hebrew (which was much influenced by the Aramaic dialects) where it seems with the preterite tense to receive a shade of meaning approximating to the *second* use, which I now proceed to mention. 2. כֵּן occurs often in historical narrative before a future verb, which in such circumstances it converts into past time. Whence this strange idiom? The notion that the Hebrew tenses might be interchanged almost at random has been long exploded. In every instance which I have noticed of this remarkable construction, I feel the utmost confidence in stating my opinion that the particle corresponds exactly with the Latin *deinde*, in English to be generally translated *then*, but with the particular shade of meaning of *thereupon*, *immediately thereafter*. It resembles the converse $\text{אֲזַי$, causing the future tense to express successive, consecutive, or progressive action. See, for example, Exod. xv. 1 (comp. Judg. v. 1); Num. xxi. 17; Deut. iv. 41; 1 Kings iii. 16; ix. 11; xvi. 21. It may be better not to mix up speculation with this induction of instances; but I may perhaps be allowed to say that the *rationale* of this peculiar idiom is probably to be found in the consideration that at any particular moment in progressive history, indicated by the particle כֵּן , the event next to be related, and introduced by that particle, is *future to that which immediately preceded it*. כֵּן , in this construction, like אֲזַי , indicates the flowing of past time into the future. This might be indicated by a periphrasis thus: e. g. Deut. iv. 41, 'Then Moses (proceeded to) set apart three cities;' or in the passage under discussion, 'Then Joshua spake (proceeded to speak) unto the Lord.' Of course the idea of *pluperfect* time is altogether excluded. I must again question the accuracy of the statement, that כֵּן is ever a conjunction meaning *because*.

WILLIAM TAYLOR.

Pulteneytown, Wick, N. B.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

DEAR SIR,—You are aware of solemn reasons which might be pleaded with justice as dissuading me from taking any notice of a reply, inserted in your last Number, to a short critique I wrote on a book reviewed at your own request. My state of mind at the present time you know to be peculiarly averse to the sort of writing to which the reply in question boldly challenges me. But I have brought myself to the unwelcome task of saying a few words on the subject; and with these I shall be content. I could write a long paper; but what would be the use of it?

The short critique I was asked to write on a book entitled 'Principles of Textual Criticism,' I penned deliberately and calmly. I gave as favourable a judgment of it as I could consistently with my honest conviction. I made praise and blame a matter of conscience, accord-

ing

ing to an invariable rule. I did not wish to mislead the public, or to compromise my own literary character; while I wanted to allow as much merit to the work as I could. All this, however, is far from pleasing the writer of it. *Hinc illæ lachrymæ!*

I said, for instance, "*Perhaps* the writer does not know German," when I had no doubt of its being the fact, from internal evidence furnished by the work itself. Nor is there any scholar who, after reading it through, would hesitate to say the same thing; and that, too, after the information—"I have read in that language (German) several of the works mentioned in the review, and some others not there enumerated, though I have not thought it proper to parade before my readers a number of names of writers whom few among them ever would have an opportunity of consulting." Shrewd critics will prefer to believe the evidence contained in a man's book rather than his after affirmations written to serve a purpose. And there are some who "read in the German language" what they do not understand. There are those who read books in that tongue who yet do not know it, and give no higher evidence of their acquaintance with it than *Eichhorn* and *Kritiken und Studien herausgeben*. I fancy that it is beyond the ability even of this wonderful (in his own eyes) writer to parade a thing of which he is profoundly ignorant. Hence he has not even *mentioned*, much less *paraded*, that which he *ought* to have known.

I said also, that "I praised the author for his laudable attempt," when I believed that he had attempted that for which he was badly qualified. I said, "He possesses creditable learning and respectable ability;" forbearing to state, what I fully believe, that he does not deserve the name of *scholar*; and that his remarks on 1 Tim. iii. 16, are a *model of bad reasoning*, as a learned friend has expressed it. Perhaps, however, we should not expect fair reasoning on that passage from an Arian teacher.

In proof of my general remarks on the character of the book reviewed, I gave what I considered a sufficient number of examples, when I might have given a great many more. For this forbearance, however, the following piece of gratitude is presented:—"Dr. Davidson has not been extremely successful in his search after the mistakes which indubitably my book contains." But I did not *search after* mistakes at all; they abound in every page; the book *scatet erroribus*, as the old authors used to say. No scholar has anything more to do than to turn over the pages, running his eyes hastily over them. This is what I did when requested by a literary friend in England to send him a number of mistakes which he thought I must have easily detected. I *did* send him a goodly list; and it will doubtless appear in public not many days hence. Yet that entire list is quite different from the examples given by me in your Journal.

Again, I must say, that a sadder exhibition of dishonest quibbling than the following I do not remember to have seen:—

'Dr. Davidson has enumerated among my mistakes some opinions which I have expressed on points of criticism different from his own views; such as the antiquity of the Targums, the number of persons engaged in translating the Peshito version,

version, the identity of the Nazarene Gospel, translated by Jerome from the Hebrew, with the Hebrew original of our canonical Gospel by St. Matthew; and other matters of a similar nature. He seems to think I must be wrong because I differ from him, or rather from certain German writers whose views he himself adopts. I cannot see the force of this inference, much less can I see that I am to be precluded from offering, in a proper and truly critical spirit, my own opinion, though different from his and theirs, upon these and similar points. I have endeavoured to qualify myself for forming an independent judgment on these questions, and have taken a good deal of pains to form a correct one. Are British theologians to withhold their sentiments in deference to Continental scholars who may be of a different way of thinking? Is no sound to be uttered or heard among us but the mere echo of voices beyond the Rhine? Are we to wait, before daring to express our thoughts, until permission to utter them shall have arrived from Prussia or Saxony? Are the Germans themselves perfectly of one mind on these and similar points? I believe it would not be difficult to array in opposition to Dr. Davidson's chosen list of authorities another German legion, outnumbering those whom he has named, in the proportion of two to one on every question; men too, whose literary qualification no one could affect to disregard. I am willing to avail myself of this difference of opinion among our proposed masters, as a warrant for exercising my own freedom of thought. Let me see the Germans first united firmly among themselves in their critical judgments, it will then be time enough for me to think of suppressing my deliberately formed sentiments out of deference to German theology.

The points of criticism here alluded to are points on which the writer of 'Principles of Textual Criticism' has expressed opinions that would disgrace any student in a German university who had attended the prelections of a theological professor for a single semester. Modern German writers *are* substantially agreed in their views respecting them. Our heroic champion, however, has qualified himself, it seems, for forming an independent judgment on these questions, *i.e.* for *not having* the views held by the *masters* in a certain department of learning, *because he is ignorant of the works of those masters*. It will not do to blind your readers' eyes with such a question as, 'Are the Germans themselves perfectly of one mind on these and similar points?'—for they are agreed in *not holding* the opinions advocated by this Irish writer. *They are a little more careful of their reputation than that they should IGNORANTLY bring it into contempt.* But he continues—'I believe it would not be difficult to array, in opposition to Dr. Davidson's chosen list of authorities, another German legion, outnumbering those whom he has named, in the proportion of two to one on every question.' *Yes, it would be difficult. It would be totally impossible.* There is not a scholar in England that could perform the task. It is utterly beyond the reach of man. I have, therefore, no hesitation in saying that this language conveys a meaning as far from the truth as *can be*.

Another paragraph strongly impregnated with disingenuousness is this :—

'Some things which Dr. Davidson has inserted in his list of my mistakes are mere omissions, unavoidable in a work which only professes to give in a moderate compass the most important principles and the main facts of the science. Had I judged it proper to extend my limits, very many authors, theories, and criticisms would have been canvassed, which a regard to brevity has compelled me to exclude. *Under these circumstances an omission is no mistake.*'

I wrote,

I wrote, 'The book errs much more by defect than by positive mistakes. Important and interesting points which have been investigated not long since, are quietly passed by.' The most important principles and the main facts of the science are *not* given in the book reviewed. I repeat, that 'important and interesting points are quietly passed by.' Under these circumstances an omission is a *defect*, and this is what I said, not a *mistake*; although I should have been nearly right had I even used the latter term. The defects in question betray culpably gross ignorance. It will not do to say that the limits of the book prevented touching on these things; for there are many trifling, useless, egotistical remarks that might have been erased to make room for *essential* matters. For example—

'This edition (i.e. Schaaf's of the Syriac New Testament) is now exceedingly rare. I have inspected it in public libraries with reference to one or two passages, but I have never had it long enough in my possession to be able to speak very distinctly of its merits. In general it seems to agree with that of Gutbier.'

The book is quite common. In the very town where the author lives he might have found it in the libraries of various private individuals with whom he is acquainted. Any good London catalogue has a copy of it for sale. I suppose, however, that he could not omit saying that he never had it long enough in his possession to be able to speak very distinctly of its merits, because the remark belongs to *the important principles* or *main facts* of criticism. Again, on the very same page, 'My copy has the date 1826 on the title-page; but whether this be an error of the press, or whether the work has been reprinted, or whether the new date has only been affixed to a re-issue of copies remaining over from those printed in the former year, the person who sold it to me at the Society's Depository could not inform me.' Compare these *insertions* with the *omission* of the fact that Muralto's collation of the Codex Vat., published in 1846, is unnoticed; or the omission of Norzi's critical edition of the Hebrew Bible. There is no doubt that the serious omissions to which I alluded in my critique arose from sheer ignorance. They did not arise from anxiety not to swell the size of the book. But the writer has not the candour to acknowledge his ignorance. He has too much straightforward hardihood for that.

Respecting Horne he says, 'Of Mr. Horne's work I have repeatedly spoken, and always with a degree of courtesy of which Dr. D., &c. &c.' Compare with this the following words: 'The learned reader will smile on seeing, in some popular works on criticism, mention of an *Estrangelo-Syriac Version of the Scriptures*!' Is not this pointed at Horne? Is it a specimen of *courtesy*? Courtesy with—a sneer.

But the reviewer is charged with mistaking the sense of a passage in Augustine. The undignified allusion to Professor Zumpt, of Berlin, I pass over. I can only say that all the attention I have been able to give to the passage, with its context, convinces me that Jerome meant what I attributed to him. I am not answerable for his Latin. The Latin of Jerome is not the same as that of Cicero and Virgil. Professor Zumpt's grammar was made for the latter, not the former. It is therefore quite aside from the mark to allude to Zumpt, or Madvig, or any

any other grammarian who constructs his grammar for *classical* Latin. The ecclesiastical Latin of the fourth and fifth centuries is sadly degenerate as contrasted with that of the Augustan era.

What, Mr. Editor, do *you* think of the man who says, 'I gratefully own Griesbach and Hug as my masters in the Art of Criticism,' when he was at the time of writing, perhaps still is, ignorant of the *last edition* of Hug's *Introduction to the New Testament*, which, in comparison with the preceding, has been '*verbessert und vermehrt durch Abänderungen, Zusätze, und Citate des seligen Verfassers.*' What do *you* think of the man who was quite unacquainted with the last edition of De Wette's *Introduction to the New Testament*, and the same author's *Introduction to the Old Testament* (last edition), for which latter Theodore Parker's English translation of the *former* edition is used. And yet, if we are to believe himself, 'he availed himself of the latest and best investigations that had appeared.' Doubtless he did so; but those counted the latest and the best are really *old* in the eye of the scholar. They are chiefly English. A few of them are Latin. As to German works, he had waited perhaps till the Germans had agreed among themselves about points of criticism. But why did he not wait till the Germans writing Latin books on criticism had agreed among themselves?

But I must now allude to the point on which this author puts forward his most vehement assertions. To my mind these assertions would have commended themselves the more had their vehemence been less, because every one knows that truth *needs not*, and *usually has not*, the tone of *over-confident asseveration*.

I said that the plan and purpose of the book I reviewed coincided with those of *my Lectures on Biblical Criticism*. I say so still. It is true they do not coincide *wholly* or *in every part*; but they agree *in the main*. In some instances my plan has been altered for the better; in others for the worse. How the writer could happen to put into his book the discussion of disputed passages without having followed me in this respect, none will be able to discover; for I thought myself alone in that feature.

It is needless to spend a word in showing that *the purpose* of his book is the same as mine. The titles of the two works evidence the fact.

With regard to the charge of plagiarism, it is disavowed with great confidence. But there is evidence in the book to substantiate it to the satisfaction of any one accustomed to examine evidence. It is true that my words have been partially altered; my sentences put in another order. But even this has not wholly effaced the evidence. And there is a plagiarism of *ideas* as well as of *words*. I did not mean to say that the writer had copied *verbatim*; few do this for many sentences together; but I did and do mean to say, that he *has copied*. *Plagiarism* does not cease to be so because it is *disguised*. Statements made up out of others are *plagiarized* to all intents and purposes. It is very likely that the writer had gone over my book so often, or had heard it gone over by students so much, as that he insensibly got into his head
its

its statements and words; which were subsequently transferred unconsciously to his own production.

One or two examples must suffice at present. They are of a kind that shows *designed* coincidence.

DAVIDSON.—‘We here introduce the Samaritan Pentateuch though it is not a version. It is the very same Law as that contained in our Hebrew Bibles, written in a different character.’

Work reviewed.

PORTER.—‘The Samaritan Pentateuch is not a version, but an edition of the original in the proper Hebrew language, differing from other Hebrew copies only in the peculiar form of the letters in which it is written.’

I have often wondered why I inserted the almost puerile observation just quoted from the lectures. I must have been thinking of mere typos. I should certainly never think of retaining it in another edition, because it is too trifling. Yet the very same remark, as will be seen, occurs in this new work. And there is something about it so peculiar, as to lead any one to the opinion that the coincidence could not be accidental.

DAVIDSON.—‘Amid the immense mass of various readings which he (Kennicott) had collected with so great labour, few were found to be of any value in the emendation of the text. The majority were at once seen to be the mere *lapsus* of transcribers. For this he was unjustly censured as if he could have given more and better readings than those which he found in his MSS.’

PORTER.—‘Dr. Kennicott has been blamed for bringing forward such a mass of trivial and unimportant readings as the notes to his Bible exhibit... but these critics could only exhibit such readings as their materials afforded.’

The whole account of Kennicott given in this new work, if compared with that of the lectures on Bib. Crit., will show any reader that the similarity is of such a kind as to set aside *undesigned* coincidence. But the sentences are transposed, and the words considerably altered; while the ideas are the same.

‘My interpretation of the term *Oriental* as used by Lachmann, is unquestionably erroneous; but it is not peculiar to me: in fact I believe I held it in common with almost all British theologians till the appearance of Mr. Tregelles’ admirable Prospectus for a new critical Greek Testament, &c.’ (See the Reply.)

Here the truth of the matter is, that the mistake in question was committed by the writer because *I* had fallen into it. No British theologian, except Mr. Tregelles, in his edition of the Apocalypse, had fallen into the error before the writer in question; and Mr. Tregelles had followed myself in it. The author of ‘Principles of Textual Criticism’ must have fallen into the mistake either from following me or Mr. Tregelles. But he had not seen Mr. Tregelles’ work on the Apocalypse; therefore he must have fallen into the mistake *after me*. Compare this single fact with the strong assertion, ‘I declare that I have not copied a line from him, *nor accepted a single fact* or a single argument on his authority.’ I waive comment.

But I must forbear, as I only intended to write a single page when I began; and I know your readers will care little about an exposure of the

the writer in question. I have now done with the book and its author. I have no intention of *writing it into notice*; nor can the author himself do so, however anxious he appears to be on this head. I repeat my statement, that it is *at least twenty years behind* the present state of the science. If this be not true in the judgment of every competent scholar, I am willing to forfeit for ever any little reputation I may have acquired in the department of Biblical literature. Those who have been accustomed to show some deference to my opinions may rely on the correctness of what I now assert. *A sad exhibition is this Reply*. I am grieved for the writer of it; for I must believe *his book* rather than some of *his subsequent declarations*. The evidence of the former is very clear; and how he reconciles some after-assertions with it, I am utterly at a loss to conjecture. Strange truly, that a *novus homo* in Biblical literature should show so much self-sufficiency! And where there is an abundance of this unenviable quality, there is commonly great ignorance. *Fools rush in where angels fear to tread*. I leave the book to its fate. I have expressed my opinion of it in all honesty. To say that it possesses much merit is out of the question. It is totally unworthy the notice of *scholars*. * It must *mislead* as often as *instruct* the beginner. In short, it is the production of one incompetent for his task, but persuaded notwithstanding, that he has knowledge, ability, and skill sufficient for it. I fear that in this persuasion he is singular. In England at least he is so.

SAMUEL DAVIDSON.

DR. SAMUEL LEE IN ANSWER TO PROFESSOR
VON EWALD.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—Having received an extract from your Journal (vol. iii. No. vi.), entitled ‘PROFESSOR VON EWALD ON DR. SAMUEL LEE’S ACCUSATION,’ which stands in need of some additional matter which I happen now to possess, I request the favour of the insertion of this in one of your early Numbers. I have, too, desired Messrs. Seeleys to send you a copy of my tract referred to in the extract, of which I beg your acceptance. It is, I believe, to Mr. John Nicholson that I am indebted for this extract, who appears to be the writer of its earlier portion. To him allow me to offer my best thanks for the favour done me in sending this Paper, as also for the care he has taken in getting Professor Ewald’s judgment on my Accusations recorded. Of the goodness or badness of this judgment you will now have it in your power to form an opinion. To myself it is exceedingly gratifying. I have shown at length my reasons for dissenting from Von Ewald, all of which he meets with the short and, of course, most convincing reply, that I am both a fool and a knave. In his former charges—much to the same effect—he declared his determination to contest these points with me to the uttermost. He has, however, now changed his mind;
and

and in this, Mr. Nicholson seems to think he has done well. Certainly I think so, and for the same among other reasons, viz., that no man of honour can condescend to prolong a personal controversy on such unequal terms, i. e., where abuse only is offered when argument is called for.

On the origin of this controversy, Mr. Nicholson's preface to his Paper, together with what is given in the accompanying tract, will be quite sufficient. I shall now lay before you the additional matter already adverted to. It is this, Dr. Ewald declared ('Churchman's Review' for May, 1847) that he had not seen my Hebrew Grammar till after his (of 1835) had appeared; the inference was, that he could not have inserted any discovery of mine in that edition. His words are, 'Long after that edition of my Hebrew Grammar (i. e. of 1835), in which the substance of my entire system is contained, had been published, an Englishman, then in Göttingen, showed me Professor Lee's Grammar in order to hear my opinion about it,' &c. *Long after* 1835, therefore, Dr. Ewald got for the first time a sight of my Hebrew Grammar. Now I have at this moment before me a note written by this *very Englishman*, in which stand the following words: 'Dr. Ewald saw Prof. Lee's Grammar in my possession in the year 1832, and I believe, at his request, I left it with him a short time for his inspection.' I need not inform Dr. Ewald who this Englishman is, for he well knows it. I will only say that, from the truly honourable character he sustains, he will not hesitate to repeat this testimony whenever or wherever he may be called upon to do so. I now leave this mystery to be explained either by Von Ewald or Mr. Nicholson, and will venture to affirm, that until this be satisfactorily done, considerable doubt may be entertained whether he really is the *honourable* man Mr. Nicholson takes him to be—that he is not the learned man, I have given proof sufficient.

I must add, I supposed in my Tract that certain contents of my Grammar had found their way into Dr. Ewald's Edition of 1828; but as I had not seen a copy of it, I could not positively say so. The gentleman alluded to above has favoured me with the loan of his copy of that Edition, and which I find to be nothing more than an abridgment of Ewald's Grammar of 1827. I acquit Dr. Ewald therefore on this count. On all the rest I am prepared to maintain that he is an unprincipled plagiarist, and that it is his inability to purge himself from this charge, and nothing else, that has now induced him to take refuge in a tissue of unmeasured abuse.

I join most cordially with Mr. Nicholson in wishing that the cause of Biblical literature may benefit by this controversy; and I do think that in skilful hands this may be brought about. I am too not without hopes that your publication may be the means of effecting this.

SAMUEL LEE.

The Rectory, Barley, Herts, 30th April, 1849.

BIBLICAL ERRORS IN JOHNSON'S DICTIONARY.

BY DR. BENISCH.

SIR,—Allow me to call the attention of the lexicographers of the English language to two mistakes in Johnson's Dictionary referring to Scripture.

The Doctor explains 'pygarg' as 'a bird.' I am not willing to dispute the correctness of this explanation as far as it goes; I am also aware that the Greek etymology admits of such a rendering, and, moreover, that Pliny (x. 3), enumerating the eagles, says, 'secundi generis pygargus in oppidis mansit et in campis albicante cauda.' But if the English pygarg means a certain species of bird, excluding all kinds of quadrupeds, how are we to understand the rendering of the Anglican version in Deut. xiv. 5, where among the beasts allowed to be eaten by the Jews, is also mentioned the יָחִיָּא, translated 'pygarg.' The tenor of the text not only excludes the possibility of יָחִיָּא meaning any species of bird whatever, but evidently points to some species of antelope. And, indeed, as such is the pygarg described by Aristotle ('Hist. Animal.,' 9-32, and by Pliny (x. 3). This was also no doubt the meaning attached to it by the Septuagint, which the Anglican version in this instance follows. I think therefore that the future editors of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, in order to avoid confusion, should explain 'pygarg' as a species of eagle, and also a kind of antelope.

The same author under the head 'to sit,' assigns to this term as its 13th meaning, 'to exercise authority,' and quotes from Judges: 'Asses are ye that sit in judgment.' Now, to the best of my knowledge, there is no such passage in Scripture. That in Judges referred to, runs thus: 'Speak, ye that ride on white asses, ye that sit in judgment and walk by the way.' It is easy to perceive how the ludicrous mistake arose, and is even pardonable in the hurry of copying authorities; but having been pointed out, the mistake ought to be corrected in future editions of the work.*

THE SEPTUAGINT TRANSLATION OF 'JEHOVAH.'—The Rev. W. Niblock, of Donegal, writes to us in correction of the assertion of Gesenius, that the sacred name יְהוָה is uniformly rendered by *ὁ κύριος*, in which observation his translation seems to concur, and others have probably made the same statement on the high authority of the great Hebrew lexicographer. But on comparing the Greek translation with the Hebrew original some few years ago, Mr. Niblock ascertained that the Seventy were by no means so uniform in their rendering of יְהוָה as Gesenius affirms. The extent of their departure from such uniformity may be easily ascertained by every scholar; but, as an instance, the word is in one chapter three times rendered by *ὁ Θεός*, Prov. iii. 5, 7, 19.

* To this misquotation my attention was called by my friend the late Michael Josephs, one of the most eminent Hebrew scholars that this country possessed.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Pictorial Bible; being the Old and New Testaments according to the Authorized Version: illustrated with Steel Engravings after celebrated Pictures, and many hundred Wood-cuts, representing the Landscape Scenes, from original drawings, or authentic engravings; and the subjects of Natural History, Costume, and Antiquities from the best sources. To which are added, Original Notes, chiefly explanatory in connection with the Engravings, or of such passages connected with the History, Geography, Natural History, Literature, and Antiquities of the Sacred Scriptures, as require observation. By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. A new Edition, of which the Notes are much augmented and completely revised. London: Charles Knight. 1848. 4 vols. 8vo.

WE have copied this long title in full, as it is in some respects a sufficient answer to the inquiries made of us respecting this new edition of the Pictorial Bible. It is in further answer to such inquiries that the present notice of the work is given, notwithstanding the obvious difficulty which arises from the relation in which the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature stands to that work. That relation precludes us from offering any opinion of the claims and merits of the Pictorial Bible; but does not forbid us from stating the views under which the new edition has been produced, or from pointing out the features which distinguish this edition from the original work.

A new edition of a large work stereotyped in the first instance, and of which therefore any number might be struck off to meet the current demand, would not have been prudent or justifiable, on account of the great expense, had not some marked improvements been contemplated.

During the years which have passed since the Pictorial Bible first appeared, an unexampled degree of activity has been manifested both in this country and abroad, in exploring all the sources of knowledge contributory to the illustration of the geography, history, zoology, botany, ethnography, antiquities, and criticism of the sacred volume; and in the development and elucidation of the customs and manners, and the public and social institutions, of the Hebrew people and of the other nations whom its inspired pages bring before us. All this had been watched most observantly by the editor, who had constantly, in the course of the intervening years, noted down whatever had fallen under his eye, or had been suggested by his own reflections, as tending in any degree, by the correction of his former views, or, by the addition of new and interesting matter,—to keep the work up to the requirements of the present time, and to bring it, as nearly as the constant progression of our knowledge allows, into that condition which might be held to establish its permanent character and value.

Although

Although a work of this kind deals chiefly with what the Germans would call *Thing-Knowledge*, rather than with what they distinguish as *Word-Knowledge*—it is but right to state that the Pictorial Bible is not wanting in such critical remarks as may tend to develop the meaning of the sacred writers, or to elucidate what are usually regarded as ‘the hard texts of Scripture.’ It is also often found necessary to examine the words of the original texts at the outset of many of the notes, as the groundwork of the conclusions on material subjects which these notes embody. In both these particulars increased attention has been given in the new edition; and, taken altogether, a large body of criticism and exegesis has thus been almost insensibly formed, which would, it was hoped, render the work an acceptable help to students and ministers, without in any degree comprising those more popular elements which have secured for the Pictorial Bible a large measure of the public favour.

There is no department of Biblical literature in which more advance has of late years been made, or on which more publications have appeared, than in that most interesting one devoted to the examination of the literary history and distinguishing circumstances of the several books which compose the sacred volume. In the present edition of the Pictorial Bible increased attention has been therefore given to this department, and every book has been furnished with a new and more copious introduction, affording, so far as the plan of the work allows, the results of the best information with reference to it, which the most careful research has been able to supply.

The close of each of these Introductions exhibits the new feature, the importance of which will be differently estimated by different persons, of an ample list—a *complete* list is perhaps scarcely possible—of the separate Commentaries which have been published in that Book of Scripture in this country and abroad. They are given in chronological order, and have been prepared with much care and labour. We are not aware of any lists like these. Winer’s and others, published on the Continent, take but little notice of works published out of Germany; and those set forth in this country take but little heed of those issued on the Continent; but in these lists equal attention has been given to both; and although it is admitted that they may not be of material service to the general reader, even he may allow them the small space they occupy, in consideration of the service they cannot fail to render to *students* and ministers. Even the thoughtful general reader may find some matter for suggestive meditation in these lists. They will enable him to see what are the books which have been chiefly attractive for separate exposition; he will perceive how much more attention has, until of late years, been given to the separate consideration of particular sacred books, abroad than in this country; and he may trace the periods in which this department of Biblical literature was most cultivated.

In the years which elapsed between the completion of the original work and the commencement of the new edition, the time and attention of the Editor had been almost entirely occupied in labours con-

nected with Biblical literature. He had thus been most advantageously posted for the accumulation of materials for this new edition; while his enlarged acquaintance with the labours and researches by which foreign scholars have of late years enriched the branches of theological knowledge embraced within the plan of this work, will probably be found to have materially contributed to its improvement.

The final results appear in a considerable body of fresh matter, exhibited in some thousands of new notes, and in additions to, and improvements of, a large number of the notes contained in the original work. Space for this has been provided, by an actual increase of the letter-press; by the omission of one class of wood-cuts; by the careful excision from the original work of such matters as might, it was judged, be spared not only without loss, but with advantage; and by the pruning and condensation of many notes which remain without essential alteration. The effect of all this may be seen in the fact that in the Pentateuch alone, besides introductions occupying several pages, between four and five hundred new notes have been introduced, without the sacrifice of any valuable matter contained in the original work, and with the addition of a large number of really illustrative engravings, which did not appear in that publication.

The general result may thus be stated:—That the matter of the original work has undergone a most careful and elaborate revision: that nothing of interest or value in the original work is wanting in the new edition: and that large additions have been made, equal altogether, probably, to above one-third of the whole work, of the same kinds of useful information which have secured for the Pictorial Bible the high consideration with which it has been favoured.

The general aspect of the work is considerably different from that of the old edition—the page is larger, the paper better, and the notes are printed not across the page, but in double columns. But the greatest visible difference is in the engravings. In the original work there were large wood-cut engravings, after historical pictures, printed on the same page with the text. Many of these were admirable as works of art; but being often inaccurate as exponents of history, and imperfect in representations of manners and costume, they appeared objectionable in an edition of the Bible which aimed at the accurate illustration of such particulars. They have therefore been altogether omitted, and their place has been supplied in part by a few excellent maps, and by some engravings on steel from modern paintings to which the same objections were not applicable. But chiefly has advantage been taken of this omission to introduce a vastly increased number of really illustrative wood-cuts, whereby the value and extent of that portion of its information which is better conveyed by pictures than by written language, is most materially enhanced, and this portion of the work must be regarded as having been improved in full proportion with the written notes. It may be added that as the wood engravings have been throughout selected by the Editor and prepared under his direction, there prevails through this work a harmony between the letter-
press

press and the engravings which is not always found in works pictorially illustrated.

There appears to be a more frequent reference to authorities in this than in an original edition. Some discretion was needful here, as the minuteness of reference necessary in works designed for scholars, must have been out of place in a book intended for general use, and few of the possessors of which would be willing or able to follow the references. Under these circumstances the course has been chosen of mainly confining the references to the works in which those desirous of pursuing the inquiries might find further information, and of stating the sources from which direct quotations are derived. It must be confessed that experience may have suggested some reserve in respect of quotations. It could not escape the notice of the editor that many books had been composed mainly out of his materials, without any acknowledgment of the source from which they were derived; although where he gave authorities the writers re-produced them without any reference to the intermediate work in which they were first exhibited, as digested and applied to the purposes of Biblical illustration. The only way to baffle this unfairness, would be by greater chariness of reference; and it must therefore have been through some effort of self-denial, out of regard to the interest of his readers, that in the present edition the references have been materially extended rather than diminished. It may be that, without being insensible to the unfairness with which his labours have been thus appropriated in every possible form by every class of compilers, the Editor has not been unmindful that, in the midst of all, the great object of his life and labours, *USEFULNESS*, has been attained even by the way in which his humble exertions in promoting the knowledge of God's word have, by their dispersion through a thousand channels, become part of the common knowledge and education of the time.

Loyola; and Jesuitism in its Rudiments. By Isaac Taylor. London: Longmans. 8vo. pp. 382.

Here at last we have an answer to questions which have often been put to us by Correspondents—‘What is Isaac Taylor about? What prevents him from going on with the translation of Josephus, on which we have already spent a pound, and the completion of which has been so long since and so often promised?’ Lo, here is the answer. Mr. Taylor has been busy with *Loyola* and the Jesuits; and as this is designed to be but the first of a series of works on cognate subjects, we apprehend that those who are waiting for Josephus must make up their minds still to wait. We must confess that we are *not* disappointed. Much as we value those qualities as a translator which Mr. Taylor evinced in his translation of Herodotus, we much prefer to see him engaged on original productions. Considering how short the term of literary life to any one man is, it angers us that an able writer should, from constraint or perverted choice, waste his precious time and resources upon any other kind of work than that which he can do best
of

of all. Many besides Mr. Taylor are fully qualified to translate Josephus; but very few are able to set forth, or to set forth so well, that kind of original work which flows with such forceful grace from his pen. May he, therefore, say we, let Josephus alone, and proceed with his present undertaking. Still the completion of Josephus is needed—and is due to those who have laid out their money upon the early parts, which remain all but useless to them till the translation is finished. The remedy is obvious. Let Mr. Taylor free himself from this anxiety and labour, by transferring it to the hands of some one who has more leisure and appetite for the task, and devote himself to the production of those fine books—so full of thought, of feeling, yet of research, enshrined in clear and beautiful writing—on which his usefulness in this age and his reputation in the ages to come will mainly rest. We are quite sure that every one of our readers will agree in this wish when he hears what the design the author contemplates really is. It is thus expressed in the closing paragraph of the Preface:—

‘The present religious existence of the European commonwealth—if indeed the *continental* nations can be said to retain any of the elements of a religious existence—various as it is in its features, might be described under the names of some twelve or twenty illustrious leaders of past times. Nothing on any side exists which may not be fairly brought under review in connection with a name, or which would not involuntarily suggest itself to every well-informed mind on the mere mention of such a name.

‘I will confess to have entertained the idea of bringing the several existing religious systems under separate review—each considered as the product of the mind which principally gave it its form and character. The execution of a task such as this in a manner fully proportioned to its magnitude and importance, would demand qualifications to which I make no pretension. The qualification which I do profess, and apart from which such a task assuredly should not be attempted, is—on the one hand, a profound belief of the truth of that Gospel which “is not of man,”—and on the other, a thorough freedom of mind in relation to all those forms of Christianity which bespeak a lower origin.’

But why commence such a series with Loyola and Jesuitism? Not certainly, Mr. Taylor states, from any desire to step forward and signalize his Protestant zeal, at a time of political and ecclesiastical commotion, by an attack upon the ever-to-be-dreaded ‘Society of Jesus;’ or because he regards that Society as now especially formidable:

‘On the contrary, it is because Jesuitism is now, as I think, falling into its place among schemes that may be analysed without alarm, and that may be treated in all calmness, according to its merits, that I have selected it from among those institutes which are still extant, and likely to subsist a while, and to exert some dying influence, although they be hastening to their end. The same may be said of all these products of the middle ages, or of the season of convulsion which brought the mediæval era to a close—namely, that as things about to “vanish away,” they offer themselves as fit subjects of tranquil and instructive contemplation.’

The work is divided into two equal parts, the first being devoted to the personal history of Loyola; and the second to ‘Jesuitism in its Rudiments,’ that is, as set forth in what may be regarded as the canonical writings of Jesuitism.

The first portion is an admirable dissertation on the career of a most remarkable man. The history of Loyola is here related with much animation

animation and strength of style ; his character is delineated with masterly discrimination ; and the principles developed in his career are indicated with marvellous distinctness. In every page we trace the mind of one who is gifted with a rare tact for the discovery of the beautiful and the true, wherever it may be found ; and for detecting the foul and the false, in whatever dark corners it may be hidden. Loyola has never till now had a biographer so willing and so able to do full justice to all the good in his character and principles, and so resolute and keen in laying bare all the evil in both. Many will think the picture too favourable, and some may deem it the reverse. But upon the whole it seems to us in all essential points a perfectly truthful delineation, from which the reader may rise with the conviction that he has obtained a more clear and correct impression of the great founder of Jesuitism than any other work in our own or in any other language will enable him to realize. We should like to give the reader some larger specimens of the quality of this part of the work than our space allows, but for one or two morsels we must find room. The first is one of many examples in recent literature of the tendency to seek for indications of character in the personal appearance of the hero. This used to be thought a poor test ; but the writings and lectures of the phrenologists have in the course of years had more effect than we may be willing to acknowledge :—

‘*Íñigo*, high-born, slenderly educated, or, as it seems, wholly untaught in letters, yet accomplished in all graceful and chivalrous art, wanted no advantage that might secure to him in ample measure the smiles and favours which are to be won in courts, palaces, pavilions, and camps. He is described by contemporaries as of middle stature, with an aspect full of grace and dignity ; a complexion between the fair and swarthy ; an ample and prominent forehead ; an eye sparkling, and full of life ; the nose somewhat long and curved. He limped slightly, but not awkwardly, in consequence of the injury his leg had sustained in the hands of the surgeons. It is affirmed that he would never grant permission to painters or sculptors to exercise their art upon him, and that the extant portraits and medallions were all derived from a cast taken after death. If authenticity could be attributed to a medallion, the execution of which might seem to vouch for its genuineness, and which accords well with the description given of their friend and master by his followers, we may assume him to have been handsome, after the Spanish type, and decisively of military mould and aspect. The air is that of the ecclesiastic, induced upon a form and temperament which was thoroughly that of the soldier. The contour, symmetrical and rotund, is expressive of a hopeful, enterprising, and chivalrous, rather than of a reflective turn. One would say that the outward life was more to this man than the inward life. The *intense* attitude is that of one whose own emotions and impressions rule his animal system, leaving him little under the control of persons and things around him. He is self-prompted, self-possessed, sure, determined, unhesitating, firm ; but not remorseless or inexorable. He is fertile in resources ; nor ever desponds because he has no means of help left him. He is nice in his perceptions ; has a keen relish of enjoyment, and—must it not be said ? is of a pleasure-loving constitution. One would not think him the ascetic, or the self-tormentor. He is well-fleshed and sanguineous,* and is accustomed—so one might surmise—to adjust all differences between flesh and spirit in a reasonable manner. If imaginative, it is only within the narrowest limits : his imagination lights up at a spark, but as it has little oil of its own, it does not burn with any rich, copious, or continuous splendour. Yet assuredly there is nothing malignant in this physiognomy ; it

* This we do not see in the medallion, a copy of which is prefixed to the volume.

indicates

indicates no acerbity, no sullen pride, no retention of anger. This man is too happy in himself to harbour a resentment.

Thus far, then, the medallion consists with the history of "Saint Ignatius;" but it must be confessed that if any score of portraits, unnamed, were placed on the table, and it were demanded that the founder of the order of the Jesuits should be singled out from among them, several probably of that number would be selected sooner than this. If indeed *this* be the image of the author of that Institute, how shrouded was that intelligence;—how many fathoms deep was that mind seated, which conceived a scheme for ruling the world, and which went far toward actually ruling it!—(p. 20.)

The following is a curious trait of the force of that will which is constantly indicated in the career of Ignatius—and which indeed appears to be the source of all real distinction for good or for evil. Loyola has his leg fractured by a ball at the siege of Pampeluna. The bone is badly set, and his life is in great danger; but things turn out favourably, and he rallies:—

'A fresh illustration, however, was yet to be afforded of Loyola's energy of will, for as his recovery advanced it was found that the fractured—the re-fractured bone, had so united as to present an unsightly protrusion, just where the well-turned limb should show a graceful outline. This deformity was in his esteem an intolerable ill; for what is life with all its splendours to one whose stocking could never be made to fit without a rumple? Although forewarned that the removal of this bony excrescence could not be effected without inflicting the most exquisite anguish, Loyola yielded himself once again to the martyrdom of a terrible operation. While his attendants fainted in witnessing the horrors of it, he, unbound and without a groan, endured the surgeon's tools, indicating his anguish only by the tight clench of his hands. That the motive for undergoing this anguish was such as is alleged, his biographer asserts—*et quod me audiente narravit—ut habiles atque elegantes urbanus ocreas gestare posset, secare se jussit.*—(pp. 25, 26).

This same strength of will is still more strikingly indicated when, with the view to future usefulness and to the necessary qualifications for his new vocation, Loyola resolved to repair the defects of his early education:—

'At Barcelona and during his former sojourn there, Loyola had gained the goodwill of a devout lady, named Isabella Rosella, to whom now, on his return, he communicated his design of going through a course of elementary instruction, the better to fit him for the work to which he wished to devote himself, namely, the care of souls. This lady and patron, along with a schoolmaster of the city named Ardebal, highly approved his plan; and the latter benevolently undertook to direct his studies without fee; while the former pledged herself to supply the means of his support. Thus confirmed in his purpose, and thus assisted, he took his Latin grammar in hand. Resolutely, therefore, he now addressed himself to his task; and how arduous and how repulsive must have been the daily effort of acquiring the very rudiments of learning to a man trained as he had been, and now past his thirtieth year! And yet this mere difficulty of learning was not the only trial of constancy which he had to encounter, for so fixed had the devotional habits of his mind now become, and with such impetus and velocity did his thoughts rush forward in the channel of the pious affections, that as often as, in the declension or the conjugation of verbs, the words were such as to suggest ideas of religion, his whole soul was on the wing; grammar—teacher, all was forgotten, and whatever he might already have learned was clean erased from his memory; everything was to be commenced afresh! Of this new perplexity the tempter took advantage, using the lure of things sacred for the purpose of diverting Ignatius from his studies, and sometimes even giving him sudden insights into the mysteries of faith! He however discerned this artifice, learned how to baffle his adversary on his own ground, and thus acquired a species of skill of which he afterwards often availed himself, to the great benefit of the many souls that came under his care.

'Near

'Near to the school he attended there was a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, where, after having duly poured forth his petitions to God and the Virgin, he opened all his mind to his friend and master Ardebal; he professed anew and more explicitly his determination to persist in his studies two years longer, or longer if needful, and to yield himself without distinction to every task, and submit to every chastisement, which, according to the usage of the school, would be inflicted upon boys not making more progress than himself. This profession, made in all sincerity by Loyola, was accepted, and, it is affirmed, was acted upon by his master; and it has been thought an edifying device to place before the world some touching representations of the scene when the great founder submissively and with tears was yielding his adult person to a smart infliction, administered by his faithfully wrathful pedagogue! "Saint Ignatius whipped at school!"'—(pp. 66—68.)

The idea which Mr. Taylor entertains of Ignatius is ably and finely wrought out in the chapter devoted to his 'Character,' and from this our readers may claim a few paragraphs:—

'Loyola, we must remember, had reached adult years at the time of his conversion; and his mind at that period was a waste: the reasoning power had not been trained, scarcely at all had it been quickened. Although with him the purely intellectual faculties were of extraordinary grasp, they had slumbered through what might be called a babyhood of thirty years; and when at length they were awakened, the moral emotions and the religious impulses had already taken a form with which reason never afterwards interfered. Loyola's reason mastered every impulse, even the strongest, which his religious convictions disallowed; but it never ventured to bring those convictions to its tribunal. It is thus that he stands before us at once the boldest of all innovators, and as the most unquestioning and submissive of the Church's dutiful sons. His intellect was of giant strength; but a silken thread was always enough to bind it in allegiance to the usages and faith of the Church. No spirit more daring than his, or more purely original and self-informed, in relation to whatever he held to be free to him, or to be at his full disposal; none more abject in relation to what from his cradle he had regarded as sacred. Loyola could never have been the reformer of established systems: for he worshipped every shred of the ecclesiastical tatters of past ages. But he was the inventor of a scheme essentially his own, and with marvellous sagacity, and a tact fertile in resources, he contrived to lodge the prodigious novelty—the Society of Jesus—within the very adytum of the old system, and to do so without noise, without any displacement of parts or the breaking off even of a moulding! By his hands a house was built within a house; yet none had heard the din of the builder's tools while it was yet in progress.

'Loyola understood, too, the respective offices of faith, or religious motive, and of reason. He was wary of *emotion* when it might influence those determinations over which it was the province of *reason* to preside. It was his professed practice, on all occasions of moment, to implore the Divine guidance, with a simple-hearted fervour, as if Heaven was to do it all: and having done this, then apply himself with all his might to every natural means of success, by aid of energy, sagacity, and the calculation of causes, as if the event were wholly dependent upon human forethought and assiduity—"Let us pray as if we had no help in ourselves; let us labour as if there were no help for us in heaven."

'What is said of him by all his biographers as to that impassioned style of his devotions, and as to the copiousness of that torrent of tears which seemed, at length, to have quite exhausted his natural moisture and to have brought him almost to the physical condition of a mummy, must be admitted as authentic in the main, and therefore as proving that his temperament was far from cold or purely intellectual. But he had learned a secret which perhaps very few passionate spirits ever learn or ever attempt to put in practice, namely, during the paroxysms of emotion to *harness Reason* and to let her stand by in her place. Loyola's emotions, how impetuous soever they might be, never ran away with his mind. At whatever time his bark was driven before the hurricane of religious fervour, Reason was found to be
safe

safe on shore, and ready to resume her place at the helm when the winds were hushed. He did nothing without *emotion*, but he did nothing at its bidding. "Impulse and feeling," he would say, "man shares with the inferior orders around him; but reason is his distinction, and with him therefore it should be supreme."

'A less pure reason than Loyola's could never have conceived the idea of the Society; nor could an inferior sagacity have governed it. Yet a spirit less profoundly impassioned than his must have failed to breathe it into the soul and vital force which have carried it over the world and given it perpetuity.'—(pp. 173—180.)

The second portion of this work is devoted to the examination of the *Spiritual Exercises* of Ignatius, his *Letters on Obedience*, the *Constitution*, and the *Directorium*. The writer witnesses this phenomenon—that the Society speedily became the object of the darkest suspicions and the most vehement hatred, not only to Protestant but to Catholic states and people—and the question arises whether these suspicions and this odium were altogether unwarrantable and groundless; or, being in the main well founded, whether the Society had in the brief period of a few years lost the spirit and forgotten the intentions of its founder, or had merely developed the principles of its constitution, and given effect to the spirit and letter of its code. The analysis of that code, as exhibited in the just named documents, is held by Mr. Taylor to establish the latter of these suppositions, by exhibiting 'the germs of those evils which have rendered, and which must ever render Jesuitism a vicious institution, and must make it a source of mischief moral and political in the bosom of nations;' it is also the only supposition that can be adhered to consistently with the facts of the case.

The chapter, near the close, on the purport of Jesuitism, contains many sagacious and profound observations which will be read by many with great interest. It might have appeared from the commencement that Mr. Taylor regarded Jesuitism as rapidly approaching its extinction: but it here appears that he regards it as likely merely to close one mode of operation to open another suited to the altered condition of the world. Dynasties have disappeared, strong thrones have been shaken, state-craft has passed away and lost its old advantages. Those movements which affect the welfare of nations spring less and less from the individual will—from the mind and purpose of the governing few, and are more and more dependent—not so much upon the articulate voice of the people—as upon abstruse and uncontrollable influences—moral, physical, commercial, and social.

'It is probable, therefore,' our author thinks, 'that the Jesuit Society, not slow to read the lesson which events are placing in its view, will abandon what it may deem a desperate endeavour to rule the world as from the depths of closets and cabinets, and may at once address itself to a task which, if it be more arduous and more perilous, is more stimulating—that of ruling it by placing itself in immediate communication with the masses of the people, and by offering itself to ride foremost upon the surges of popular agitation.'

'Henceforward, as we may surmise, it will not be in the way of intrigue that the Society will make itself felt—for intrigue is not an engine that can be brought to bear on millions of men, but as the promulgators of a political and social creed acceptable to these masses in a sense of which it may seem to be susceptible when expounded to rude ears; but which in its inner and true meaning carries entire the principles of an absolute despotism. In times gone by, Jesuitism sought to
rule

rule the world by pushing itself near and nearer still to the throne; or by actually edging itself on to seats of power. But in times to come, as we may imagine, it will seek to compass the same design by shouldering the mob forward in every popular assault upon thrones. So long as monarchies rested solidly in their places upon the field of Europe, the Jesuit Society wished to stand upon the same *terra firma*: but now that this ground trembles beneath the foot, it will commend itself upon its own raft to the mighty deep—the many, the “many waters”—the people!’—(p. 322.)

Harmony of History with Prophecy; an Exposition of the Apocalypse.

By JOSIAH CONDER. London: Shaw. 12mo. pp. 544.

This very valuable book abundantly fulfils the expectations which the announcement of it awakened in the minds of those who were acquainted with the very peculiar qualifications of the writer for the work he had undertaken. It is always refreshing to take up a book by an author whose previous labours have created a strong confidence in his clear-mindedness and good sense; and this is felt as a peculiar recommendation where the subject of the work is one upon which has been founded so much of vague and wild speculation as on the Apocalypse. With this confidence we open Mr. Conder's work, and rejoice to find it a really good book: clear, sagacious, able, temperate, full of knowledge, and admirably calculated to become a textbook in the future study of the Apocalypse. As such we earnestly recommend it, without thereby pledging our assent to every one of the conclusions which the author has reached. Indeed, we have not known of any book on the Revelation which in every point commanded the assent of any one mind but that which produced it. This is not surprising. The marvel is that any book should be so written on this subject, as that the great body of its interpretations should appear to be unquestionable. This is the case here; and is in part due to the highly judicious plan which Mr. Conder has followed. Of this the author himself says:—

‘Numerous as are the works which treat of the Scripture Prophecies, there are few complete Expositions of the Apocalypse in the English language; and before the appearance of the Rev. Mr. Elliot's “Critical and Historical Commentary,” there had been no recent publication of any great value to the Biblical student, or sufficiently attractive to redeem the subject from the neglect and distaste with which it had come to be very generally regarded. Since then the Commentary of the Rev. Moses Stuart has appeared, having for its object to set aside altogether the historical interpretation of the Apocalypse, in favour of the absurd reveries of the German neologists, yet supplying, by its textual criticism and by the preliminary disquisitions, an apparatus of considerable value. Neither of these publications, however, can be thought to render superfluous a work which aims to exhibit in a compendious and popular form, “the harmony of history and prophecy,” as illustrated by the interpretation of those predictions which have been fulfilled up to the present remarkable era—the era, as the writer believes, of the Seventh Vial.

‘While history is the decipherer of prophecy, prophecy is the expositor of history. It has accordingly been the writer's aim to furnish not only an interpretation of the visions of this wonderful book, but, at the same time, a rapid retrospect of those great revolutions and leading events which stand out in the annals of the past, and which unexplained wear so mysterious an aspect. Hitherto, the history of Christianity has been “the mystery of God;” a mystery which was not to be

be completely unravelled till it should be consummated by the events prefigured. That consummation is fast approaching, and we may therefore expect that a clearer light will be thrown upon the page of prophecy, and upon the true philosophy of history as the record of the Divine dispensations.

In the present volume, the reader will observe, that the historical counterpart to the predictions is given in the form of citations from Gibbon, Robertson, Hallam, Sismondi, and other popular writers, in whose language there will frequently be found a precise adaptation of the Apocalyptic emblems which is more striking from being undesigned. There can be no pretext, therefore, of having unfairly accommodated the narrative to the prediction. Of the forcible evidence supplied by the independent witness of the historian the reader will judge for himself. It is assuredly a most remarkable circumstance that, so far as his narrative extends, the pages of Gibbon supply the best commentary upon the Revelation, to the authority and inspiration of which he would have been the last to bear an intentional testimony.'—(pp. iii.—v.)

In the exposition of the seven seals, the trumpets, the witnesses, and the vials, 'the views of this writer coincide generally with those set forth by Mr. Elliot in the *'Horæ Apocalypticæ'* ; but he adheres to that view of the ten-horned beast, which has obtained the concurrence of all the more modern expositors. He also supplies the customary but singular hiatus of two centuries and a half, occasioned by the passing over the whole interval between the Reformation of the sixteenth century and the European revolution in the eighteenth, by endeavouring to show that the vision of the harvest and the vintage applies with chronological exactness to the tragical sequel of the Reformation in the 'religious wars' of a hundred years. Mr. Conder has also felt compelled to reject, 'as unauthorized by any sound principle of interpretation, that exposition of the vision contained in the 19th chapter, which has been made the basis of the theory of a personal advent of our Lord previously to the Millennium, as well as the literal interpretation of the first resurrection.' Both these opinions appear to be gaining ground in this country, and much interest is certainly felt in them. Many readers will therefore turn to this portion of the work with eagerness. They will find the subject more briefly handled than they may have expected, and they will have to recollect that the province of the work is not unfulfilled but fulfilled prophecy. After examining other interpretations, Mr. Conder considers that the conclusion we seem to be shut up in, is, 'That the language of this vision must be taken in an allegorical sense: and that the first resurrection, is a glorious revival of the life of the Church and a development of the kingdom of Christ upon earth, worthy of being regarded as a prefiguration of the final resurrection. The full import of the prediction time will discover.' The duration of this happy period seems to him doubtful. It probably denotes a long indefinite period; for had a literal millennium been introduced, the time would probably have been stated as a thousand *days*: agreeably to the mystical import of a day in the previous visions. But our author shuns unfulfilled prophecy, on the views disclosed in his preface:—

'From any attempt to lift the veil which conceals the future, by conjectural anticipations, the writer has conscientiously refrained; the Revelation was, he apprehends, intended to be a guide to the general expectations of the Church in all ages, and more especially to sustain the faith and patience of the persecuted and oppressed

oppressed servants of Christ under the protracted conflict first between Paganism and Christianity, and, subsequently, between the despotic powers of apostate Christendom and the adherents to the primitive faith. For this purpose, however, it was not necessary that the interpretation should anticipate, but merely that it should keep pace with the events. Such has been most remarkably the case. The earlier portions of the Apocalypse were correctly interpreted by writers who lived at the time of the events prefigured, but who in attempting to carry further their exposition of its mystic symbols, became lost, and only exposed their ignorance. The visions which prefigured the wonderful burst of light and development of intellectual and religious life at the era of the Reformation were not less correctly interpreted by the Saxon, Helvetic, and English Reformers; but they, too, cease to be either authorities or guides, when they attempt to spell out the undeveloped sequel. The remark will equally apply to the learned expositors of the seventeenth century, who often discover great sagacity in their deductions as to the signs of the times, but who failed altogether in attempting to expound the Vision of the Seven Vials, to which they were inclined to give more or less a retrospective application. When the first French Revolution burst like a thunder-clap upon the startled world, its manifest correspondence to the sounding of the Seventh Trumpet was first recognized by Mr. Bicheno, in his "Signs of the Times," and subsequent writers, differing widely in their political views and anticipations, (among others Faber, Galloway, and Cuninghame,) concurred in this correct interpretation, which Mr. Elliot may be considered as having, by his masterly illustration of historical evidence, completely established. Among all thoughtful and devout observers there has for some years past prevailed a conviction that the exhausted state of the Turkish empire corresponded to the judgment of the Sixth Vial, and that the Apocalyptic scheme had advanced to this point in its historical development. And now, the startling and portentous character of the events which have convulsed all Europe, has produced a very general impression that we are witnessing the predicted effects of the last mystical vial poured out upon the political atmosphere. While entertaining a strong assurance that this is a correct view of the signs of the times, the writer has nevertheless not presumed to speculate upon even the proximate issue. God has not designed that we should anticipate even by the aid of His own word the revelations of His providence. The great outlines of the future are indeed discernible in the prophetic page, but the filling up cannot be supplied by mortal intellect. "It is not for us to know the times and the seasons which the Father hath put in his own power."—(pp. vi.—ix.)

The time seems to have passed, or to be rapidly passing, in which the study of the Apocalypse was regarded as a special and exceptional pursuit, not necessary even to the theologian, and not always regarded with favour. The common and vague objections to the study of *unfulfilled* prophecy have been supposed to bear with peculiar force on the Revelation. But it is not so; seeing that it has been beyond all question demonstrated, that but a small part of the events and conflicts which that great book adumbrates remains to be accomplished. The rest, the great bulk of the book, is history *now*; and it is such history as becomes indispensable to theological education. The book is, therefore, now studied largely, and must be studied more and more; and this study can have no other result than to strengthen faith and to encourage hope. In this conviction it is that we regard with signal satisfaction a work which is so well calculated as the present to form an introduction to this study; and while we have certainly not met with any book which we could with equal confidence recommend as a suitable basis for Apocalyptic studies, and so well adapted to render such studies interesting to those to whom they are new, Mr. Conder's complete possession of the subject and the fulness of his various knowledge

ledge have enabled him to produce a work of no small value, even to those who have made the visions with which the exile of Patmos was favoured, the subject of their daily thoughts.

Chronology of Prophecy: tracing the various Courses of Divine Providence, from the Flood to the end of time, in the light as well of national annals as of Scriptural predictions. By ADAM THOM, Recorder of Rupert's Land. London. Longman and Co. 1848. Post 8vo. pp. xxii. 300.

The work before us is somewhat singular in one respect—being the production of a gentleman residing far beyond the limits of the civilized world. ‘In the spring of 1839,’ says the author, ‘if spring there be in these hyperborean climes, where the snow may be said, almost without a metaphor, to melt into verdure, I became a denizen of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s territories—a land in which, generally speaking, every house commands a region of rock and wood and water, more extensive than the principality of Wales. I was stationed in Red River Settlement, the single oasis of this vast wilderness. This colony, the philanthropic creation of the late Earl of Selkirk, had been planted in a latitude three degrees farther north than Quebec, and in a longitude seventeen degrees more to the westward than Toronto; and notwithstanding the steady advances of the plough and the steam-boat from the east and the south, it was still separated by a month’s march from the nearest outpost of civilization. As the echo of the world’s doings found its way only thrice in a year, after long delays and at unequal intervals, to this secluded retreat, I gradually fell into the same indifference with respect to the news of the day, which had at first so forcibly struck me in most of my adopted brethren. . . . In this state of feeling books were almost the only refuge; and as my stock, with the exception of a professional library, was singularly meagre, I was constrained rather to make a reverie of what I did read than to read much; and, as both official duties and social avocations were “few and far between,” I enjoyed unbounded and uninterrupted leisure for the indulgence of my dreams.’ The result of this secluded state of life was the *Chronology of Prophecy*, which, after being twice forwarded to England in MS. for publication, and twice returned on the ground of the proverbial unproductiveness of commentaries on prophecy, at length made its appearance at the close of the past year.

The theory of the present work, which—according to the author—‘differs so widely both in principles and conclusions from every other work on the subject,’ may be briefly stated as follows. Mr. Thom believes that the great prophetic periods, which meet us in the book of Daniel and in the Apocalypse, instead of simply denoting, as the Scriptures state, the length of time intervening between one era and another, do also in reality measure the intervals between a vast number of other great epochs in the world’s history, both in ancient and modern times.

For

For example, the period of 430 years—which is exactly one-third of Daniel's 1290 years—constitutes, in the imagination of our author, one of the keys which unlocks the mysteries of ancient and modern history. By multiplying at one time, and at another time dividing this number, he arrives at upwards of seventy epochs—commencing with the destruction of Troy, A. C. 1184, and ending with the pacification of Punjaub A. D. 1846. Thus, from the destruction of Troy, A. C. 1184, to the foundation of Rome, A. C. 753, is one link of the chain—431 years. From this epoch to the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, A. C. 538, is one half of a link—215 years. From this date to the Peloponnesian War, A. C. 431, is one quarter—108 years; and similarly to the end of the table, where we have—From the crisis in modern corn laws, A. D. 1765, and the subjugation of the Mahrattas, A. D. 1819, respectively, three sixteenths and one sixteenth, to the repeal of the corn laws and the pacification of Punjaub in 1846!

The other great periods of prophecy, the 70 weeks of Daniel, or 490 years; the 1290 years; and the 2300 years of the same prophet, are similarly handled by the author. A vast number of Tables are given, representing the various events in ancient and modern history, between which these prophetic periods—when multiplied or divided, constitute, according to Mr. Thom—the exact intervals. From these tabular summaries he makes the following reflections:—

' Thus has the great book of the world's annals unlocked its hidden treasures. History has been elevated from being a picture of human nature to be a mirror of the Divine perfections: its minutest details prove, not less conclusively than its general results, that in the great games of war and politics, man is only the instrument of God. The records of every dominant race are a revelation: the chronicles of every considerable empire are a clean and clear copy of that vast foreknowledge which was dictated in terms more or less obscure, and in portions more or less scanty, to the patriarchs and prophets and evangelists of old.'—p. 103.

New we must acknowledge that this theory of the *Chronology of Prophecy* does appear to us singularly strange and fanciful. In our opinion, the fact that at one particular period in Jewish history it was revealed to Daniel that 70 weeks should elapse before the occurrence of a certain specified event (Dan. ix. 24), constitutes no possible reason why certain fractions of 490 years should represent, by Divine appointment, the intervals between an endless number of epochs in English and foreign politics. Nor can we discern any conceivable argument why—because the period of the sixth trumpet is 391 years—that therefore the number 13 multiplied by 2, by 3, by 4, or sundry other figures, should measure the spaces of time which intervene between all manner of eras, from the fall of Rome, A. D. 476, down to the accession of a reforming Pope A. D. 1846.

But if the theory itself appears destitute of all probability, the details are far more objectionable; we may confidently add, full of the grossest blunders and absurdities. Indeed, whilst, in discharge of our duty as reviewers, patiently plodding through the pages of the work, we have been repeatedly struck with amazement how a writer of such evident ability could deliberately pen such egregious trifling. It would

would be quite impossible within our limits to place before our readers one-tenth part of the unpardonable errors with which the book abounds, but the following must suffice as a sample.

A large proportion of Mr. Thom's wonderful harmonies and coincidences of time are obtained from the period given by the Apostle John in connexion with the sixth trumpet; an hour, a day, a month, and a year, which amounts, according to him, to 391 years; and the process by which they are got shall be given in his own words.

'The period of the sixth trumpet consists of three hundred and ninety years and one year besides, while again three hundred and ninety are a multiple of thirteen—a number to be repeatedly noticed in the sequel. *The time in question, therefore, may be regarded as made up of twenty-nine thirteens and one fourteen*; and the chain under consideration, with its grand link thus subdivided, will be found to mark nearly all the most important events in the history of Mohammedanism. But even without the aid of the intercalary *fourteen*, the number thirteen may be regarded as a divisor of the whole period of "an hour, and a day, and a month, and a year." As already noticed, the duration of the sixth trumpet is equivalent to three hundred and ninety years and three hundred and ninety days, or to three hundred and ninety times the space of a year and a day, or to thirteen such spaces multiplied by thirty.—(p. 183.)

These remarks are really too preposterous to require any comment. Thirteen is obviously no divisor of three hundred and ninety-one—yet, because it suited Mr. Thom's purpose to regard it as such, he has unblushingly spoken of it as though it were. Any other number that can be named, less than 391, may with equal truth be represented as its divisor, by neglecting the trifling circumstance that there is a remainder! And thus, in the hands of our author, the science of numbers, instead of being the most certain of all sciences, is as loose and elastic as an India rubber ring.

After reading the above, it will occasion no surprise to find that the tables of dates and epochs exhibit the most culpable errors or misrepresentations. Thus in one tabular summary the quarter of 430 is represented first as 107, then as 108, and lastly as 106 in order to suit the author's purpose! In the same page 143 is said to be the third of 430, and 108 and 54 respectively the quarter and eighth of the same number! And similar licence is used in reference to numbers throughout the whole book.

These are not the only shifts to which the author resorts in order to make out a case—but we have done. We may now safely leave it to the reader to judge of the accuracy of Mr. Adam Thom's anticipations when speaking, as he does in the preface, of the probable result of his labours. 'To affect an indifference, however,' says he, 'towards the fate of my production would be far from the truth. I shall, on the contrary, be disappointed if my book does not attract considerable attention; and I may even plead guilty of a hope that my labours, if God spare my child, will descend as a literary inheritance to him, through whose birth they were prompted, and in whose cradle they were fostered.'

W. E. T.

Moriah :

Moriah: or Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Ancient Israel. By the Rev. ROBERT W. FRASER, M.A., St. John's, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons. 1849. Foolscep 8vo. Pp. 366.

This volume is meant for the mass of readers who have not access to larger and more expensive works. The author probably contemplated also the benefit of his brethren in the ministry, in rural districts, who have not access to the libraries of a city, and he is entitled to their gratitude for the service. In p. 101 he gives a note meant to meet the eye of 'the learned reader.' A statement of contents, and of the general plan, may be best given in the words of the author.

'The plan of these sketches embraces a view of the temple on Mount Moriah, the great scene of Israel's worship; an account of the priesthood; a description of the daily worship, and of the rites peculiar to the Passover, to the feasts of Pentecost and Tabernacles, the yearly atonement, and the festivals of new moons and new years, and an account of the Sabbath-day, Sabbath-year, and Jubilee. These descriptions are accompanied by scenes, either supposed to have occurred, or taken from authentic records, and calculated to illustrate the proceedings of the Israelites on the solemn occasions referred to. It will thus be perceived that the author has confined himself to the institutions of Divine origin, omitting those established among the Jews merely by human authority.'—pp. vi., vii.

The author has executed his task well, and produced a useful and interesting volume. We think, however, that his descriptions are too long, and though well adapted for popular address, are not quite suited to a work of this kind. The great aim of a work on the Sacred Rites of the Jews should be to state facts as clearly and fully as possible, and to show their bearing on the illustration of Scripture. The author should have appended an index of texts illustrated in the volume; and we suggest the propriety of his supplying this defect in a second edition. An index of subjects is also a desideratum.

Mr. Fraser has consulted several important works on the sacred rites of the Jews, but we could specify many indications of the want of a thorough mastery of his subject. Some recent works, embracing this department of sacred literature, appear to be unknown to him. He seems not to have consulted the *Pictorial Bible* or Jahn's *Biblical Antiquities*. Of the *Mishna* he makes good use, and in quoting from it he gives the Latin (which, however, serves no good purpose, as it is itself but a translation) as well as his own English version; and he speaks of 'the work called the *Mishna*,' as translated into Latin, 'in three volumes folio' (p. 116), as if this was the only copy of it extant. The best edition of the *Mishna* is that of Surenhusius, in six volumes folio; and there is an English translation of selected tracts from it.

The author might well have extended his plan without increasing the size of the volume, by excluding irrelevant matter. Some of his descriptions of scenes bear directly on the topic in hand, and present appropriate facts in a lively and interesting form. This will render the book more attractive to the general reader, but it makes it less convenient

venient for consultation. There are other parts of the descriptions, however, which are general and discursive, and serve only to enlarge the volume. In the chapter on the Sabbath, the author speaks of the perpetual and universal obligation of the weekly rest, as a part of the moral law; but to the disappointment of the reader, he remarks that 'the proofs of this are so obvious, that, for brevity's sake, they are omitted' (p. 324). But why omit a topic so important, and at present so much discussed? There is far too free and frequent a use of the words 'obvious' and 'evident' in his remarks on this subject, since there is so much diversity of opinion among professing Christians regarding it.

We have thrown out a few hints which may possibly be of some service to the author in revising the work for a second edition; but we hesitate not to commend the volume to the general reader, as containing much valuable information, accompanied by discriminating observations, and which may be largely serviceable in the way of elucidating Scripture.

P. M.

Lateinos, is 'the mark, or the name of the Beast, having seven heads and ten horns; it being the name of a man and containing the number of his name $\chi\zeta\epsilon$, i. e. 666; Rev. xiii. v. 1-18, &c. By the Rev. REGINALD RABETT, M.A. 8vo. pp. 296. London: Painter, 1849.

We do not hesitate to pronounce this a very silly, empty, and worthless production. Nor is this censure expressed, as some of our readers may be led to suppose, from any want of interest in the subject. On the contrary, the call of the Spirit, 'Here is wisdom: let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast,' has long been regarded by us as one of the most important and interesting passages in the Apocalypse. The judgment we have passed is grounded upon the actual character of Mr. Rabett's work, which is certainly one of the most absurd and ridiculous which has ever fallen under our notice.

Some few years ago the author published a work, under a different title, upon the same subject as that now before us. In this previous publication the same hypothesis was advocated. From a rambling sort of preface to the present work, however, it appears that a letter was addressed to him by the Rev. Geo. Stanley Faber against this hypothesis, shortly after the first work was issued; and that his 'reasons for taking up the subject a second time were, that he might confute Mr. Faber's plausible objections and quibbles.' 'Some time after I had received this letter,' he proceeds, 'it occurred to me that if I could only make a *pictorial representation or drawing of the symbol of the Apocalyptic wild beast*, with his seven heads and ten horns, and if I could then place the *proper* "mark or name" of the Apocalyptic beast, which I believed to be *LATEINOS*, over the respective *seven heads and ten horns*, it would greatly facilitate the means of pointing out in a clear and intelligible manner the order in which the seven heads and ten horns have consecutively appeared and passed away.' (p. vii.)

Accordingly,

Accordingly, Mr. Rabett has given us the said pictorial representation of the Apocalyptic symbol, both in a chart which accompanies the work, and also on the covers of the book itself,—and a perfect non-descript it verily is; resembling nothing so much in its proportions as a huge timber-carriage. Let the reader imagine a leopard, elongated to about double its proper length, with a dragon's head, and without its *hinder* legs. To the posterior extremity of this animal is joined another leopard, without its *fore* legs, and stretching up its fierce head between the two bodies, thus forming one huge compound monster. Over the side of the latter beast are slung the heads of no less than five several animals, the effect of which is really most ludicrous. The heads are those of a leopard, a bear, a lion, a serpent, and a crocodile; representing the various kingdoms which have flourished on the earth; and from each head a crown is seen in the act of falling. On the neck of the foremost leopard sits the Pope, with a mitre on his head, and two horns of a lamb projecting from his temples! whilst midway between his Holiness and the other leopard's head, hovering in mid-air, is seen a *crown*—the symbol of Constantinopolitan Rome.

Such is the pictorial representation of the Apocalyptic symbol, which the volume before us was published to illustrate! Amid the multiplicity of errors, absurdities, and contradictions with which it abounds, we can only stay to direct the reader's attention to the most glaring blunder of all, and which constitutes—*miserable dictu*—the very foundation stone of the whole building! The apostle John, after describing the first 'beast with seven heads and ten horns, rising out of the sea' (Rev. xiii. v. 1), distinctly says that he 'beheld *ANOTHER* beast coming up out of the earth; and that he had two horns, as of a lamb.' (v. 11.) By some mysterious jugglery, however, Mr. Rabett has converted these two beasts into one; pretending that the latter was only a subsequent manifestation of the former. It is most unfortunate for our author's theory, however, that the apostle represents the two beasts as *co-existent*, and as performing certain acts towards one another. And how does the reader suppose that Mr. Rabett contrives to elude the plain reference of the prophecy to the fact of the two beasts being contemporary? He actually understands the word *before* in the passage, 'He exerciseth all the power of the first beast *before* him' (v. 12), in the sense of *previous to in point of time*! We would just remind this gentleman that the word means *in the presence of*; that the Greek word corresponding to it is *ἐνώπιον*; and that it never does, it never can mean *before* in the sense of *antecedent*. And before Mr. Rabett again ventures to write on the Apocalypse we recommend that he should know something of the meaning of the words which he professes to explain.

It remains only to add that the book is throughout characterized by similar blunders and absurdities, as well as by the most insufferable dogmatism, endless repetitions, and gross personal abuse of opponents. In short, we really wonder how a man in his right senses, who has evidently taken pains with the work, could publish so silly and worthless a production.

W. E. T.

Exposition.

Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke. By James Thomson, D.D.
8vo. Edinburgh : A. and C. Black.

This volume contains thirty-seven lectures, an introduction extending to fifty-six pages, and a dissertation on the character of our Lord's miracles. All parts of the volume are of a marked character ; clear good sense, acuteness, and vigour of mind, originality and freshness of view, and sober piety pervade the whole. It is the work of a man who has read and observed much, who has thought and reasoned for himself, whose reverence for the word of God has saved him from giving undue authority to the opinions of uninspired men, and whose book accordingly bears the clearest marks at once of independence and sobriety of mind ; and is highly original without any tinge of paradox.

There are qualities united in this work which are seldom found in combination, because the union is difficult, and indeed impossible except to powerful and matured minds. In very few instances have we remarked so successful a blending of plain practical teaching, level to the meanest capacity, with so much that is original, and that is fresh even when not strictly original. So that we can hardly imagine any congregation, however composed, that would not feel interest and profit in listening to such discourses, or any serious reader, whatever his education or his attainments, that would not peruse them with pleasure and advantage.

The solidity of the matter and the simplicity and animation of the style render this a most *entertaining* religious book ; and as such we beg to recommend it cordially to those heads of families, who are desirous to instruct their households in Christian faith and duty without wearying them.

R. L.

Two Lectures on the Life and Writings of Maimonides. Delivered at the Jews' and General Literary and Scientific Institution. By Dr. A. BENISCH. London : Wertheim, 1848. 8vo. pp. 62.

Seeing how little is in this country known or imagined of the great extent and variety of the Jewish literature of *our* middle ages, we regard with much satisfaction attempts like this to promote a better knowledge of the great Jewish authors and writings of that period : and it is our sincere hope that a man so well qualified as Dr. Benisch to impart this knowledge, will be encouraged in the undertaking which he has so auspiciously commenced with the work now before us. If so encouraged, he owes it to the honour of his nation to proceed with his enterprise ; and Christian readers will have reason to be thankful for the information he is so well able to afford in that branch of what we may call literary history, the general ignorance of which, even among scholars, in this country, we must pronounce to be most gross and astonishing.

It does happen, however, that concerning Maimonides we do possess more information, both as respects his life and writings, than of any other of the learned and accomplished Hebrews who adorned the period of which we speak. Some of his writings have been translated,
and

and the leading facts of his life are familiar to most solid readers. Still there is much that will be new and suggestive, even to such, in these well-written and informing lectures of Dr. Benisch's. Such men as he might do much to redeem the later Jewish literature from the neglect with which it has been treated, and which it certainly does not merit. We can promise our readers much instruction and advantage from the perusal of the present work. Maimonides was, as most of our readers know, a learned Arabo-Spanish Jew, who withdrew to Egypt at the age of thirty years, and spent at Cairo the remainder of a life of seventy years—part of that time as physician to Salah-ed-Deen (Saladin), whom he survived. An account of his manner of life in the height of his prosperity is on record from his own hand, in a letter to Rabbi Samuel Ebn Tibbon, of Marseilles; who, when engaged in translating Maimonides's great work, the '*Moreh Nebuchim*,' had expressed a design of going to Egypt, for the purpose of consulting the author personally on certain difficulties he had encountered. He writes:—

'As for thy wish to come to see me, thy visit will certainly gratify me very much, although I shall have no leisure for scientific conversations, for I have very little time, as thou wilt hear. I live in Mizr (Fostat) and the king in Cairo, and I am obliged early every morning to repair to the royal court. My visits to the members of the royal family last, though nobody be ill, till the afternoon. But if anybody is ill I do not leave at all. If they are well I return in the afternoon fatigued and faint, when I find all the galleries filled by a multitude of patients of all classes, both Jews and Gentiles, distinguished and common people, friends and enemies, who wait for my return.

'I dismount from my horse, wash my hands, and go out to them requesting them to allow me a few minutes to take some nourishment. The patients are then admitted, and the inquiry into their complaints, with the prescription of remedies, extends two hours and even longer into night, when I grow so weak that I must lie down. The consequence of all this is that no Israelite can have an interview with me except on the Sabbath; then come the whole congregation, to whom I give instruction as to what they shall do during the week.'—(p. 11.)

Previous to these lines, complaining of his want of time and habitual weakness, he says:—

'And the Creator of the world knows in what manner I have written thee this epistle. I retire from men, withdrawing to a solitary place in order not to be interrupted. Sometimes I lean against the wall and write, and sometimes I lie down on account of my bodily weakness, for to my habitual debility old age has been superadded.'

And yet, amidst all these fatigues and interruptions, Maimonides found leisure to compose the works which have rendered his name immortal in Jewish literature. These works are chiefly the *Mishna Torah* (recapitulation of the law), which was completed in 1180; and *Moreh Nebuchim* (*Guide to the Perplexed*), finished in 1190. These works are thus characterized by Dr. Benisch:—

'The former, written in pure and fluent Hebrew, is a methodically arranged digest of the work known by the name of the Talmud: the latter (composed in his native tongue, Arabic), a theological philosophical work, is a profoundly conceived and skilfully accomplished attempt at illumining the obscurities of theology with the lamp of philosophy, and at defining the boundaries of philosophy by pointing out the landmarks of faith; in other words, it is an attempt at harmonizing religion

ligion as revealed on Sinai with the views propounded by philosophy. Whilst the former of these works will at all times remain indispensable to all who make the knowledge of the Jewish law their study, will be attentively read by such as wish to become acquainted with the final results of Talmudical dissertations, without possessing the preparatory knowledge, leisure, or patience necessary for pursuing the winding paths of Talmudical intricacies; whilst it will be consulted with advantage by such as wish for information on any point connected with Jewish antiquities, practices, or customs,—the latter work will be perused with intense interest by theologians of all denominations engaged in congenial inquiries, and will be attentively studied by the historian of the development, wanderings, and progress of the human mind.'—(p. 13.)

Besides these, Maimonides was the author of many other works, rabbinical, philosophical, medical, and miscellaneous; a complete list of which is given at the end of the present book. They were all written, not in the Hebrew, but in the Arabic. Dr. Benisch gives a very interesting account of the nature of the movement which the Moreh Nebuchim caused after the writer's death; and describes the very important effects which it produced upon the Jewish mind. 'This remarkable work operated as a ferment upon the torpid mass of the Jews, who, actuated by principles similar to those which prostrated the liberty of Christendom before the Holy See, were ready to settle down with erroneous views and untenable principles. It further gave a moral sanction to inquiries, originated works of similar tendencies, and thus contributed largely towards preserving Jewish literature from falling entirely into the one-sided direction pursued by its most eminent cultivators in their exclusive Talmudical study.'

Sketch of the Scripture Doctrine respecting Good Angels. By the Rev. ALEXANDER S. PATTERSON. Glasgow: Bryce, 1848. 12mo. pp. 32.

This essay furnishes the reader, in a compendious form, with a considerable body of well-digested information on the subject of which it treats. That subject is always one of much interest, although it has engaged so much less attention recently than in former periods, that not a few even of good students may perhaps run away with the notion that even a small tract like this exhausts the subject, and that there is nothing more to be thought or said thereon. Such may be remarked of the abstruse and minute speculations of the Angelical Doctor, and of the scarcely less elaborate investigations of our seventeenth century divines, who seem to have found something peculiarly congenial to their tastes in this kind of investigation. We do not affect to be well versed in angelical literature; but we happen to have before us at this moment an entire volume devoted to the subject, of which we may some day be disposed to furnish an account. It was published in 1701, without the author's name in the book, although the binding has the title of 'Saunders's Angels.' The full title is '*Pneumatologia; or a Discourse of Angels, their Nature and Office, or Ministry;*' but not the full title, which is tremendously lengthy. Authors, in those days, had the enviable advantage of sending forth their works ready reviewed by some friendly hand, whose remarks and commendations were prefixed

fixed in a preface or address to 'the courteous reader.' In the present case this office is performed by a 'George Hamond,' who tells us that 'before this learned and useful treatise was suffered to walk abroad,' he had been shown a copy, and requested to set forth his opinion. This he does with good sense and judgment, favouring us with some hints as to the causes of that neglect into which, as he says, the doctrine of angels had even then fallen. If he thought so then, how much more cause have we to think so now? The causes which this writer finds for this neglect are:—

'1. The bold, confident, and curious speculations touching the angels, both in elder times and in the days of the schoolmen, who intruded into things not seen, vainly puffed up by their fleshly minds. 2. The irreligiosity and scepticism of materialists and Sadducees, who deny or pretend to doubt whether there are indeed any immaterial beings.'

Of the author of the book itself, this critic says he was 'of a solid judgment and indefatigable judgment in searching after what was to be found in other authors that might furnish any light or furniture to him towards the perfecting of his composure; so that, as far as very short-sighted intelligence will reach, I must esteem this Discourse to be the most full, chaste, and elaborate of any upon this subject; especially such as are extant in our language.' If this was true 150 years ago, as we think it to be, it is true now; and as it is always useful to a student to know what is the best book on any subject, some of our readers will be thankful for his information.

Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical; selected and arranged for use, with Notes and Introduction. By RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, M.A. London: John W. Parker, 1849. 12mo. pp. 336.

The editor of this work informs us that its aim is 'to offer to the members of our English church a collection of the best sacred Latin poetry, such as they shall be able entirely and heartily to sympathise with and approve; a collection, that is, in which they shall not be evermore liable to be offended: and to have the current of their sympathies checked by coming upon that which, however beautiful as poetry, in higher respects they must reject and condemn.'

The care thus taken to exclude whatever bears the special marks of Romish doctrine, has necessarily operated to the exclusion of some Latin hymns of high poetical character; though many, from a vague impression as to the essentially Popish character of all these compositions, will be surprised to see how large a number of the finest and most famous examples of this class of poetry pass the ordeal safely, and have found a place in the present collection. The literate public owes thanks to the editor for having brought together into a collected form so many poems of this class, many of which are only to be found, one here and one there, in costly editions of the Fathers or mediæval writers, or in collections of the very rarest occurrence. 'The extreme difficulty I have myself experienced,' says Mr. Trench, 'in obtaining several of the books which I desired to use, and the necessity under

under which I have remained of altogether foregoing the use of many that I would gladly have consulted, has sufficiently shown me how little obvious they can be to most readers.'

The poems in this collection are not arranged in chronological but in theological order, by which they may be said to be combined into one grand poem, and are rendered most available for perusal and devotional use. The pieces are seventy-one in number, and afford specimens of twenty-three known and of some anonymous writers. There are short but satisfactory notices of most of these writers; and the poems are furnished with notes theological, critical, and illustrative, by which the value of the volume will be very materially enhanced by those who acquire possession of it.

There is an Introduction, in which the author discusses at some length the Latin poetry of the Christian church. He traces the process by which it detached itself gradually more and more from the classical poetry of Rome, and eventually acquired a peculiar character, as distinct in the nature of its subjects as in the form of its verse. This was the result of two distinct processes: the first, the disintegration of the old prosodical system of Latin verse, under the gradual substitution of accent for quantity; and the second, the employment of rhyme within or at the close of the verse as a mean for marking rhythm, and as a resource for the producing of melody. Here it is shown at large how the coming up of the new Faith, of which it in no long time became the public organ, gave to the Latin language a new lease of life, and evoked from it capacities which had hitherto been dormant in it. So, in speaking in his biographical notice of 'Prudentius,' of the censure passed upon his style (as not formed upon the best classical models, but as being confessedly impure) in a recent publication, Mr. Trench remarks:—

'This is really his praise,—that whether consciously or unconsciously, he did act on the principle that the new life claimed new forms in which to manifest itself,—that he did not shrink from helping forward that great transformation of the Latin language, which it had need to undergo, now that it was to be the vehicle of new truths which were altogether novel to it, having not yet risen up above the horizon of men's minds, at the time when it was in its first growth and formation. Let any one compare his poems with those of Juvencus or Sedulius, and his vast superiority will be at once manifest—that superiority mainly consisting in this, that he did not attempt, as they did, to pour the new wine into old bottles; but has felt and understood that the new thoughts and feelings which Christianity has brought into the world, must of necessity weave new garments for themselves.'

Mr. Trench will not allow the notion that the poetry of modern Europe derived its rhyme from the Latin; and he equally repudiates the supposition that the Latin rhyming verse borrowed its rhyme from the Romance or Gothic languages. There is quite enough in the remains of early Latin poetry which we possess to show that rhyme was not a new element, and one altogether alien to the language which was brought into it by the Christian poets in the days of its decline. These were early preludings of that which should indeed only fully and systematically unfold itself at the last. The tendencies of the Saturnian verse and of the other fragments of the ancient

ancient Latin poetry which have reached us, to terminations of a like sound, have been often noticed. Of that poetry rhyme was indeed a legitimate ornament; and even after a system had been introduced, resting on entirely different principles,—namely, the system of Greek metres—yet was it so inborn in the language, and so inherent in it, that it continually made its appearance; being, no doubt, only with difficulty avoided by those writers whose purer and austerer sense of beauty taught them not to catch at ornaments which were not properly theirs; and easily found by those who with a more questionable task saw in it one of the resources at their command. There occur, indeed, examples of final rhymes in the best Latin poets, and of *both* middle and final rhymes in every one of them. Of these our author gives a small collection, which might be much extended. This Introductory Essay, as a whole, is well worthy the attention of those who feel interest in the important literary questions involved; while the hymns themselves will not fail to afford much pleasure and refreshment to the class of readers for whom the collection is designed.

Jonah: his Life, Character, and Mission, viewed in connection with the Prophet's own Times, and Future Manifestations of God's Mind and Will in Prophecy. By the Rev. Patrick Fairbairn. Edinburgh: John Johnstone. 1849. 12mo. pp. 245.

We have no hesitation in describing this as one of the best books of its class that we have met with. It is the work of a ripe student in Biblical literature, and contains the depth, the research, the learning which is only to be found where this qualification exists. These properties are however rather latent in the pages of this small volume, than obtruded in its front—being seen rather in the results than in the processes of investigation and of thought. The work strikes out points of view and matters of contemplation which are not obvious on the surface of the matter, and which impart much newness to the treatment of a subject that might have seemed well nigh exhausted. The tone of the work is friendly to the character of Jonah—we might say vindictory; but, as the author observes, the work is not to be regarded simply, or even chiefly, in the light of a vindication. ‘The aim rather has been to give a clear and just representation of the times of the prophet—of the nature and design of the singular mission he was appointed to fulfil, and of the varied instruction which is furnished to believers of every age by the mission itself and the manner in which it was discharged.’

Most readers will be anxious to see how Mr. Fairbairn accounts for Jonah's displeasure at the preservation of Nineveh. He stoutly vindicates him from the common imputation—that his self-esteem rendered him indignant—that the doom he had been sent to utter was not accomplished, lest he should be accounted a lying prophet. Our author contrariwise contends that Jonah's mission is to be viewed not as an ultimate thing, but as occupying the relation of means to an end—as connected with some other object of pre-eminent importance, to which

which he thought it should have been made altogether subservient. That object, he conceives, was the instruction and warning of Israel by the terrible overthrow of Nineveh—and the vexation of the prophet arose from the advantage of that example of the Lord's judgments being lost to the Israelites at a time when, as it seemed to him, it was so greatly needed. He could not, as he had expected, go back to his labours among his own people, with this great argument against impenitence.

'What hope could he any longer have of labouring with success among them? How certainly would they look to the outward result merely of the case, and take new courage to go on in their sins, by this new manifestation of the mercy and forbearance of God? Instead of having reached a higher vantage ground, from which to urge their return to God, he felt as if a signal discouragement had been thrown in his way; and it seemed now that nothing more remained for him to say or do—it were even better for him to die than to live.'—(p. 157.)

This view of the case is worked out with much force and skill, and will no doubt receive due attention from future commentators.

In one of the 'Supplementary Remarks,' or dissertations, Mr. Fairbairn writes 'on the dependence of evil and good in prophecy upon the spiritual condition of the persons interested in its tidings.' Here, he in particular examines the prophecies concerning Edom, and argues that all of them were accomplished before the time of Christ, for by that time the relation which the predictions contemplated (of intense malignity and opposition to the cause of God's people) had already ceased; the Edomites had become amalgamated with the Jews, and no longer existed as a separate people—they had passed out of the region in which the prophecy moved, and a different state of things had entered. On this view, in which we fully acquiesce, our author administers a fair rebuke to Dr. Keith and other writers on prophecy, who exclude these considerations from their mind.

'They accumulate proofs of the *present* desolation of Idumea, as *simpliciter* evincing the correctness of Isaiah's prophecy, as if it had been the mere territory of Edom, the region of Idumea, and not rather Edom as a people, and the land only as connected with them. What has that land to do now, or what has it had to do for two thousand years with the Edomites, the peculiar enemies of God?'—(p. 217, *note*.)

There is much more in this fine work to which we should like to refer, but are constrained to forbear. We pronounce it to be a thoughtful, judicious, and sterling book; and we feel that we render our readers a service in directing their attention to it.

Essays on History, Philosophy, and Theology. By Robert Vaughan, D.D. London: Jackson and Walford. 2 vols. 16mo.

These Essays are selected from articles contributed by the writer to the British Quarterly Review, of which he is Editor. As such they are scarcely further within our province than to record the fact of their separate publication. They are most of them fully worthy the reputation of Dr. Vaughan, and well exemplify his vigorous style and original habits of thought. He comes out strong—stronger than we should

should have expected—against the German philosophy, between which and revealed religion he believes any real harmony to be impossible, and that the only natural relation between these forces is antagonistic. This is most true; but Dr. Vaughan seems to find less of hope than we do in the probable influence of that morsel of evangelical leaven which is for the present all but hidden in three measures of meal. A portion of the writer's views on this subject are exhibited in the remarkable paper called 'The Priesthood of Letters.' The doctrine set forth here is, that the pulpit has ceased to be the great teacher. The press has assumed that function; and even from the press the divine performs a much less conspicuous part than the man of letters. Thus the era of a new priesthood—the priesthood of letters—has come, and must, from the nature of things, remain. 'The clerical mind, we distinctly see, is no longer ascendant in Europe, it is subordinate: the laic mind is no longer subordinate, it is ascendant.'

Of the other Essays, there are Oxford and Evangelical Churchmen—Characteristics of Dissent—John Foster and Robert Hall—Oliver Cromwell—Locke and his Critics—and the Christian Ministry, are all of high interest from the facts they state, or from the views and thoughts they embody. In 'Oliver Cromwell,' Dr. Vaughan is thoroughly at home, and handles Thomas Carlyle with a polite roughness, not inconsistent with a just appreciation of the peculiar talents of that remarkable writer.

ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ. *A Dispassionate Appeal to the Judgment of the Clergy of the Church of England on the proposed Alteration of the Law of Marriage.* London: Charles Cox. 1849. 8vo. pp. 45.

This is one of an immense number of pamphlets which have appeared within the last few months, upon a subject which now engages the attention of the Legislature—the lawfulness and expediency of marrying a deceased wife's sister. This is, in its substance, a summary of the arguments on both sides of the question; and it seems to us a skilful and impartial one. The pamphlet must therefore be of use to those who wish to see the bearings of the question, and the arguments pro and con, reduced to a small compass. In the preface, the compiler makes it no secret that his own views are in favour of the abrogation of the Act by which such marriages are declared unlawful. We, for our own part, never had any doubt on the subject—so far as the scriptural argument is concerned. The argument is, there at least, all on the side of those who contend for the lawfulness of such marriages. There wants no new hand in this exhausted controversy, or we might be disposed to set forth our own views at length. The present writer allows just weight to the testimony of Dr. Adler, the chief Rabbi. The tendency of Judaism is rather to overstrain than to mitigate the enactments of the law of Moses; and in any cases a law of doubtful meaning may be interpreted by custom—that is by the usage of those who are subject to it—and by Dr. Adler's testimony it appears that the lawfulness of such marriages has never been questioned by the Jews, and

and that in practice 'such a marriage, so far from exposing the parties to any reproach, is considered proper and even laudable.'

A Selection from his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury's Practical Exposition of the Gospels, of those parts more particularly which relate to the Faith and Practice of a Christian. By the Rev. George Wilkinson, B.D. London: C. Cox. 1849. 12mo. pp. 203.

A selection from the works of a living divine by any other than the author himself, is, as the present editor remarks, a very unusual event. It originated in a suggestion which he made to his diocesan (then Bishop of Chester) that 'a selection from the four volumes of the Gospels, adapted to the means and opportunities of numbers for whom the larger work might not seem so well adapted, would be invaluable.' The Bishop intimated a ready acquiescence in any plan by which his writings might be rendered more extensively conducive to the spiritual welfare of the community, and his free consent that they might be forthwith used for the purpose pointed out. Thus authorized, Mr. Wilkinson set to work, and we have here the result of his labours in a small and very valuable volume. There is little in it to suggest its relation to the original work, the use of which it is certainly in no degree likely to supersede. The Archbishop takes the gospels in regular order; but of the two parts of which this lesser work consists, Mr. Wilkinson takes, in the first, certain prominent facts and teachings, and may be said to have founded it chiefly on the gospel of St. John; and the second portion is wholly devoted to the sermon on the Mount. This is therefore not what we would call an abridgment; neither is it a selection; for the editor very often takes the ideas without the words of the author, and very often expands them to three or four times their original extent, as is particularly observable in the second portion, where the editor seems to follow no determinate rule—sometimes he adheres closely enough to his author—sometimes adds his own remarks to, or interlaces them with those of the author; and sometimes forsakes his author altogether, and expresses the same leading ideas in other words and with new illustrations. Upon the whole, although it is open to question whether Mr. Wilkinson might not have produced a better book if he had followed his author more entirely, on the one hand, or had prepared it entirely from his own resources on the other—he must be allowed to have produced a useful manual, likely to be acceptable to those for whom it is intended. It is one of that class of books which plain, serious people like.

A brief Commentary, Analytical, Exegetical, and Practical, on the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus. By the Rev. Alexander S. Paterson. Edinburgh: Lowe. 1848. 18mo. pp. 184.

The author of this little work is known for similar small commentaries on the first Epistle of John and first of Thessalonians, and the success of these seems to have encouraged him to proceed. The size of the
volume

volume being that most common to children's books, would scarcely prepare one for the amount of unobtrusive erudition and sound exegesis he has contrived to pack into it. It is anything but a superficial book; and it appears to be well calculated to serve the object for which it is designed. It originates in the idea that a small work on the pastoral epistles, 'constructed on strict principles of exegesis, and yet unfolding in a practical form the meaning and import of these precious letters, might serve as a useful text-book both to ministers and people.' Notwithstanding the extraordinary conciseness which is the characteristic of the work, he expatiates considerably on certain important or favourite texts, and always with good effect. This agreeably relieves the dreariness which might have been the result of unmitigated brevity throughout. Upon the whole, Mr. Paterson has very creditably performed a somewhat difficult task; and those who can overcome the prejudice against a very small book on a very large subject will by no means lose their reward.

BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE.

NEANDER AND THOLUCK.—We have much pleasure in presenting in this portion of our pages the following interesting communication respecting these eminent and remarkable men, which lately appeared (under the signature of Sigma) in the foreign correspondence of the *New York Courier and Enquirer*, and was reprinted in that excellent American journal *The Literary World*, whence we transcribe it. The particulars given are of especial interest at this time:—

'*Berlin, March, 1849.*—I had the opportunity the other day of seeing the celebrated Professor Neander. I first went in the morning to the University to hear him deliver an exegetical lecture, upon a chapter in the New Testament. His personal appearance was as singular as his mode of addressing his audience was extraordinary. His forehead, broad and high, was almost wholly covered by his long uncombed black hair, and its base was bounded by a massive ridge, jutting far outwards, and surrounded by thick shaggy eyebrows. His eyes were so deeply sunken, and concealed by his half-closed eyelids, that neither their colour nor their form was discernible. His nose and his mouth were rudely shaped, and his complexion was of that dark, dry, sallow cast, that mark years of intense study and reflection. His form was thin, bent, and loosely knit, and his carriage and attitude the most careless and graceless possible. He had on a white cravat, and a greyish frock coat reaching below his knees. Fancy such a man, standing on a slightly elevated platform, his left arm resting on the corner of a desk four feet high, his left hand shading his eyes from the light, his right hand holding within three or four inches of his face a large-typed Greek Testament, from which he never withdraws his intense look—and further, fancy him with the whole upper half of his person bent over in an angle of nearly forty-five degrees, balancing the desk upon its two back legs, and with his left foot kept constantly crossed over his right, except when occasionally, either through caprice or to restore the equilibrium of the desk, he suddenly retracts it as if about to take a desperate leap, and as suddenly replaces it—and still further, fancy him perfectly absorbed in his subject, and speaking with a slow monotonous utterance, interrupted only by a pause when he has to ask from one of the students a word which he cannot recognize on account of imperfect sight—and you have a faithful picture of the most philosophical historian

torian and perhaps most profound theologian living, in *rapprochement* with his young disciples. When his instructions are not exegetical, and do not require a book, you will have to vary the picture by imagining him lecturing extemporaneously, and all the while engaged in pulling to pieces a quill previously given him by one of his attendants for this special purpose. I mention these things to interest but not to divert you; for it is only a narrow and vulgar mind that can find in the infirmities or eccentricities of a great man matter for ridicule. Notwithstanding all of his peculiarities, the students, of whom there were some sixty or seventy present, seemed to regard him with a reverence approaching to homage, and to catch as treasure every word that fell from his lips.

'After dinner, in company with one of the students, I called upon Neander at his residence. We found him in his study robed in his study gown, and surrounded with a large library of well-worn books. He received us with the most unaffected kindness and warmth, and directly began to talk with me in my native tongue. He spoke English with tolerable correctness and facility, but as is the case with most foreign scholars, he had a much better command of the Latin than of the Saxon element of our language. He highly commended Professor Robinson's American work on Palestine, and also our Andover Quarterly, the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, several numbers of which I noticed in his library. He spoke in terms of high praise of Coleridge and Dr. Arnold, and referred with great satisfaction to the little progress that Pantheism has made in the western world. His whole soul seemed to be wrapped up in the great struggle now going on between faith and unbelief, between supernaturalism and rationalism—a battle, he said, fraught with more momentous consequences than any other of the age. Vast as are this great man's acquirements, and capacious and profound as is his intellect, every word and every movement evinced complete unconsciousness of self, and a perfectly child-like gentleness and simplicity of heart. Uncultivated as are his manners, and odd as are his ways, by his greatness he commands your reverence, and by his goodness he wins your love.

'Neander is sixty years of age; he is a bachelor, and his sister is housekeeper. Two years ago, he suddenly and without any apparent immediate cause, almost entirely lost his eyesight; he now sees so indistinctly that it is imprudent for him to venture into the street alone. Yet he daily delivers at the University three lectures, each an hour in length, one on Church History, another on Christian Ethics, and the third of an exegetical character. He pursues his studies and researches with the help of a little knot of students he keeps around him, and he dictates all of his written productions to an amanuensis. His Church History, the first part of which has been so admirably translated by Professor Torrey of the University of Vermont, has not yet been brought down later than the fourteenth century. Had his eyes continued good, it would before this time have been fully completed. It is now uncertain, as I was told by the author, when the work in its entire form will be given to the world. Neander lives a very retired life in Berlin, and yet he is exceedingly popular. Tobacco-pipes bear his likeness, an important street in the city is named after him, and his last birthday was celebrated by a torchlight procession.

'While in Halle, I spent an hour or two with Professor Tholuck. On a bright spring morning I found him wrapped in his overcoat, and walking in the long sheltered promenade that bounded one side of his garden. Returning my letters of introduction unopened, he at once received me with that unceremonious familiarity that German scholars so uniformly exhibit towards strangers. He spoke with interest of the many dear friends he had in America, and soon showed himself very conversant with our national institutions and characteristics. He remarked that during the late political disturbances he long expected to be obliged to take refuge in the United States or England, from revolutionary violence. He thought the revolutionary party of Germany unworthy of confidence or sympathy, believing that it was generally made up of infidels and socialists, and that it was actuated not so much by hostility to any particular form of government as by opposition to every reasonable kind of government whatever. He feared that its success would result in the destruction of the Universities, and in the prostration of everything religious and redeeming in the land. The complete divorce of the Church from

from the State, established by the new Constitution, he had no doubt, by destroying Protestant unity, and affording free scope to Roman Catholic proselytism, would redound greatly to the advantage of the church of Rome. It was his opinion that metaphysical speculation had, for the present at least, pretty much exhausted itself in Germany; for the last two or three years Hegelianism had made no progress, nor in fact any other ism, except indifferentism. The so called Reformed German Catholics were fast diminishing and would soon disappear, some becoming Protestant Lutherans, but most rationalists and infidels. Ronge himself had cut loose from all religious and moral restraints, and was now living the life of an abandoned libertine. Doviati, the coadjutor of Ronge, had been imprisoned for sedition, and had lately published an avowal that he and his party had only made religion a mask under which they might work out their political schemes; and Czernie, though a good man, was weak and wavering. I mention these things because I believe that upon these important matters the views of a man so calm and discerning, and occupying so commanding a position as Professor Tholuck, are entitled to great respect, if not implicit confidence. To inquiries respecting his health, he replied that it had been greatly injured by his labours at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in London. He observed that it did not become the earnest but inefficient Germans to complain of the business-like mechanical mode of conducting such meetings in England, but yet if the convention had had more spontaneousness and less machinery, if it had been more a *reunion* and less a parliament, it would have been more agreeable to the delegates from Germany. Like Neander, he expressed great admiration of Coleridge; and yet he lauded the English and Americans for their practical disposition and habits. Speaking of the various English translations of his works, he remarked that he liked the translation of some of his sermons by Professor Park, of Andover, better than the original—the English dress seemed to give additional power and majesty to the ideas. Before we parted, he invited me to repair to his study and record my name in his book. As my eye fell when I entered, upon a touching *Ecce Homo* on one side of the room, and the countenance of Martin Luther, that never quailed before mortal man on the other, I could not but recognize the spirit of the man in his "outward environments." Of his own accord he gave me notes of introduction to other eminent scholars resident elsewhere. I can hardly help being surprised at the interest and kindness which this distinguished man manifested towards a young unknown American. Since I have been in Europe, I have witnessed terrible scenes, that have been branded as with fire upon my soul; but these will be worn away long before my interviews with Wordsworth, Neander, and Tholuck cease to be green in my memory.

Professor Tholuck is a small, well-built man, with chestnut hair, light eyes, a somewhat wrinkled face, and a mild, thoughtful cast of features. He is about fifty years of age—is very near-sighted, and yet, like Neander, does not use spectacles. He has almost entirely relinquished writing; his labours now are chiefly confined to the delivery of two lectures daily, at the University. He speaks English with great readiness and propriety, and yet, as he told me, it is with difficulty that he comprehends Shakespeare in the original. The number of theological students now at Halle is about 400; the catalogue has very considerably decreased since last year's political disturbances.

The Independents have for many years supported, in the neighbourhood of the metropolis, three separate institutions for the education, especially, of theological students, namely, Homerton, Highbury, and Coward Colleges; but the trustees and committees of these institutions have resolved to unite the three, so as to form one efficient college, with a larger staff of professors than was connected with the older colleges, and with a more extended course of study in the various branches of theology, literature, and science. An eligible piece of ground has been purchased for the site of the new college, in St. John's Wood, and it is expected that the new building will be completed by the autumn of next year.—*Inquirer*.

Among works announced as in the press, we see one under the title of Israel and the Gentiles: *Contributions to the History of the Jews from the earliest times to the present day*, by Dr. Isaac de Costa of Amsterdam.

Damascus.

Damascus.—At a recent meeting of the American Ethnographical Society, letters were read by Professor Robinson from the Rev. Eli Smith and the Rev. W. Thomson—the latter giving an interesting account of his explorations in and about Damascus and other parts of Syria. He observes that there are more extensive remains of antiquity in Damascus than are generally known; and proceeds to give a vivid description of one of them. This is an immense building, which he describes minutely; it is built of heavy stone, seventy paces long on the south side, with a door in the centre; and on the west side it is at present seventy paces in length. Mr. Thomson also gives an entertaining narrative of the different stages of his journey, with delineations of the nature of the country.—*New York Literary World.*

American Professors.—The multifarious duties of a Professor of an American College may be seen from an item of news in a New York paper: the Rev. J. W. McCulloch, D.D., Rector of St. John's Church, Lafayette, Ind., having accepted the Professorship of Belles Lettres, Mental Philosophy, and Geology, at West Tennessee College, at Jackson, in that State; and also the Rectorship of St. Luke's Church in that place, has changed his residence accordingly.

A Bibliographical Catalogue of the books, translations of the Scriptures, at other publications in the Indian tongues of the United States has just been prepared by Henry R. Schoolcraft, Esq. of the Indian Bureau. It is intended to denote the progress which has been made in this department of inquiry.

We are glad to find that Dr. Robinson of New York has at length issued the third edition of his translation of Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon. It has not yet reached us, but we hope to introduce it more formally in the next Number of the Journal.

A new monthly publication, to be called the *Shield of the Church*, is about to be commenced in the United States, with the primary object of guarding the episcopal congregations against the Tractarian principles which appear to be gaining ground alarmingly among them.

Calvin's Sermons.—In an American work, *Monograph on the Moral Sense*, by Dr. J. A. Smith, the following statement respecting Calvin's sermons is given on the authority of Senebier's *Histoire Littéraire de Genève*, 1876.—'It appears that in about the twenty years he ruled Geneva, Calvin preached nearly two thousand sermons. Of these some twenty have been published, while of the remainder the texts only have been preserved. And of a truth, with two, and only two barely possible exceptions, these texts are remarkable.

| | | | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|---------------------|----|---------------------|-----|
| Genesis | 123 | Ezra | 65 | Acts | 189 |
| Deuteronomy | 200 | Joel | 17 | St. Paul—1 Corinth. | 110 |
| Job | 59 | Amos | 43 | 2 Corinth. | 66 |
| Psalms | 94 | Obadiah | 5 | Galatians | 43 |
| Isaiah | 91 | Jonah | 6 | Thessalon. | 46 |
| Jeremiah | 25 | Micah | 28 | 1 Timothy | 55 |
| Ezekiel | 174 | Zephaniah | 17 | 2 Timothy | 31 |
| Daniel | 47 | | | Titus | 48 |

'Nineteen hundred and twenty-five sermons, and not one of them from either of the Gospels!'

For our parts, we suspect the list to be imperfect, as it stands. If it be perfect, the inference to the disadvantage of Calvin, which Dr. Smith means to show from the omission of texts from the Gospels, may be neutralized by observing that there are none from the Romans, from the Hebrews, nor from the Epistles of John, all of which might be expected to furnish favourite texts to Calvin. It is really much more surprising that there are no texts from the Romans than that there are none from the Gospels.

We have heard with pleasure that the Rev. Thomas Gordon is engaged in the translation of Wieseler's excellent work on the 'Chronology of the Apostolic Age to the Death of the Apostles Paul and Peter.' (*Chronologie der Apostolischen Zeitalters bis zum Tode der Apostel Paulus und Petrus.*) This, if well executed, will be a valuable addition to our chronological literature.

Dr.

Dr. A. Benisch is preparing for the press 'The Pentateuch, Hebrew and English (including the Haftorahs), being the first part of a Jewish Family and School Bible, translated from the original Hebrew.' The prospectus alleges the necessity of a Jewish version, not only on the common grounds urged by Jews as to the Christian character of the Authorized version, but that 'The Anglican version having been executed more than two centuries ago, the translators could not reflect upon it that light which the profound researches of so many ages have since abundantly thrown upon the subjects treated in the Bible, and whereby its comprehension is wonderfully facilitated.'

Booksellers seem to have become increasingly sensible of the importance to their customers and themselves of classed catalogues of books. There is no branch of literature in which these are of so much importance as in biblical literature; and we therefore feel bound to notice a very excellent volume lately issued by Mr. C. J. Stewart, of King William Street, Strand, under the title of 'A Catalogue of Bibles and Biblical Literature.' It is exceedingly well arranged, and will afford important facilities to those in search of books in particular departments of Sacred literature. The classification is further aided by an analytical table of contents, and alphabetical indices of subjects and authors. The preparation of such catalogues is a work of expense and labour, but must be well repaid by the facilities afforded to purchasers. The fault of all sale catalogues is, however, that they embrace only the works in the stock of the particular bookseller. A catalogue embracing *all* the works in every department of biblical literature would be invaluable; and we are exceedingly glad to learn that something of the kind is in advanced preparation by Mr. Darling, of the Clerical Library, Little Queen Street.

Many of our readers who feel interest in the Waldenses will hear with pleasure that a monthly publication has been commenced among them under the title *L'Echo des Vallées, Feuille mensuelle, spécialement consacrée aux intérêts de la famille Vaudoise*.

German Universities.—During the last winter half year, the number of students in the Berlin University was 1182, of whom 190 were of the theological faculty. In Halle the students were 697, in the theological faculty 374. In Königsberg the students were 318, of whom the theological faculty had 50. In Leipsig the students were 928, in theology 225. In Heidelberg 609 students, in theology 60. In Erlangen 441 students, in theology 182.

SAXONY.—The actual population of this kingdom is stated in the *Allgemeine Kirchen Zeitung* for March 27, as 1,836,438; of whom 1,799,121 are Lutherans, 2524 Calvinists, 32,544 Roman Catholics, 1098 German Catholics, 113 Greeks, 988 Jews, 45 Anglicans, 1 Mennonite.

BELGIUM.—It is stated, by the most recent accounts, that the population of this country is 4,200,000, the great bulk of whom are Roman Catholics. The Protestants are but 16,000; and there are 30,000 Jews.

NETHERLANDS.—According to the *Katholischen Handbuch* for 1849, the population of the Netherlands on January 1, 1847, comprised 1,834,513 Protestants, 1,171,910 Catholics, and 55,800 Jews. This may surprise those who have been in the habit of regarding Holland as almost entirely Protestant. The foreign possessions of Holland are on the same authority stated to contain about 15½ millions of souls, of whom 70,000 are Christians, including 31,000 Catholics. The pastoral charge for the Netherlands (both Protestant and Catholic, we presume) is committed to 1471 ministers in Europe, and 29 in the transmarine possessions.

JERUSALEM.—It seems that the usual squabbles between the Greeks and Latins have acquired unusual vehemence of late by reason of the coercive measures adopted by the Greek patriarch Cyril against the peasantry attached to the Latin communion. In the fulness of power, and safe under Russian protection, he incarcerates and beats these poor people at his will—treating with complete neglect the recent firman in favour of religious freedom, notwithstanding the apparent earnestness of the Pasha in attempting to give it full effect. The Roman Catholics were looking forward with hope of relief to the arrival of M. Botta, the discoverer of the

the Assyrian antiquities at Mosul, who had been appointed French Consul at Jerusalem.

We rejoice to hear that the second volume of Dr. Samuel Davidson's work on the Introduction to the New Testament is in the press; and although its progress has been delayed by a severe domestic affliction, its appearance may now be very shortly expected.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH.

- Atlas (The) of Prophecy; being the Prophecies of Daniel and St. John. 4to. pp. 236.
- Attempt to prove the Calculations of the Rev. Robert Fleming incorrect. By an Inquirer. svo. pp. 100.
- Augustine (S.)—Homilies of the Gospel according to St. John and his First Epistle. Translated, with Notes and Indices. Vol. 2, svo. pp. 700.
- Balmey.—An English Translation of Balmey's celebrated Work, "Protestantism and Catholicism compared in their Effects upon European Civilization." svo. pp. 452.
- Benedict (D.)—A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and other Parts of the World. Royal svo. (New York), pp. 970.
- Biber (Rev. G. E.)—The Life of St. Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles. 12mo. pp. 238.
- Binney (Rev. T.)—The Ultimate Design of the Christian Ministry to present every Man perfect in Christ Jesus. 12mo. pp. 130.
- Blakey (R.)—The Temporal Benefits of Christianity, exemplified in its Influence on the Social, Intellectual, Civil, and Political Condition of Mankind. svo. pp. 408.
- Bonar (Rev. H.)—The Coming and the Kingdom of the Lord Jesus. Fcp. pp. 480.
- Boys (Rev. T.)—A Word for the Church, with Remarks on the Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel's Essay on the Union of Church and State. 12mo. pp. 174.
- Buchanan (Rev. Dr. R.)—The Ten Years' Conflict; being the History of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland. 2 vols. svo. pp. 1164.
- Burgess (Rev. H.)—Eminent Personal Religion the Want of the Times. 24mo. pp. 48.
-
- Truth or Orthodoxy: to which must we Sacrifice? svo. pp. 23.
- Bushnell (H.)—God in Christ. Three Discourses delivered at Newhaven, Cambridge, and And ver. 12mo. (Hartford, U.S.), pp. 356.
- Chalmers' (Rev. Thomas) Works. Vols. 1 to 25, new edition. 12mo.
-
- (Dr. T.)—Posthumous Works. Edited by the Rev. Dr. Hanna. Vol. 7, svo. pp. 532.
- Clemens.—The Spiritual Reign: an Essay on the Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. 12mo. pp. 214.
- Cureton (Rev. W.)—Corpus Ignatianum; a complete Collection of the Ignatian Epistles. Royal svo. pp. 384.
- Curzon (R.)—Visits to the Monasteries in the Levant. Post svo. pp. 480.
- Cyclopædia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes: a Collection of several Thousand Facts, Incidents, Narratives, Examples, and Testimonials, embracing the best of the kind in most former collections, and some hundreds in addition, Original and Selected. With copious Topical and Scriptural Indexes. By Rev. K. Arvine, A.M., Pastor of Providence Church, New York; with an Introduction by Rev. Geo. B. Cheever, D.D. 1 vol. royal svo.
- Denham (Rev. J. F.)—An Introductory Lecture on the Union of Religion and Education. 12mo. pp. 24.
- De Wette.—Theodore; or, The Sceptic's Conversion: History of the Culture of a Protestant Clergyman. By James F. Clarke. 2 vols. 12mo. (Boston, U. S.) pp. 766.

Dixon

- Dixon (Rev. J.)—*Methodism in America ; with the Personal Narrative of the Author during a Tour through a part of the United States and Canada.* 12mo. pp. 510.
- Dowling (Dr. J.)—*The History of Romanism, from the Earliest Corruptions of Christianity to the Present Time.* 8vo. (New York), pp. 798.
- Evans (T.)—*An Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends, in some of the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion.* 12mo. pp. 316.
- Fairbairn (Rev. P.)—*Jonah : his Life, Character, and Mission.* 12mo. (Edinburgh), pp. 243.
- Ford (Rev. J.)—*The Gospel of St. Mark illustrated (chiefly in the Doctrinal and Moral Sense), from Ancient and Modern Authors.* 8vo. pp. 414.
- France and her Religious History ; or, Sketches of her Martyrs and Reformers. 12mo. pp. 304.
- Garbett (Rev. J.)—*Modern Philosophical Infidelity : or the Personality of God.* 8vo. pp. 51.
- Gesenius (Prof.)—*Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldees, from the Latin of Professor Gesenius.* By Dr. Edward Robinson. 3rd edition, royal 8vo. (New York), pp. 1130.
- Greek Testament, a Practical Guide to the. 12mo. pp. 92.
- Ham (J. P.)—*Life and Death ; or, The Theology of the Bible in relation to Human Immortality.* 18mo. (Bristol), pp. 168.
- History of the Puritans in England and the Pilgrim Fathers. 12mo. pp. 508.
- Hollingsworth (Rev. A. G. H.)—*The Holy Land Restored ; or, An Examination of the Prophetic Evidence for the Restitution of Palestine to the Jews.* Post 8vo. pp. 300.
- Hubert (Rev. H. S. M.)—*England in the Days of Wiclif.* 12mo. pp. 212.
- Israel and the Gentiles : Contributions to the History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the present Day. By Dr. Isaac da Costa, of Amsterdam. Post 8vo.
- Johns' (Rev. B. G.) *History of the Jews, from the Captivity to the Coming of the Messiah.* 12mo. Map.
- Knox (Rev. T.)—*Daniel the Prophet, Reflections on his Life and Character.* 18mo. (Dublin), pp. 228.
- Lamb (The), as it had been slain. 12mo. pp. 59.
- Layard (A. H.)—*The Monuments of Nineveh, from Drawings made on the Spot.* Folio, pp. 23, illustrated with 100 plates.
- Lectures on Medical Missions. 12mo. (Edinburgh), pp. 320.
- Lee (S.)—*An Inquiry into the Nature, Progress, and End of Prophecy.* By Samuel Lee, D.D. 8vo. pp. 638.
- Letters of Certain Jews to M. Voltaire ; containing an Apology for their Own People, and for the Old Testament : with Critical Reflections. Translated by the Rev. Philip Lefanu, D.D. 2 vols. in 1, 8vo. (Philadelphia), pp. 612.
- Lynch (W. F.)—*Narrative of an Exploring Expedition to the Dead Sea and Source of the Jordan ; undertaken by order of the Government of the United States.* 8vo. with numerous engravings.
- Macdonald (J.)—*The Life of the Rev. John Macdonald, late Missionary Minister from the Free Church of Scotland at Calcutta.* By the Rev. W. K. Tweedie. Post 8vo. pp. 490.
- Magoon (E. L.)—*Republican Christianity ; or, True Liberty, as exhibited in the Life, Precepts, and Early Disciples of the Great Redeemer.* Post 8vo. (Boston, U. S.), pp. 423.
- Maitland (C.)—*The Apostles' School of Prophetic Interpretation.* 8vo.
- Marsh (Rev. W. T.)—*The Church and the State ; or, A Brief Apology for the Church of England in her connexion with the State.* 12mo. pp. 480.
- Mason (J. M.)—*Complete Works.* Edited by his Son, Ebenezer Mason. 4 vols. 8vo. (New York), pp. 2352.
- Missionary Enterprise : a Collection of Discourses on Christian Missions, by American Authors. Edited by Baron Stow. 12mo. (Boston, U. S.), pp. 316.
- Montague (E. P.)—*Narrative of the Late Expedition to the Dead Sea.* 12mo. (Philadelphia), pp. 336.

Morgan

- Morgan (Rev. R. W.)—Notes on various distinctive Varieties of the Christian Church. 8vo. pp. 462.
- Morris (A. J.)—Christ the Spirit of Christianity. 12mo. pp. 24.
- Neale (J. M.)—Tetralogia Liturgica : sive S. Jacobi, S. Marci, S. Chrysostomi Divinæ Missæ : quibus accedit Officium Mozarabicum. 8vo. pp. 308.
- Newman (F. W.)—The Soul ; her Sorrows and her Aspirations : an Essay towards the Natural History of the Soul, as the Basis of Theology. Post 8vo. pp. 234.
- Nitzsch (C. J.)—System of Christian Doctrine. By Dr. Carl Immanuel Nitzsch. Translated from the 5th revised and enlarged German edition, by the Rev. Robert Montgomery and John Hennen. 8vo. (Edinb.), pp. 426.
- Robertson (Rev. J. S. S.)—Eighteen Lectures, Practical and Expository, upon St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians. 12mo. pp. 280.
- Sabbath.—Letter to Sir Andrew Agnew on the Observance of Sunday. Also, Calvin on the Fourth Commandment. 8vo. pp. 38.
- Scripture Sites and Scenes, from Actual Survey in Egypt, Arabia, and Palestine. Small 8vo. pp. 190.
- Smith (G.)—Sacred Annals. Vol. 2, comprising the History and Religion of the Jewish People. Crown 8vo.
- Stephen (Sir J.)—Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1032.
- Sumner.—A Selection from the Archbishop of Canterbury's Practical Exposition of the Gospels, of those parts more particularly which refer to the Faith and Practices of a Christian. By the Rev. George Wilkinson. 12mo. pp. 216.
- Tattam (Dr. H.)—The Apostolical Constitutions ; or, Canons of the Apostles : in Coptic. With an English Translation by Henry Tattam, LL.D., D.D. 8vo. pp. 216.
- Taylor (J.)—The Thumb Bible ; or, Verbum Sempiternum. Printed from the Edition of 1692. 64mo. clasped.
- Thomson (J.)—Exposition of the Gospel according to St. Luke, chaps. i. to ix., in a Series of Lectures. 8vo. pp. 524.
- Trench (R. C.)—Sacred Latin Poetry. By R. C. Trench. 12mo. pp. 372.
- West (R. A.)—Sketches of Wesleyan Preachers. 12mo. pp. 392.
- Westwood (J. O.)—Illuminated Illustrations of the Bible, copied from Select Manuscripts of the Middle Ages. 4to.
- Willis (R.)—The Architectural History of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. 8vo. pp. 166.
- Woodcock (Rev. W. J.)—Scripture Lands ; or, A Visit to the Scenes of the Bible. Post 8vo., with Illustrations.
- Wordsworth (C.)—The Apocalypse, or Book of Revelation ; the Original Greek Text, with Manuscript Collations, &c. 8vo. pp. 420.
- Wroth (H. T.)—Mohammedanism considered in relation to the Christian Evidences : an Essay which obtained the Hulsean Prize for the year 1848. 8vo. (Cambridge). pp. 82.

FOREIGN.

- Buisson.—Les Paraboles de l'Evangile, expliquées et développées en six Discours. 12mo.
- Caussin de Percival.—Essai sur l'Histoire des Arabes avant l'Islamisme, pendant l'époque de Mahomet, et jusqu'à la réduction de toutes les tribus sous la loi musulmane. 3 vols. 8vo.
- Hahn (K. A.)—Auswahl aus Ulfilas gothischer Bibelübersetzung. Mit einem Wörterbuch. 8vo. (Heidelb.)
- Jacquín et Duesberg.—Dictionnaire d'Antiquités Chrétiennes. 8vo.
- Koch (Dr. Aug.)—Commentar üb. die Briefe d. Apostels Paulus an die Thessalonicher. 1 Thl. : Der erste Brief. 8vo. (Berlin.)
- Kurtz (J. H.)—Bibel u. Astronomie, nebst mehr. Zugaben verwandten Inhalts. 8vo. (Berlin.)
- Meyers (P.)—De Symboli apostolici Titulo, origine et antiquissimis ecclesie temporibus auctoritate dissertatio theolog. 8vo. (Trev.)

THE
JOURNAL
OF
SACRED LITERATURE.

~~~~~  
No. VIII.—OCTOBER, 1849.  
~~~~~

TISCHENDORF'S GREEK TESTAMENT.

By SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES.

Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad antiquos testes recensuit, apparatus criticum multis modis auctum et correctum apposuit, commentationem isagogicam præmisit CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF, Theol. Dr. et Prof. Editio Lipsiensis secunda. Lipsiæ. A. Winter. MDCCCLXIX.

THE name of Dr. Tischendorf has been well and widely known in connection with New Testament criticism ever since the publication of his first edition in 1841. At that time he had the opportunity of using only the critical materials which others had elaborated; he now comes forward as presenting the result of *his own* labours in this field,—labours which at once place him in the first rank amongst the collators and publishers of Biblical MSS.

In introducing this new edition of Tischendorf's Greek Testament to our readers, we have to speak first of the state of critical opinion relative to the sources from which the text of that book may be the more accurately edited.

From the time when Griesbach, by his endeavours to correct the text of the Greek New Testament, drew a far more general attention to the subject of textual criticism than had previously existed, the minds of scholars were more or less directed either to uphold those documents which in general support the 'Received Text,' or else those which differ widely from it, and from their antiquity possess no small claim to attention.

VOL. IV.—NO. VIII.

P

The

The New Testament published by Dr. J. M. A. Scholz was the result of the very extensive collations of MSS. carried on for some years by himself. He rested strongly on the large numbers of the MSS. still extant which were written within the limits of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and which present a very general agreement. Hence in many passages in which Griesbach had followed the more ancient copies, Scholz relied on the number of the more recent, and thus adhered to the received text or to readings which do not differ much from it.

Thus the text of Scholz was highly valued by many who feared innovation: they were willing to believe that a deep truth lay at the basis of his system, and thus they acquiesced in his estimate of authorities. Others, too, who were dissatisfied with Griesbach's system of recensions, were willing to assent to the twofold division of MSS. proposed by Scholz; and this was often the case without an accurate inquiry into and investigation of the correctness of his arrangement of documents and authorities under the respective classes. Scholz's twofold division was supposed by some to be a new discovery of his own; they overlooked Bengel's distribution of documents into families, and the entirely different estimate which he formed of their respective authority.

In this manner the critical principles of Scholz found many advocates in this country: not so much amongst those who had really *studied* the subject, as amongst the very numerous class who deprecate all application of criticism to the sacred text.

One part of the critical labour of Scholz was of great utility and importance: in the course of his *Biblico-Critical Travels* he examined the Greek MSS. in most libraries: he thus extended widely the knowledge which we possess on the subject; and his collations, though often very partial and hurried, afford at least some indication of the class of text to which the different documents belong.

Just after Scholz's first volume appeared, Lachmann, in his manual edition, took an entirely opposite path of criticism. He used as authorities the most ancient MSS. *only*, and the Latin Vulgate. His text is therefore founded at least on ancient authorities. From the time of Lachmann's edition there has been found in Germany, among many scholars, a great appreciation of the principle of recurring to the more ancient authorities.

Tischendorf, in his first edition in 1841, adopted this principle to a considerable degree. We shall not here discuss the statement which he then gave of the principles on which he formed his text, and of the manner in which he modified his recurrence to the most ancient authorities: we shall have occasion, in reviewing the edition before us, to speak of the critical principles which

which he *now* states, after the lapse of some years devoted to such studies.

The present edition exhibits a recension of the Greek text with a selection of various readings—the result not merely of the labours of previous collators, but *especially* of those of Tischendorf himself, during the years which have elapsed since his first edition appeared.

Prefixed there are prolegomena in which the following subjects are noticed :—Tischendorf's own labours in the collation, &c., of ancient documents; the critical principles on which he has acted in this edition; the dialect of the Greek New Testament; the subject of recensions of the Greek text; the order of the books; forms of proper names, &c.; editions of the Sacred Text, Elzevir, Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, Muralt, Bornemann (Acts of the Apostles), and Tregelles (Apocalypse). Then follows the list of MSS., versions, &c., on which the text is based.

The account of Tischendorf's own labours shows how much Biblical critics are indebted to him. Since the publication of his first edition he has himself copied or collated almost every uncial MS. which is known to exist. The very important Palimpsest MS., the Codex Ephraemi at Paris (C), has been published by Tischendorf; and this has been succeeded by the text of the Codex L of the Gospels, which was accompanied by that of B of the Apocalypse, and several important fragments. He has also published the Latin Codex Palatinus. He has a transcript of the Codex Claromontanus (D of St. Paul's Epistles), which he announces it to be his intention to publish.

He states (p. lvii.) that he has personally examined every known uncial MS. of the New Testament, except H of the Gospels at Hamburg, V of the Gospels and K of the Epistles at Moscow, the Codex San-Germanensis at St. Petersburg, and the fragments P Q Z and the MS. Δ which have been published. The travels during which the MSS. were thus examined, occupied Tischendorf from 1840 to 1844, and the results obtained are given in the Wiener Jahrbucher, 1847 (Anziageblatt).

It is evident that these more extended labours would give the present edition a great superiority over that which Tischendorf first published. *Then* he only had the collations of others to rely on; *now* he presents the fruit of his own labours. This gives his work a value to those who differ from his critical principles, as well as to those who agree with them more or less fully.

Tischendorf gives an account of what he has done, since the publication of his first edition, in connection with the ancient versions. Of these he has collated the Codex Amiatinus of the Latin Vulgate, and some other Latin authorities. For the other

versions he has relied, generally speaking, on the best printed editions. Many Fathers, and some editions of the Greek Testament, have been re-examined.

The materials thus collected are obviously incapable of being fully exhibited in a *manual* edition, such as this is. The principle of selection which Tischendorf has adopted has been to give those which support his text, and also those which he considers to be of sufficient importance to merit notice. The principle on which he has acted in this is briefly explained in a note (p. xi.). We may remark that it requires a very considerable degree of *attention* for the mind fully and *readily* to observe what authorities support and what *contradict* the readings mentioned. In the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, the readings are given less sparingly than in the Gospels. Many will, we believe, regret that they have not had brought before them the *full* results of such extended labours. This would no doubt be desirable and important, but in a small and *cheap manual* edition it is impracticable. We must thank the learned editor for what he has given us.

We have now to speak of one of the most important parts of the subject—the critical principles laid down by the editor. We may illustrate the importance of an editor's principles by a reference to Wetstein's Greek Testament. Wetstein's own labours had been considerable, (though often *overstated*: the number of MSS. of the Gospels which he *himself* collated in thirty-five years was about *twenty*), he had with great industry collected the collations of Mill and others, and he had re-examined many versions and Fathers; and yet his Greek Testament is not one to which reference can be made except as a storehouse of materials. His indications of the readings which he preferred to those of the 'received text' have scarcely any critical weight, from the character of the critical principles which he adopted.

This shows the importance of not only collecting the materials for critical use, but of also *applying* them on sound principles.

The following, then, are the principles which Tischendorf has laid down for the formation of his text.

'The text is only to be sought from ancient evidence, and especially from Greek MSS., but without neglecting the testimonies of versions and Fathers. Thus the whole conformation of the text should proceed from the evidences themselves and not from what is called the *received* edition.'

This rule we believe to be most sound and important. *What* the inspired authors actually wrote is a matter of testimony; the ancient evidences which have been transmitted to us present us the best accredited grounds on which we can form a judgment. Tischendorf then adds, that where testimonies differ, the most ancient
Greek

Greek MSS. deserve especially to be relied on. Under the term 'Codices Græci antiquissimi,' he includes the documents from the fourth to about the ninth century. This is, however, a pretty wide limit, and these MSS. themselves he would classify according to their age. This, if *fully* carried out, will, we believe, present several important features in the history of the text; for we should thus find, we believe, a gradual change in the text from the *most* ancient documents of all, until we find readings in general use which are almost identical with the MSS. of modern copies.

But although Tischendorf carries down his most ancient MSS. as far as the ninth century, he adds, that the authority of the older amongst them is much the greater; and that this authority on the one hand is greatly confirmed if there are corroborating testimonies of versions and Fathers, and on the other hand it is not to be rejected, even though most, or all, of the more modern copies read differently.

Tischendorf speaks (p. xiii.) of the *early* rise of various readings; this he attributes in part to the early Christians having had but little reverence for 'the written letter.' It seems to us, however, very doubtful whether this were really the fact. Irenæus, when discussing the various readings which even in his day had crept in to the text of Rev. xiii. 18 (616 for 666), speaks positively on the point, that the true reading is 666, which he knew from those who had known the Apostle John face to face: he then speaks of those who introduced the erroneous number 616, and he is willing to attribute it to transcriptural error;—'We think that pardon will be granted by God to those who have done this simply and without malice.' He would have used very different language had he supposed indifference to the text of Scripture. We would rather attribute the early origin of various readings in the New Testament to the ordinary causes, which must have operated all the more rapidly, from the *frequency* with which the Scriptures were transcribed for the use of churches and Christians in the first ages.

In addition to the principle of following ancient testimonies entirely, Tischendorf gives certain rules for weighing authorities:—

1. A reading altogether peculiar to one or another ancient document is suspicious, as also is any even if supported by a class of documents, which seem to evince that they have proceeded from the revision of a learned man.

2. Readings, however well supported by evidence, are to be rejected, when it is manifest or very probable that they have proceeded from the error of copyists.

3. In parallel passages whether of the New or the Old Testament, especially in the *synoptical* Gospels which ancient copyists continually

continually brought into increased accordance, those testimonies are to be preferred in which precise accordance of such parallel passages is not found; unless, indeed, there be important reasons to the contrary.

4. In discrepant readings that is preferable which may have given occasion to the rest, or which appears to comprise the elements of the rest.

5. Those readings are to be maintained which accord with New Testament Greek, or with the particular style of each individual writer.

These rules are then illustrated by remarks and examples. On the *first* Tischendorf says, that especially in the Gospels, where the uncial MSS. are several in number, it would be incautious to receive a reading into the text on the authority of but *one* MS., unless such reading be in some measure corroborated. We think that there can hardly be a passage in the Gospels where it would be needful to rely upon but *one* MS., *unless the passage present a remarkable discrepancy of reading.* Tischendorf would apparently introduce the same limitation. He gives, as an example, Mark ii. 22, where, instead of the common reading ὁ οἶνος ἐκχεῖται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοὶ ἀπολύνται, he reads ὁ οἶνος ἀπόλλυται καὶ οἱ ἀσκοί. This reading he adopts as being that of the Vatican MS., though he would not have received it as resting on that single testimony, unless it had been also the reading of the *Coptic* version. He considers that this passage has been corrupted from the parallel passages in the other Gospels. It must also be considered that in this passage other authorities *partially* confirm the Vatican reading. The following words (ἀλλὰ οἶνον νέον εἰς ἀσκοὺς καινοὺς βλητέον) he omits on the authority of D and four ancient Latin MSS., considering them to have been introduced from the parallel passages. It must, however, be borne in mind that the direct and united evidence of all the other most ancient documents possesses *very great* weight, much greater, as it appears to us, than the *presumption* arising from the known fact that parallel passages were often brought into closer agreement. Tischendorf says that he has often paused in doubt in such cases, as to what reading he should insert in his text: we do not wonder at this, especially as he does not indicate *probable* or *not improbable* readings in his margin. We believe that *evidence* must be first regarded, and that in cases of *equal* or *nearly equal* evidence, probability arising from the nature of the case may come in to help us to a decision.

In cases in which particular MSS. appear to be partial to particular *tenses of verbs*, or modes of expression, Tischendorf would use his first rule as excluding such readings from being received, simply on the authority of such MSS. He would exclude any
reading

reading which may seem to have arisen from a *recension* (i.e. critical revision) by a learned man. He specifies Matt. xxv. 16 (misprinted 15) as an instance; where he rejects the reading ἐκέρδυσεν, though supported by A**BCDL, and other MSS., the Vulgate, Syriac, later Syriac marg., Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Arabic, and Persic versions. In spite of all this evidence he considers that it *must* be regarded as a critical emendation for the common reading ἐποίησεν. But as to this, must we not follow *evidence*? If ἐκέρδυσεν be a critical correction, is it not strange that it should be supported so strongly by the best and most ancient MSS. in a body, and that this should be confirmed by the versions? Tischendorf, indeed, admits that this critical correction (if such it be) is as old as the *second* or *third* century: if so, how can we prove this reading not to be genuine? or how can we show that the reading ἐποίησεν (if genuine) had been transmitted through the early period of the history of the text? In this passage Tischendorf *not* stated the authorities which support the reading which he has adopted. We may further ask, whether a copyist might not have changed the more appropriate term ἐκέρδυσεν into the more familiar ἐποίησεν?

As to his *second* rule, Tischendorf admits fully how often it must be a matter of doubt whether a reading which *appears* to arise from the error of a copyist *really* does so or not. Many things, which to an inexperienced person seem to be transcriptional errors, are not really such. Tischendorf gives some good examples of the confusion of similar words, &c., which actually arise from this source. We are fully persuaded that many readings, which some (even Tischendorf himself) would attribute to the errors of transcribers, are really genuine; and that before a well-supported reading be rejected as though it were devoid of sense, the whole passage must be well and cautiously considered; and then it will commonly be found that the reading in which the ancient authorities agree, affords a sense which, though perhaps not very obvious, is *good*, and which, so far from being attributable to the error of a transcriber, must be considered as genuine, and that the more apparently simple reading is only an attempt at correction.

Tischendorf illustrates his *third* rule by Matt. xxiii. 4, where he omits καὶ δυσβάστακτα after βαρεῖα with L, and a few later MSS., and some versions: this he does because it is the reading of the parallel passage in Luke. We do not think that this passage fully illustrates the rule with regard to parallel texts in the Synoptical Gospels, because here the amount of evidence for the retention of the words in Matthew appears to us to be too considerable for us to set it aside at once by the application of a principle. Indeed in all such cases we think it needful *first* to examine the

the evidence, and *then* to compare the parallel passages ; we must form a judgment on probabilities when we cannot as to certainties.

In the case of parallel texts cited from the Old Testament, Tischendorf states that he has continually had recourse to the collations in the Oxford edition of Holmes and Parsons.

The *fourth* rule—that the reading should be preferred from which the others have sprung—is described as being (if taken in a wide sense) the principle of all rules. In support of this, reference is made to Griesbach's Prolegomena. Its *application* will however depend very much on the *subjective* feeling of each one who uses it. Tischendorf gives as an illustration Matt. xxiv. 38, where the common reading is ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ταῖς πρὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ : some MSS. insert ἐκείναις after ἡμέραις, while others (L one Lectionary, three Latin MSS and Origen twice) omit ταῖς πρὸ. Tischendorf follows these last-mentioned authorities : he thinks it far more probable that the original reading was 'days of the flood,' and that the others have arisen out of it. He thinks that some copyists or critics thought it was hardly correct to say 'they were eating and drinking in the days of the flood,' and hence the reading 'that were *before* the flood.' This *might* possibly be the origin of this reading ; but the evidence is too great in favour of the reading 'that were before the flood,' for us to think that this consideration and this measure of evidence can suffice to overturn it. The words ταῖς πρὸ might be most easily passed over by a transcriber ; and as to the citation of Origen, how often do we not find a quotation slightly abridged when nothing in the argument turns on the omitted words ? As to the term 'days of the flood' being not strictly correct to express days which preceded the flood, we think that the assertion goes rather too far : the days which preceded the flood, up to and *including* that on which the flood came, might be so called ; and we do not think that the idea of correcting this is likely to have originated the introduction of *before*.

In the other passage which is given as an illustration of this fourth rule—Mark viii. 26, there are much stronger grounds ; for here, μηδὲ εἰς τὴν κάμην εἰσελθῆς, without the words which follow in the common text, is the reading supported by BL. two later MSS., and the Coptic version. Other authorities introduce a great variety of reading, all of which may easily have sprung from that which Tischendorf has adopted : the common text here has, however, considerable support.

We should be inclined to give a prominent place amongst such rules to that laid down by Bengel, '*Proclivi lectioni præstat ardua* ;' this will often, we believe, aid to the formation of a correct judgment, *when* evidence is somewhat balanced. We should

should also in similar cases attribute considerable importance to the *habitual tendency* of copyists to *amplify*, and to insert marginal notes into the text. On this we may yet make some further remarks.

On the *fifth* of the rules laid down—that of adhering to the forms, &c. of the New Testament Greek—Tischendorf gives some good remarks, although the subject is (as he says) too extensive to be taken up in a passing way. He shows how strange it is that forms of Greek which are called *Alexandrian*, should be rejected as spurious in the New Testament, by those who maintain their existence in the Old Testament in the LXX version. He shows that at the time when the New Testament was written, Alexandrian Greek was very widely diffused; that in many things the LXX formed the style, &c. of the Apostolic writings. And also, that although the copies of the LXX in common use are replete with these forms and the common text of the New Testament is without them, it does not prove any contradistinction, because the LXX has been printed from *ancient* MSS., the New Testament from *modern*; the ancient copies of the New Testament contain these forms, the modern copies of the LXX (as shown in the various readings of Holmes and Parsons) do not; so that in fact there is a general agreement in this respect between the MS. authorities. Thus ‘the authorities on which we rely in the Old Testament may be safely followed in the New. Farther, if it be thought that the Alexandrian grammarians were prone to transform to their own peculiarities works which they received from elsewhere, it would indeed be wonderful that they have not changed *Æschylus* or *Sophocles*, *Plato* or *Aristotle* into *Egyptians*’ (p. xix.). This argument is excellent, and also we think *conclusive* on two points; 1st. that the occurrence of Alexandrian forms in a MS. of the New Testament does not *prove* the MS. to be of Egyptian origin. 2nd. That such forms being generally found in the older MSS. of the New Testament may be safely followed as belonging to the books as they proceeded from the hands of the authors.

From pp. xx. to xxviii. Tischendorf speaks of some of these forms; with his remarks we profess our general concurrence: he also introduces notices of orthographical peculiarities of ancient MSS., &c. One of the points on which he treats is the entire rejection of the form *αὐτοῦ*; he always gives (like some other editors) *αὐτοῦ* with the smooth aspiration. This is a point on which the *most* ancient MSS., as having neither breathings nor accents, cannot afford us *direct* aid; they can however assist us *indirectly*; because we find before *αυτου* the prepositions elided, *not* into *εφ*, *αφ*, *μεθ*, *καθ*, *ανθ*, but *εν*, *απ*, *μετ*, *κατ*, *αντ*; this is also the case in the LXX.

He

He does not enter into the discussion of the peculiarities of the various writers of the New Testament; he leaves the subject to be considered with the attention which it deserves. A New Testament grammar would be needed to discuss all these points fully. To his remarks on the Alexandrian dialect, he adds an announcement of an edition of the LXX, which he proposes to publish in a few months.

To the remarks of Tischendorf on the subject of Alexandrian forms, we would briefly add, that *here* too we must be guided simply by *evidence*; we do not expect that there was in the original autographs of the New Testament precise uniformity in the use of dialectic distinctions; and therefore while we fully acquiesce in the principle of the admission of these forms, we consider that in each occurrence of such a form, the evidence must be weighed which belongs to that particular case.

We have now stated the critical principles which Tischendorf has laid down as those on which his text is formed, and we have considered the principal passages which he has cited in elucidation of these principles. Our readers will, we believe, gather from what we have said, how far we accord with this learned and laborious critic, and how far we do not. We should use his general principle yet more widely than he does: we should seek for the true text in the *most ancient* MSS., using the collateral aid of versions and early citations, and we should subject all modifying *rules* to the claims of absolute *evidence*. We should restrict the application of such modifying rules to passages in which the real conflict of evidence is great. We should also consider that in many cases we could do no more than state the balance of probabilities; so that besides the reading given in the text, other readings should be mentioned as possessing a strong claim to attention. We propose, before we conclude this notice, to consider the manner in which Tischendorf has applied his principles to particular passages.

We do not wish our remarks to be at all misunderstood: we therefore state distinctly that in this learned editor's critical principles we find *far more* with which we agree than the contrary, and that the principles and illustrations alike deserve to be considered attentively.

On the subject of *Recensions* of the text, Tischendorf first gives an account (from his own former Leipsig edition) of the systems proposed by others, and then he briefly expresses his own.

Bengel is first here spoken of as bringing forward distinctions of MSS. into two classes. We may however mention, that pretty plain

plain intimations of the same thing had been previously given by Bentley.

After an allusion to Semler, Tischendorf speaks of Griesbach and his system; then of the modifications proposed by Hug and Eichhorn: the supposed recension undertaken by Origen is rightly described as a mere creation of Hug's imagination.

The actual documents which we possess must be divided, we think, if any classification be attempted, into *two* primary families: those which contain the ancient text, and those which follow the more modern. The former of these classes (although differing among themselves in many particulars) possess features of general agreement, and these are in general also found in the more ancient versions and in the citations. The later MSS. agree amongst themselves more exactly than the most ancient do, and the more recent versions accord with these MSS. The Greek MSS. from the 12th century and onward present a marked agreement, and this is the *most recent* form of the text.

These are the *facts* of the case, and on these Tischendorf proposes his classification, applicable especially (he says) to the Gospels, least of all to the Apocalypse, and more so to the Acts and Pauline Epistles than to the Catholic Epistles. These classes he thinks might be called Alexandrian and Latin, Asiatic and Byzantine, not as being four separate classes, but rather *two pairs*: the first *pair* would comprehend the more ancient documents, the latter the more recent. He then explains what MSS. he would place under each denomination; while at the same time he fully allows that all attempts at defining the origin of each class is beset with difficulties.

It may, we believe, be questioned how far an actual *classification* of MSS. is practicable beyond the distinction of the *ancient* and the *more recent*; subdivisions no doubt exist, and thus there are general truths on which Tischendorf's arrangement is based. Thus, in St. Paul's Epistles, A B C belong to one division, D (with E) F G to another of the same general *class*; while J K on the one hand, and the MSS. later than the 12th century on the other, may be regarded as divisions of the other class. We cannot here carry on the subject farther: its principal importance is, we consider, in connection with the history of the *modernization* of the text: if the term *recension* be used at all, it ought, we think, to be applied only to those attempts to correct the ancient text out of which the modern text has arisen.

The next subject of which Tischendorf treats is the order of the books in the New Testament; he then considers the orthography of some of the *proper names* in the New Testament; he then

then gives a few brief remarks on *accents* and *breathings*, subjects however which he leaves to be discussed elsewhere, as well as the more important topic of *punctuation*.

But although the subject of punctuation is not discussed by Tischendorf in his *Prolegomena*, there is a passage in his text to which we wish to call attention with regard to this point. Rom. ix. 5. καὶ ἐξ ᾧ ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Ἀμήν. Such is the common punctuation; but Tischendorf, in his first Leipsig edition, has imitated some other modern editors in putting a full stop after *σάρκα*. In his Paris edition (the *Protestant* one dedicated to M. Guizot, we mean) the common punctuation of this verse is followed; but in the new Leipsig edition, which we have now under consideration, the point is again placed at *σάρκα*. Such a change as this ought to be supported by very strong evidence. Now the testimony of *Fathers* must be at least allowed this *negative* value, that if they with remarkable unanimity take words in a particular connection, it shows that the words *may* be so taken without violating grammar or context. Now that the *Fathers* *do* take these words in the connection to which we are accustomed is a *fact*; there are no less than *eighteen* writers within the first four centuries who are proofs of this: nor are there any that can be cited in opposition (in spite of the very erroneous statements of Wetstein); and thus it is manifest that the *onus probandi* rests on any who would divide the sentence by inserting a period at *σάρκα*. The versions too confirm the common division.

But it is surprising that any should adopt this new punctuation; for it leaves a clause of a sentence such as is altogether opposed to the principles of Greek collocation. We suppose that it is intended that the words should be understood as a doxology, 'God who is over all [be] blessed for ever!' Had a doxology been intended the collocation must have been entirely different: *εὐλογητὸς* must have introduced the sentence. And this *Socinus* himself admitted. This is evident to any one who will compare the doxologies in other parts of the New Testament and the LXX. Thus, whether we look at the passage in connection with authority or philology, the division of the sentence at *σάρκα** is equally opposed. In fact the division was originally suggested by some in opposition to the application of ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς to Christ, and others may have adopted it without due consideration. (On the whole passage, see 'Biblical Notes and Critical Dissertations,' by J. J. Gurney, pp. 423—456.) Those who would make

* We are well aware that in the Codex Ephraemi (C) there is a point after *σάρκα*; but this is no indication of such a stop as a period. A similar point occurs just before after *ἐπαγγελίαι*, where no one could introduce such a break.

the

the concluding words of this sentence a doxology are by no means agreed *where* to place the stop. We have seen where it is introduced by Tischendorf: the late Dr. De Wette, however, translates thus:—und aus welchen Christus stammet nach dem Fleische, der über alle ist. Gott sie gepriesen in Ewigkeit! Amen.

A new punctuation is here not only needless but it is inadmissible; the *only* connection of the words which will bear the test of criticism is the one commonly received; the climax of what the Apostle has to say of the privileges conferred on Israel—‘of whom, as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.’

In speaking of *editions* of the New Testament, Tischendorf first mentions the *Elzevir*. A list of 115 places in which this text differs from that of Stephens 1550, had been given in Tischendorf's former Leipzig edition; to those he added *twelve* more in his Paris edition, and now he gives a list of *eighteen* others, *eight* of which are in the Apocalypse (*all* of which had been pointed out in the Introduction to Tregelles's ‘Greek and English Revelation,’ p. xxxiv.): these variations of the Stephanic and the Elzevir text are indicated at the bottom of the page; the *importance* of this consists in the fact that MSS. in general have been collated with *one* or the *other* of the two texts, and thus the places in which they *differ* demand particular attention.

The number of differences between these two texts as given by Tischendorf is, then, *one hundred and forty-five*; in collating them together we have noticed *one hundred and fifty-two*. In 1 Pet. i. 3, Tischendorf *omits* the discrepancy of the two texts. Stephens has ἀναγεννήσας ἡμᾶς, but the Elzevir reads ὑμᾶς; and in the next verse he follows Griesbach in giving ἡμᾶς as the reading of Stephens, and ὑμᾶς as that of Elzevir; the fact, however, is that *both* read ἡμᾶς, so this should be omitted from his list. So too in 1 Pet. iii. 7, where he also follows Griesbach in giving συγκληρονόμοις as the Elzevir reading; whereas that text really coincides with that of Stephens in the reading συγκληρονόμοι. Also in Luke xiii. 8, κοπρίαν is given as the ‘received’ reading, when in fact it is merely that of Stephens; the Elzevir has κοπρία (sic), differing only in the accent from that adopted by Griesbach and Tischendorf.

We have in such comparisons found it needful to use *the original editions* of Stephens and the Elzevirs, and not any *reprints*. We believe that most of the discrepancies of this kind have arisen from the use of reprints which do not accurately follow the text on which they are based.

After

After a brief notice of the labours and merits of Griesbach as a textual critic, Tischendorf mentions Scholz, to whom all who prize such studies are indebted for his labours in pointing out *where* MSS. exist and increasing thus our knowledge of materials. He speaks of Scholz having first drawn attention to the uncial MSS. WXYΓ. With regard to X, this is a mistake, for Griesbach mentions this MS. as being then in the public library of Ingolstadt, and he received some of its readings in Luke and John from Dobrowsky. The Text of Scholz is severely criticised by Tischendorf, both as to its critical principles and as to its inaccuracies; these errors have also been noticed by others; we have pointed out some of the more remarkable to Scholz himself. His real merit in connection with New Testament criticism lies in his diligence in exploring libraries and giving information as to *what* MSS. had been previously unexamined.

Tischendorf next speaks of his own Paris editions, although in chronological order Lachmann's smaller edition would have preceded. We will, however, follow his order and mention in this place the editions which he published anterior to the one now under our consideration. The *first* was his Leipzig edition of 1841, with Prolegomena and Critical Apparatus: this was executed *prior* to his own important labours of collation. At Paris in 1842, he published *three* editions; one with the Latin Vulgate in a parallel column, and having the Greek text conformed to the Clementine Latin, wherever any MS. authority whatever would at all support it. At the end, a table is given of the variations of Stephens' third edition and Griesbach's second from this peculiar recension of the Greek text. There was also (though not noticed by Tischendorf in the Prolegomena before us) a smaller edition of this Greek text in conformity with the Latin Vulgate, printed in the same year, but without the Latin and without the various readings at the end. Both of these editions were addressed in the same dedication to the late Archbishop Affre of Paris.

Besides these, there was an edition which generally followed that which had appeared in the preceding year at Leipzig; it has no critical apparatus, but the variations of the editions of Stephens, Elzevir, and Griesbach are subjoined at the end. This edition is dedicated to M. Guizot.^b Tischendorf now states that he

^b The dedications to these Paris editions are curious memorials of the mutability of all things human. That to M. Guizot, 'quem Lutetia doctum et perfectum admiratur oratorem, quem gloriæ suæ Francia colit custodem ac defensorem,' concludes thus: 'Quod reliquum est, vir summe, vale! Vale ut semper tuam illustres patriam, ut gentium conserves pacem, ut angeas bonas artes, ut sacris faveas litteris.'

That to Archbishop Affre winds up thus:—'Quod restat, Deum T. O. M. precor ut

he finds that this edition (which was not corrected by himself) contains many errors, but that he hears that the whole has been recently corrected at Paris. However this may be, it is even at Paris very much confused with the *other* small edition which we have just mentioned; the resemblance of the two in *appearance* is very close, and the two are so much confounded, that in procuring them recently *at the publisher's, both* were done up in the covers which belong to the edition dedicated to Archbishop Affre.

We believe that this distinct account of Tischendorf's *three* Paris editions will not be unacceptable.

Lachmann's editions are discussed at some length; into the particular points of this examination we cannot now enter further than to indicate that the points considered are, the principles of criticism, the narrow range of admitted evidence, the comparatively little pains taken to obtain that evidence as accurately as possible, and passages in which the principles do not appear to be consistently carried out.

Muralt's recent edition of the Greek Testament, *professedly* according to the Vatican MS., receives Tischendorf's severe reprehension. 'Opus est incredibili incitiâ, socordiâ, perfidiâ.' He then shows how it is based merely on a not very accurate comparison of the collation of Birch and that of Giulio Bartolucci; this latter collation is very defective, and yet it receives Muralt's highest praises; while the collation procured by Bentley, by far the most complete which we possess, is wholly neglected by him.

Muralt professed that in *three days*, in 1844, when he was allowed to examine the Vatican MS., he had time sufficient to form a judgment of the accuracy of the respective collations of Birch and Bartolucci. He states the result to be, that in places of discrepancy he generally found Bartolucci to be in the right. Now Tischendorf shows convincingly that Muralt had *very little* opportunity allowed him of examining the Vatican MS., *and none whatever to collate it*; so that at the utmost all that he did was to

ut Te, Eminentiſſime Præſul, ad eccleſiæ Tuæ profectum, ad læta litterarum incrementa, ad orbis chriſtiani totius gaudium, fortem ac ſalvum ad ſeros uſque annos conſervet.' In what a melancholy contrast do theſe concluding words ſtand with the fate of the archbiſhop! We were all the more impreſſed with this, from the fact that we procured our copies of theſe editions on the very anniversary (June 27) of the death of Archbiſhop Affre. When we went to Didot's for that purpoſe, we had juſt entered the cathedral of Notre Dame, wholly unaware that the commemorative ſervice for the repoſe of the archbiſhop's ſoul was then going on. Painful as this ſuperſtitious ceremony was even in its very nature, yet the whole ſcene and the occaſion, and the deep ſorrow of the kneeling multitude, and the chanted dirge, were intenſely ſtriking and ſolemn.

inspect

inspect the MS. for three days—*i.e.* for (at the outside) *three* hours a day; and yet this inspection of *nine* hours is brought forward as though he had really been able, in that time, critically to give the text with accuracy! Tischendorf had certainly far better opportunities of examining the Vatican MS. than Muralt, who boasts of having achieved so much more.

Muralt professes that in those places which he was not able to compare with the MS. itself he has followed Bartolucci; that is to say, that in all the places of discrepancy which he could not examine in nine hours, and, *remember* accurately, he has followed the extremely defective collation of Bartolucci. How slender are the grounds on which Muralt formed this judgment Tischendorf has thoroughly shown. In Luke xxiii. 39, however—one of the passages in the two collations compared by Muralt—that editor is quite right in saying that *αὐτὸν* is mentioned in the collation of Bartolucci as omitted. Tischendorf says, ‘a Bartoluccio notatum ego non vidi;’ he must, then, have overlooked it when examining the MS. of Bartolucci’s collation at Paris. We *saw* it and *transcribed* it. Tischendorf’s general remarks on Muralt’s statements, and the defective execution of his edition, are well deserved.

In addition to the remarks already made by Tischendorf, we may say that *extremely often* Muralt does follow Birch, where Bartolucci is wholly silent. We have also casually observed readings given in the MS. of Bartolucci which Muralt has *not* followed: for instance, Eph. v. 29. Muralt gives *Κύριος*; Bartolucci has *Χριστός*. In 2 Thess. iii. 4, Bartolucci has the insertion of *καὶ ἐποίησατε*, in which Muralt does *not* follow him. In these two places Bentley’s collation agrees with Bartolucci; so that we may be pretty sure that Muralt, in deserting his guide, has not given the true reading of the MS. Probably a careful examination of Muralt’s edition (if it were worth the time and labour) would show many more of these discrepancies. We *now* know enough of the edition not to trust it, even in the one respect in which we once thought it might be useful—*i.e.* with regard to Bartolucci’s collation now in MS. at Paris.

The strictures of Tischendorf may serve to hinder Muralt’s edition from being really taken for what it professes to be.

To those who have not themselves seen and examined *Bornemann’s edition of the Acts of the Apostles, in Greek*, the description given by Tischendorf may appear *overdrawn*. We can, however, fully bear out his statements. We should not have believed it *possible* that any one could edit *such* a text if it had not actually made its appearance: (‘Everything which *is*, is possible,’
said

said St. Cadocus^c); and thus we can fully assent to what Tischendorf says:—‘*sæpe dubites per ludumne an serio scripta legas.*’

Bornemann takes the Codex Bezae for his guide. The strange interpolations of that MS. are precious gems in his eyes; and thus he gives them as relics of the book as written by St. Luke. He seeks to disparage all other MSS., to establish this one. Orthographical errors, &c. of the ‘Codex Ephraemi’ are carefully brought together, with the object of showing that such a MS. must be worthy of but little confidence, happily forgetful that his own cherished favourite contains similar errors, only far greater in magnitude and far more frequent. His great principle appears to be that of receiving as genuine scripture whatever may in any way *claim* to be received as such, as if *pretensions* could give an unquestioned *title*. The additions of the Codex Bezae please him to such a degree that he is *enraptured* with them, and discovers beauties and fragrance in every noxious weed which has there intruded into the text.^d And yet he seems scarcely to know how to use the text of his chosen MS.

It is not surprising that Bornemann should seek for some critical authority for the new principles which he brings forward so adventurously: it is, however, at least strange that he should have tried to identify them with the name of *Porson*. In his Preface, p. xvi., he says, ‘*Instar omnium esto h. l. Porsonus Addend. ad Eurip. Hec. 1169, qui, “observandum est, inquit, librariorum sæpissime ea verba omittere, quæ salva sententia afutura credunt.”*’ This remark of Porson was never intended to have a wider application than that which he gave to it himself. He says (*Letters to Travis*, pp. 149, 150), ‘Perhaps you think it an *affected and absurd* idea that a marginal note can ever creep into the text; yet I hope you are not so ignorant as not to know that this has actually happened, not merely in hundreds or thousands, but in millions of places. *Natura* (says Dailé) *ita comparatum est, ut auctorum probatorum libros plerique omnes amplos quam breves malint; verentes scilicet, ne quid sibi desit, quod auctoris vel sit vel esse dicatur.* To the same purpose Bengelius, *non facile pro superfluo aliquid hodie habent complures docti viri* (he might have added *omnesque indocti*) *eademque mente plerique quondam librarii fuere.* From this known propensity of transcribers to turn every-

^c The first saint who performed the miracle of being in *two places at once*: which (the Bollandists remark) is not *easy*.

^d We remember having heard an enthusiastic expositor dilate on the beauties and the rich treasures of truth taught by *one word* in a passage of Scripture,—which word happened to be a *misprint* in his Bible!

thing into text which they found written in the margin of their MSS. or between the lines, so many interpolations have proceeded that at present the surest canon of criticism is *præferatur lectio brevior*.¹ These, then, are the sentiments of Porson. Bishop Turton defended his literary character; but if he is to be brought forward as an upholder of the *uncritical* principles on which Bornemann has acted, then it would be needful to vindicate his *critical* character. How Porson himself would have castigated such a production as this text—a retrograde movement in Biblical studies.

Tischendorf *concludes* his notice of the editions of the sacred text with the Greek and English Revelation published by S. P. Tregelles in 1844.

Of this he speaks briefly (he had already reviewed it in the 'Leipziger Repertorium,' Heft 39, 1848). He approves of the critical principles laid down in the Introduction: 'Perite et caute scribuntur leges criticae.' In a foot-note he cites a passage from what the editor had said on the subject of inspiration: 'I avow my full belief in the absolute plenary inspiration of Scripture (2 Tim. iii. 16). I believe the 66 books of the Old and New Testaments to be verbally the word of God, as absolutely as were the ten commandments written by the finger of God on the two tables of stone: and because I thus fully believe in its verbal inspiration, I judge that it is not labour ill bestowed, to endeavour to search into the evidence which is obtainable as to what those words are.' This he cites without any remark; but in the 'Leipziger Repertorium' (p. 406) he discusses the same sentence thus:— 'There is at all events a close collision between the supposition of a verbal inspiration and the need of indefatigable criticism of the text. Just as it is easier to sustain than to create a world, so is it certainly easier to guard an inspired text than to give it.' He then argues on the fact that the text has *not* been guarded from various readings. Now without inquiring what *degree* of Almighty power be needed to create or to sustain a world, we may remark that the comparison *proves* nothing to the point. God created the world, and it was 'very good;' and yet He did not see fit *so* to sustain it that evil and corruption should not come in. Man sinned, and the world was cursed for his sake. Just, then, as creation, having *departed* from its original condition, is no proof that God did not form it 'very good,' so the fact of the text of Scripture, having been disfigured by various readings, is no proof that it was not originally inspired in the fullest sense of the word. These considerations do prove, however, that God has in fact *not* seen

seen fit to preserve by miraculous power either the one or the other in its pristine purity.

What does verbal inspiration really mean? Surely just this—that the inspiration of the whole involves the inspiration of all the parts of which that whole consists; that as the books of Scripture were such as the Holy Ghost intended them to be, so the words were equally such as He intended: and thus we read (Heb. iii. 7), ‘the Holy Ghost saith,’ followed by a Scripture citation. The question is not about the *term* ‘verbal inspiration,’ but whether the inspired writers of Scripture wrote *what* the Holy Ghost intended they should write or not. If *not*, then it would be in vain to argue on the plainest passage of Scripture, for it might always be objected that perhaps the *words* of the passage proceeded *merely* from the writer; and thus the thought (of which the word is but the exponent) might be wholly explained away. All who regard the Scripture as inspired use its *statements* and its *words* as *authoritative*. Take away the idea of completeness from inspiration, and what remains of this authority?

Tischendorf points out the resemblance of the text of Tregelles’ Apocalypse to his own in that book: he notices some errata in the citations of various readings, all of which, however, had been corrected by the editor before he published the English version (again revised) of the Revelation according to ancient authorities. This volume is also mentioned by Tischendorf, together with the Prospectus of a critical edition of the Greek New Testament, which accompanied it. He thus concludes this notice:—‘Nuperrime iterum edidit translationem suam Apocalypseos anglicam, in quo opere pronuntiat editionem græcam et latinam totius Nī Tī a se præparatam. Laudes quos in hunc finem in itineribus suis suscepit ad plures eorundem codicum antiquissimorum pertinebant quos ipse studiis novis excussi; mea vero magnam partem ignorabat quum de suis referebat. Nunc ipsum aliis laboribus invigilat, quos non dubito ad rem criticam promovendam facturos. Prosperum operis successum ex animo opto.’

We must here conclude for the present our remarks on Tischendorf’s new edition of the New Testament. We are truly glad that it has appeared; and it will, we doubt not, be found particularly useful, especially to critical students. In our remarks we have endeavoured to give such information, &c., as we have thought it desirable that a reader should possess in connection with this edition. We hope ere long to continue our notice of this volume; the subjects to which we shall have then to draw attention are, *the critical aids, i. e. MSS., versions, &c.,* (in-

cluding a notice of the MSS., the texts of which Tischendorf has published), and *the text* itself. On these subjects we hope to bring forward such points of information as will be of value to the Biblical student,—some of which we have collected from various sources, and some have resulted from our own investigations. We only add, that *whatever* estimate be formed of the critical principles or the execution of this edition, still the place which Tischendorf occupies amongst critical collators is about the highest: few have accomplished *the half* of what he has performed.

* * We feel bound to point out that which could not so well have been indicated by the Reviewer—the handsome manner in which Tischendorf everywhere acknowledges his obligations to the collations sent to him from time to time by Mr. Tregelles. In the latter part of the Prolegomena his name occurs in almost every page. To ourselves, *this kind* of intercourse and acknowledgment, between the scholars of our own country and of the Continent, is a source of the highest gratification, in which we doubt not that most of our readers will partake.—EDITOR.

AN

INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF JOSHUA.*

By KARL F. KEIL, Ph.D., D.D.,

Professor of Exegesis and Oriental Languages in the University of Dorpat.

Translated by BENJAMIN DAVIES, Ph.D., Leipsic.

The Author's Preface.

THE book of Joshua has, it is true, been written upon of late years by Maurer and Rosenmüller; but how little satisfaction both their works afford, in a theological point of view, is known to all who acknowledge in the historical writings of the Old Testament the sources of sacred history, the records of the Lord's dealings with his chosen covenant people. Even the explanation of objects and things has been so little advanced by these works, that—to say nothing of the researches of Robinson, which have appeared since then, and which alone would render necessary a new commentary on this book—it will not be needful to offer a special apology for sending forth another exegetical work, proceeding from the principles of divine revelation, and prepared with a careful comparison of the successful results of the earlier theological expositions, as well as of the later philological and archæological investigations. The historical books of the Old Testament have unhappily been too much neglected hitherto, so that every production in this department is under necessity, in the first place and chiefly, to combat false and perverse views, which are directly opposed to the spirit of the biblical revelation, to clear away the many errors which have been widely spread through the superficial mode of handling the Old Testament history; and hence can but pave the way for a theological and practical commentary, rather than furnish one complete. With the rejection of the revelation of the Old Testament, rationalism has been obliged to reject also its history, because this history is, and declares itself to be, nothing else than the account of the

* This Introduction is prefixed to the author's 'Commentary on Joshua,' published in 1847—a most elaborate production, highly creditable to the scholarship and soundness of that rapidly extending evangelical school in Germany to which Professor Keil belongs. To show the character of the work the Preface is given as well as the Introduction. This Introduction requires to be *studied* rather than *read*, and will, we think, reward the attention it exacts.—EDITOR.

divine

divine revelation unfolding itself in the course of ages. To the rationalist the historical books of the Old Testament have lost value and meaning as writings claiming historical credit, so that now only criticism can deal with them, and resolve their contents into myths and legends; by which process a scanty residuum of loose historical matter remains, as a muddy basis that cannot be done away, but which defies all attempts to form upon it a consistent history of the Israelites, and allows, at best, only of a fancy picture in the way of historical fiction, without reality and life, as even the latest attempt of this kind made by Ewald has most clearly shown.

From this method of handling the Old Testament history, the revived believing theology suffers this great disadvantage, that it can find no objectively sure ground and point of sight, and is able to put forward only subjective views and opinions on the fundamental articles involving the revelation and inspiration of the Holy Scriptures, without supplying a scientific and historical basis for the same. For the Christian revelation cannot be correctly known and comprehended, without a thorough knowledge of the preparatory revelation of the Old Testament; and this again not without a thorough study of the Old Testament history, from which also the prophetic writings first receive the light necessary for understanding them. The language which our Lord used to the Samaritan woman at Jacob's well, 'Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship; for salvation is of the Jews' (John iv. 22), applies also to every theology that mistakes and ignores the historical progressive development of the divine plan of redemption. If, therefore, we wish the scientific theology of the evangelical church to be again firmly established, we must drive rationalism out of the Old Testament, where as yet it has so firm a footing, that not a few eminent theologians despair of being able any more to rescue the *fides humana et divina* of the historical books—for no other reason than that they have not independently examined these writings, but only read them under the guidance and in the obscure light of the neological criticism and exegesis. The design and aim accordingly of my Commentary on Joshua, as also of the one I published not long ago on the books of the Kings, which shall be followed, if God will, by a similar work on the remaining historical books of the Old Testament, is to help in breaking the sway of rationalism in the Old Testament, in confuting the wide-spread prejudices which have grown into formal articles of faith, and in promoting the true and believing understanding of the ancient Scriptures.

With this object before me I have neglected, as quite foreign to the plan of my work, not only the constant critical comparison
of

of the ancient versions, but also the collation of the printed fragments from the Samaritan book of Joshua. I do not, indeed, hold the Masoretic text for infallible and faultless, but yet I regard it as more original, and, with very rare exceptions, also more accurate than the very corrupt text of the utterly loose Alexandrian version, to which many a modern critic is disposed again to assign the general preference, taking it on the whole for the original and undamaged text of the Old Testament. So also I do not believe that Joshua's history can receive any real elucidation from the patchwork of the Samaritans, which appears, on all external and internal grounds, to be of very late date. And although an impartial and careful critical comparison of the Hebrew original with the ancient versions, and also of the contents and spirit of the historical writings of the Old Testament with the later Jewish and Samaritan reproductions of the Hebrew history, is of no small importance as confirming theology and the church in the belief of the integrity and trustworthiness of our canonical books; yet the church at present needs, above all things, that the contents of the Old Testament should be opened up for her again in clearness and purity, and so brought to her consciousness, to the end that the God of Israel may again be universally acknowledged as the eternal and unchangeably faithful, as the only true and living God, who in his dealings with Israel had regard to the welfare and admonition of us all; since he chose Abraham and his seed for his people and the depository of his revelations, that from them the salvation of the whole world should proceed, and that in them all the nations of the earth might be blessed.

Should the present work afford aid towards supplying the want of the evangelical church, then it has accomplished its purpose. May the Lord God grant it!

§ I. *Name, Contents, and Design of the Book of Joshua.*

The name of the book is taken from its contents, which embrace the history of the Theocracy under the guidance of Joshua, the son of Nun, who, as the servant of Moses, was ordained by the Lord as his successor, to continue and to complete his work by leading the people of Israel into the possession of Canaan, the land promised to the fathers. The narrative accordingly begins with the divine summons which Joshua received after the death of Moses to undertake the leadership of the people, to which he had already been called; and it closes with the death and burial of Joshua, and of his contemporary, the high priest Eleazer. Joshua was called not only to conquer the land of Canaan, and to extirpate its inhabitants before Israel, but also to divide it among the tribes of

of Israel (i. 2-6). This book, therefore, consists of two principal parts or halves; the *first* (i.-xii.) giving the invasion and conquest of the land, and the *second* (xiii.-xxiv.) its distribution among the Israelites. Yet this does not fully express its contents. As the call of Joshua involved not only the command to conquer and divide Canaan, but also the promise of divine help on condition of the unfailing observance of God's law as delivered through Moses; so also this book relates not only the history of the conquest and division of the land, but also the wonderful aid which the Lord rendered to his people whilst taking it into possession, and all that Joshua did for the fulfilling of the Mosaic law, as well as for the permanent establishment of the people in their new country. Now, though in all these points the narrative is closely connected with the Pentateuch, as a continuation of the same, it still recapitulates Moses' account of his conquest of the land eastward of the Jordan, and its distribution among the two tribes and a half, together with the appointment of the three cities of refuge in that territory, in order to give a complete view of the course of events in Israel's taking possession of the whole land on both sides of the river.

The author of our book had, accordingly, in view neither a mere description of Joshua's great deeds, nor yet a mere history of the Theocracy under Joshua, with a continuation of the narrative in the Pentateuch from the death of Moses to that of Joshua. He designed rather to show, along with the historical proof of Joshua's faithful fulfilment, by divine aid, of the call he had received, how God fulfilled his promise to the fathers by rooting out the Canaanites before Israel, and giving their land for an abiding possession to the twelve tribes of Jacob. Thus the book forms, notwithstanding its close connection with the Pentateuch, an independent and complete work, as the historical record of the conquest and partition of the land, which the Lord gave to his chosen people that they might live therein and serve him in love and faithfulness.

§ II. *Unity of the Book of Joshua.*

The closer examination of the contents, as set forth in my Commentary at the commencement of both parts of the book, and still more fully by L. Kœnig,^b affords unquestionable evidence of unity throughout. Nevertheless, this unity has been denied by various critics down to our day, and the history, robbed of its coherence, has been cut up into fragments for very insufficient

^b *Alt-test. Studien*, 1 heft, *Authentier des B. Joshua*, p. 4, *seq.*

reasons.

reasons. After the example of Nachtigall,^c it was sought by Bertholdt^d and Meyer^e to apply to this book the hypothesis of fragments on which they fondly resisted in regard to the Pentateuch. Bertholdt finds in 'the many repetitions of one and the same thing,' and 'still more in the fragmentary character of single passages and the completeness of others,' a 'speaking proof that the book was not written continuously and connectedly as one whole;' yet he thinks the first eleven chapters clearly constitute a whole, and only the second half of the book is made up of mere fragments. Meyer, on the contrary, is of opinion that 'the book appears for the greater part to have been an original whole, made up of distinct narratives generally arranged after the order of the events, and very easily forming connection one with another,' but that 'yet in the first half more than in the last we may pretty clearly distinguish some glosses of later date, and some heterogeneous fragments introduced into the text, perhaps from fragmentary records which related to the events in question.' De Wette declared decidedly against the supposition of glosses, and urged especially the 'contradictions and discrepancies between particular passages in the book,' as a proof of its being a compilation from various fragments, without, however, giving, in the first four editions of his *Introduction to the Old Test.*, a definite representation of its composition. In the mean time Eichhorn^f and Paulus,^g in order to get rid of the miracles which offended them in Joshua's history, had maintained that the book was composed partly from distinct historical notices, and partly from fabulous traditions, and had tried to show a double source in the accounts of the passage over the Jordan and of the taking of Ai.^h Maurerⁱ justly opposed these notions, and fully refuted them. At the same time he sought to determine more precisely the composition of the book. According to his view (p. 13) 'the first part consists of a distinct whole (ch. i.-xi.), only interrupted by two smaller interpolations (iv. 9, and viii. 12, 13) and two larger (viii. 30-35 and x. 12-15), and provided with an appropriate conclusion, and of

^c *Fragmente über die allmähliche Bildung der den Israeliten heiligen Schriften*, in Henke's *Magaz.* iv. 2, p. 362, seq., and in Eichhorn's *Allg. Bibl.* iv. p. 1088, seq. Nachtigall finds in our book only fragments from the earliest times of authorship among the Israelites, remnants of a fuller poetic story, together with poetic and prosaic additions and supplements from other earlier and later descriptions, and with glosses by the compiler.

^d *Einleitung*, iii. 849, seq.

^e *Ueber die Bestandtheile und die Oeconomie des B. Josua*, in Ammon and Bertholdt's *Krit. Journal*, ii. 337, seq.

^f *Einleit.* iii. 382, seq.

^g *Blicke in d. B. Josua*, in his *Theol. Exeg. Conservat.* ii. 149, seq.

^h Paulus does this only with the first account, which he holds to be derived from a simple and from a poetic source.

ⁱ *Commentar. ü d. B. Josua*.

ch. xii. forming the register to the foregoing, in which the author inserted a distinct fragment by another hand (ver. 9-24). In the second part, traces more or less clear of original disconnectedness and earlier production are seen in the statement in xiii. 2-6; in the account in xiv. 6-15; in the chorography of the tribe of Juda (xv. 1-12); in the list of cities belonging to the same (xv. 20-62); in the chorography of the children of Joseph (xvi. 1-4); in that of Ephraim (ver. 5-10); in that of the seven last tribes (xviii. 11-xix. 51); and, finally, in the sanction of the Theocracy' (xxiii., xxiv. 1-28). This view makes the composition of the book fragmentary, especially in the second part.

Independently of these views, C. H. van Herwerden, of Holland, had^k discovered in the language of this book *ten* different *monumenta* or original documents, from which he thought it to be compiled. But his linguistic observations betray a great lack of philological acumen, and his whole argument is so little stringent that his hypothesis has found no accord in Germany, at least.

Against De Wette, Maurer, and Herwerden, König came forward in the above-named *Alt-test. Studien*, and defended very ably and thoroughly the unity of the book from the continuous coherence of the contents, from the identity of the thoughts and of the whole spirit, as also from the identity of the language. He maintained, too, the composition of the whole book by Joshua, but not with convincing arguments. Hävernicks^m is decided against the parcelling of the book into fragments, and defends with success the unity of the first half; but in the second he admits the fragmentary origin, and so fails to give a clear and tenable view of the unity and composition of the whole.ⁿ

Although the investigations of these two critics are not quite free from defects and weak points, yet they have so ably combated the theory of fragments, that the neological critics have ignored rather than refuted their reasoning. These writers followed the hints of Bleek^o and Ewald^p on the original connection of the documents which formed the basis of both the Pentateuch and Joshua; then they applied Tuch's new modification^q of the antiquated hypothesis of the *Elohim* and *Jehovah* documents to our book, which they insist is made up from the same pretended elohistic source, which is imagined to be the groundwork of the first

^k *Disputatio de Libro Jos.*, Gron. 1826.

^m *Handbuch d. hist. krit. Einleitung*, ii. 1. 12, seq.

ⁿ The invalidity of Hävernicks' arguments (*loc. cit.* p. 25) against the unity of the second part has been already shown in my article (*über die Parallelstellen im B. Josua und im B. der Richter*) in Rudelbach and Guericke's *Zeitschrift*, 1846, H. 1, p. 9, seq.

^o Rosenmüller's *Repert.*, i. 44, seq.

^p *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1831, p. 262.

^q *Comment. zur Genesis*.

four books of Moses, and from later jehovistic portions, the same as the basis of Deuteronomy. This view has been carried out especially by Stähelin,[†] who fancied he could distinctly show two different styles of language and thought in our book, i. e. one style in the geographical, and another in the historical sections. His results were adopted, with only minor modifications, by both De Wette^{*} and C. von Lengerke.[‡] Ewald pursued the same purpose in his *Geschichte des Volks Israel*, where he has striven to carry still further the reduction of the historical books of the Old Testament into the original fragments. G. A. Hauff,[§] on the contrary, thought it enough to give Stähelin's results, and, without any notice of König's and Hävernick's solutions, to reiterate and magnify the alleged contradictions in our book, in order to ground upon them a peculiar theory of so-called revelation and inspiration.

To show more in detail the method of this criticism and its results, we will cite from Ewald's *Geschichte*, i. 73, seq.: 'The great book of primitive history,' as he calls the Pentateuch and Joshua, 'underwent various great changes and recastings before it emerged from the flood of similar productions as the only one which appeared to men of a later age worthy of preservation, and that which must now serve us in lieu of all other works upon the later history. Before it received its last touches, earlier historical works and sources of most various kinds had been already incorporated in it, like rivers meeting in the sea.' Among these earlier sources of the Pentateuch and Joshua, Ewald believes he can show the following:—1. Numerous fragments of the oldest historical work, which he calls 'the Book of the Covenants,' dating from the age of the Judges, but containing single pieces from the times of Moses and still more remote. 2. 'The Book of the Origins,' composed in the first thirteen years of Solomon's reign, by a distinguished Levite, 'more as a book of law than of history,' in which Moses is set forth especially as the lawgiver and leader of the holy assembly under the head of the sacerdotal tribe, and which uses the materials handed down by tradition, in order to bring into a fixed historical framework the laws and ordinances which at that time were in force, as if coming from Moses himself. 3. Single portions, by a prophetic narrator of the primeval history, whose aim was to trace back the prophetic element to the times of Moses and the patriarchs, and to portray the intrinsic dignity and loftiness of Moses as a prophet. 4. Out

[†] *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1835, p. 472; and *Kritischen Untersuch. über den Pent.*, die BB. Josua, Richter, &c., Berlin, 1843.

^{*} In the fifth and sixth editions of his *Einleitung*, § 168.

[‡] *Kanaan*, i. cxxxv. seq.

[§] *Offenbarungsgl. u. Kritik der bibl. Geschichtsbücher*, Stuttg. 1843.

of these three elaborations of the original history and various older fragments, a fourth narrator, in the beginning of the eighth century B. C., prepared the present Pentateuch and the book of Joshua, except certain parts of still later interpolation. This narrator handles the legendary materials quite freely, according to the prophetic point of view, so that 'he remoulds much with his own hand after his own idea, as his age seemed to require, but yet the most is either simply repeated from older writings, or slightly altered here and there; and hence he is on the whole a collector and compiler, rather than an independent author and original historian.' 5. And, finally, there were interpolated, in the times of Manasseh and Josiah, by the writer of Deuteronomy, the section in Levit. xxvi. 3-45, the whole book of Deuteronomy (except ch. xxxii. 48-52 and xxxiv. 1-9), and several portions of the book of Joshua. Ewald supposes that in this book ch. ii. 5, 13-ch. vi., and viii., came from the third and fourth narrators; ch. i., xxiii., and xxiv. from the author of Deuteronomy, to whom also he ascribes many single additions and modifications, also the pieces in ch. viii. 30-ix. 2, and ch. x.-xiii. 14 as it regards in part the contents, but chiefly the mode of representation or arrangement; all the rest coming from the two oldest narrators of the primeval history.* This fine-spun theory is only an acute expansion of the view of Tuch, Stähelin, and others, viz., that the Pentateuch and Joshua are based on an older work, commonly called the *elohim* record, which in later times was revised and enlarged by the adoption of many new stories. Most of what Ewald ascribes to the three first narrators of the primitive history is traced by these critics back to the *elohim* record, while they admit that this record itself is based on various older written documents, but without any hope of being able to carry the analysis further. These ascribe to the *jehovist* what Ewald assigns to the fourth narrator; and, finally, the last additions are regarded by Ewald and the other critics as the work of the writer of Deuteronomy, whom Stähelin alone identifies with the *jehovist*. In the chief results, therefore, Ewald coincides with the rest of the neological critics, but differs much from them in the mode of gaining his object. While they strive in a critical fashion to establish their hypothesis by bringing forward the varying and, as they allege, contradictory accounts, as well as by showing a double usage of language in the books handed down to us, Ewald constructs in a dogmatical fashion a diffuse theory about tradition and fable, and their changing forms, and founds on it his dissection of our histories into their supposed original parts, without any other principle of analysis than the

* *Geschichte*, i. 137.* *Geschichte*, ii. 227, seq.

old rationalistic assumption, that a supernatural revelation with miracles and predictions is neither actual nor possible; that the whole theocratic view of the Israelitish history is a mere product of poetic fable; that the people of Israel was not chosen by the Lord God to be the depository of his revelation, and led by extraordinary divine messengers to the fulfilling of this heavenly calling, but raised itself, by means of distinguished men and heroes, according to the natural and intellectual gifts implanted by the Creator, to the elevation which it has attained among the nations of the earth. This prejudice of the vulgar rationalism is equally the fundamental assumption and the guiding principle according to which the different sources of the history are decided. Thus those parts of the Pentateuch where the theocratic point of view is not conspicuous are declared to be fragments out of the most ancient historical work, and those where the prophetic character of Moses is prominent are assigned to the latest sources. The age of the respective sources is settled according to the time to which, on Ewald's supposition, the prophecies contained in them refer, because the prophecies are only veiled poetic descriptions of the present, or at most only forebodings of the future as already indicated in the present, so that real predictions do not exist. In vain do we look for critical proofs in Ewald's decision about the sources of the Old Testament history. It is true he does not omit to point out in every historical work he handles a peculiar colouring of the language; but the characteristic examples he gives of particular words and phrases can have no great force, since he adds the general remark, that the later narrators copied words and phrases from the earlier, and besides altered not unfrequently the expression of the older writings; so that it is no longer rational to speak of a peculiar usage of language as a characteristic mark of the individual sources. His entire theory is, therefore, built on the sand, devoid of all objective truth, and neither capable nor worthy of examination in detail, since it dispenses with scientific principle. The other critics brought forward whatever critical grounds can be alleged for this view. The following, in particular, are the grounds, taken partly from differences about things and partly from peculiarities of language, which they have adduced for the composition of the book of Joshua out of elohistic and jehovistic or deuteronomic records, of which the former are supposed* to be found chiefly in the geographic, and the latter in the historic sections of the work.

* Stähelin reckons accordingly (*Krit. Untersuch.* p. 88, seq.) that ch. xiii. 15-xiv. 5, ch. xv.-xvii. 13, and ch. xviii. 11-xxi., belong to the geographic sections, while all the rest of the book belongs to the historic, of which only ch. v. 10-12 and ch. xxii. show the language of the elohim source, which he thinks is owing to the remoulding of these two chapters.

I. Under differences or contradictions in regard to things, Hauff and De Wette maintain: 1. 'That Joshua has, according to one part of the book, fully conquered the land of Canaan, and driven out all the inhabitants (xi. 16-23, xii. 7, *seq.*; comp. xxi. 43, *seq.*, xxii. 4); while, on the contrary, there still remained, according to ch. xiii. 1, *seq.* (comp. xvii. 14, *seq.*; xviii. 3; xxiii. 5, 12) considerable tracts unconquered and in the hands of the unexpelled Canaanites.' Were this contradiction admitted, still it would prove nothing for the opponent's hypothesis, since it is not true that the historical or jehovistic-deuteronomic portions of our book make no mention of unconquered land and unexpelled Canaanites; for in ch. xxiii., which all the critics count among the historical sections, it is said most clearly (vers. 4-13) that Canaanitish nations were still in the land and holding possessions in it. But all this contradiction is only in appearance, and arises only from a twofold aspect, an objective ideal and a subjective real view of the relation which runs through the book, but has not been recognised by the opponents, since, in spite of the unity asserted between it and the Pentateuch, they did not perceive that the Pentateuch presents the desired means of reconciling the two sides of the picture. The objective ideal view found in the historical part of our book, and according to which the seizure of the whole land and the expulsion of all the Canaanites are declared as facts, rests throughout on the divine promises contained in the Penta-

⁷ Hauff, p. 73, *seq.*, 109-116; De Wette, § 167. Stähelin (*loc. cit.* p. 87) gives this argument a somewhat different turn, alleging 'that in the historical part the extirpating of the Canaanites is commanded, and Joshua is said, with praise, to have done this as far as possible (x. 40; xi. 14, 15); while in the geographical part it is, without blame, mentioned what tribes did not extirpate the Canaanites, but only made them tributary.' But the biblical text pronounces neither praise on Joshua's work nor direct blame on the Israelites for not extirpating the Canaanites, but says simply that Joshua did what Jehovah had commanded his servant Moses, and Moses had delivered to Joshua, and left nothing undone of all that Jehovah had commanded Moses (xi. 15). But it may very well be true, in consistency with this, that Joshua did not extirpate all the Canaanites to the last man, and that particular tribes were not able, in taking possession of their allotment of land, to drive out the remaining Canaanites from this place and that. The remarks in the geographical part (xv. 63; xvi. 10; xvii. 12, 13) on the non-expulsion of the Canaanites from individual cities do not contain the smallest approval of that circumstance, but merely give the simple fact, which is moreover excused in the case of two tribes by their inability (they *could not* drive out the Canaanites, xv. 63; xvii. 12). It is therefore wholly erroneous, when Stähelin further maintains (p. 88) that the geographical sections have a milder character than the historical, since they never blame the sparing of the Canaanites, and since ch. xx. 9 appears to imply that strangers also dwelt in Israel, enjoying, at least in some respects, equal rights with the Israelites. This latter observation, even if it were correct and not refuted by ch. viii. 35, could not prove anything unless we must understand by the strangers in ch. xx. 9 only Canaanites who had been spared though doomed to destruction, or unless the so-called *elohistic* portions of the Pentateuch alone presuppose strangers in Israel, both which conditions are alike inadmissible and erroneous.

teuch,

teuch, and must be judged of accordingly. In these promises the Lord declared his will to give Canaan to his people Israel for a possession, and to destroy the Canaanites before them. This came to pass through Joshua. He smote the inhabitants in all directions, and seized their land so far that the Israelites became masters of it, and the Canaanites were confined to particular places and districts as powerless fugitives. Herein the divine promise was fulfilled, which declared the complete, but not the sudden outrooting of all the Canaanites to the last man (Exod. xxiii. 28-30; Deut. vii. 22). When, therefore, the author of our book closed the history of the conquest of Canaan with these words, 'So Joshua took the whole land, according to all that the Lord said unto Moses' (xi. 23); he had no occasion to give expressly the 'exceptions,' *i. e.* the unsubdued cities and districts and the ancient inhabitants that still remained, since the whole land, notwithstanding these exceptions, was so taken into possession as the Lord had spoken to Moses. On the other hand, it was necessary to mention these exceptions, and to give the subjective real position of things at the division of the land, both because the divine command to effect the division was induced thereby (xiii. 1-7), and because Joshua was bound to partition the whole land alike, the conquered and the still unconquered parts. That these two points of view do not involve a contradiction is clear enough from the fact that, even in the geographical sections, where the exceptions are named, the same objective ideal view is taken as in the historical parts, since Joshua receives the command to make no difference, in the division of the land, between what was already conquered and what remained independent, and accordingly parcels out the *whole* land without exception as a heritage to the tribes, inasmuch as the Lord had promised to drive out before them the Canaanites that were still left.*

2. These critics observe further, 'that in one part of the book (i. 6; xi. 23; xii. 7; xiv. 1-5) we are led to expect an uninter-

* To strengthen the contradiction, above set aside, De Wette adds that the passages in ch. xii. 10, 12, 16, 21, 23, according to which the kings of Jerusalem, Gezer, Bethel, Megiddo, and Dor were slain by Joshua, are at variance with xv. 63 (not v. 69, as in De Wette), comp. Judg. i. 21; with xvi. 10, comp. Judg. i. 29, 32; and with ch. xvii. 12, comp. Judg. i. 27; for according to these passages, the cities in question remained in the hands of the Canaanites. But even Lengerke (*Kanaan*, i. 670) has owned the correctness of König's remark (p. 19), that a distinction must be made between the slaughter of the kings and the capture of their cities, against which distinction ch. xii. 7 does not in the least militate. And as to the alleged contradictions relative to the conquest of Hebron and Debir, and the expulsion of the Anakims from the mountains, between ch. x. 36, 38, and xi. 21, on the one side, and ch. xiv. 12 and xv. 14-17 on the other, De Wette could not bring them forward again without completely ignoring the valid refutations furnished long ago by Hävernick and others.

rupted

rupted and uniform division of the land; but in the other this business appears at a stand-still, professedly through the inactivity of the people (xviii. 3). It is again resumed, seemingly, at another place, Shiloh (xviii. 1; xix. 51), and the previous partition is altered in several points' (Hauff, p. 119, *seq.*; De Wette, p. 232). The latter remark is quite right, and shows that the expectation of the critics was unfounded, since neither of the places cited speaks of an 'uninterrupted' division.

3. 'According to ch. i.-xii. and xxii. the people remained together until the land was conquered, divided in a peaceful and orderly way, and taken into possession by each tribe according to its allotment; on the contrary, in ch. xv. 13, *seq.*, xvii. 14, *seq.*, xix. 47, we find single tribes going forth for conquests on their own account' (Hauff, p. 117; De Wette, p. 232). This contradiction could be made out by Hauff, who first alleged it, only by a *transposition* of the accounts in our book, *i. e.* by assuming that the conquests mentioned in ch. xv., xvii., xix., took place *before* the death of Joshua and the division of the land, whereas they were *after* the same, according to the plain statement of the text.

4. 'The repeated statements, which represent the religious worship of the people as quite conformable to the law, are at variance with ch. xxiv. 23, according to which the people still served strange gods.' But this passage sets forth no gross idolatry, but only a leaning of the heart towards strange gods, which can easily consist with the outward regularity and propriety of religious worship.

Hauff (p. 122, *seq.*) has adduced other points of variation in the mode of thinking and the character of Joshua and the people, and contradictions in regard to places and persons connected with divine worship; but they are so futile, that De Wette himself has attached no weight to them. We may, therefore, pass them quite unnoticed, and proceed to consider what Stähelin (p. 87) has further advanced in proof of a different mode of thinking in the geographical and the historical sections:—

5. 'In the historical parts, even in ch. ix., we see only Joshua's activity, but in the geographical we see also that of Eleazar.' This difference is natural; for can we suppose the high priest, Eleazar, had the same calling in the theocracy as the leader of the hosts, Joshua? Was it the business of the former to command the army, to fight battles, and to push conquests? And do, then, the historical parts of the book present occasions for the high priest to appear at the head of the people, so that one has a right to expect the mention of his person? Even in the narrative of ch. ix. there was nothing for Eleazar to do, since it pertained not to his office to hold conference and conclude peace with the Gibeonites

Gibeonites sent to treat with the military leader of the Israelites. It is quite in keeping with the contents of the historical portion, that Eleazar should retire behind Joshua and not be mentioned. But not so with the geographical portion; for the work here detailed, of dividing the land, had been assigned by Moses, on God's command, to the representatives of the entire people, namely, the high priest Eleazar, and Joshua, and one prince from every tribe (Num. xxxiv. 17, 18). It was quite natural for our author, whenever he had to name the commission charged with the division of the land (xiv. 1; xix. 51; xxi. 1), to mention the individual members of the same in the order marked out in the law. Ought he to have studiously deviated therefrom? Or if the opponents mean to explain the coincidence by alleging that Num. xxxiv. comes likewise from the elohistic writer, then they ought to reflect that the same author would hardly have styled a 'prince' נָשִׂיא in Num. xxxiv., but 'head of the fathers' ראש אבות in Joshua. The word נָשִׂיא is known as one of the peculiarities which our critical opponents ascribe to the elohistic usage; why, then, has the elohist, in the geographical parts of our book, so slighted it as to employ 'heads of the fathers' ראשי אבות three times, and 'princes' נְשִׂאִים only once, in the 'half-historical section,' ch. xvii. 4, while the pretended jehovistic writer of our book mentions the 'princes' נְשִׂאִים in six places (ix. 15, 18, 19, 21; xxii. 14, 30)?

6. 'In the historical sections the שְׁטֵרִים *shoterim* (i. 10; iii. 2), or the elders and judges with them (viii. 33; xxiii. 2, to which may be added xxiv. 1), appear active on every occasion; but the 'heads of the fathers of the tribes' ראשי אבות הַמִּשְׁבָּטִים in the geographical sections (xxi. 1; xiv. 1).' This difference, which Stähelin adduces in regard to language, but which is essentially one relating to facts, is explained like the preceding by the simple consideration, that the *shoterim*, elders, and judges, did not belong to the commission appointed by Moses for the partition of the land.

7. The further remark, 'that in ch. i. 4 the Euphrates is given as the east border of the possessions of the Hebrews, while it is stated quite otherwise in ch. xiii. 13, *seq.*,' rests on a total forgetfulness of the oratorical character of the first passage, which purports to give no precise notarial description of the boundaries, but only as a divine promise to indicate them by well-known external points within which the land to be given to the Israelites should lie.

8. Stähelin goes on to say, 'that in ch. xv. 11, 33 (should be 45-47) the Philistine cities appear in the possession of Judah, which is specially confirmed by ver. 63, for it would else have

been mentioned that the Hebrews could not drive out the Philistines; whereas ch. xiii. 3 shows quite differently, and in the geographical part no mention whatever is made of that people.' But it does not follow from ch. xv. 11, where the border of Judah is said to reach northward to the side of Ekron, and from ver. 43-45, where Ekron, Gaza, Ashdod, and the places around are allotted to that tribe, that these cities were in the actual possession of Judah. Nor does this follow from ver. 63; for the writer had already in ch. xiii. 2-7 not only named the country of the five lords of the Philistines among the districts still unconquered at the beginning of the partition, but also mentioned the divine command to distribute the land that yet remained in the power of the Canaanites, inasmuch as the Lord intended to drive out before Israel these unsubdued nations. There would then have been an unnecessary repetition, had he again in ch. xv. named all the unconquered cities. One cannot after this, unless with Stähelin he arbitrarily severs the beginning and the introduction from the geographical part, say that it makes no mention at all of the Philistines, or, as he subsequently puts it, that the geographical part knows nothing yet of the Philistines in the Pentapolis. If we preserve the text in its integrity and coherence, all discrepancy vanishes away.

9. Finally, Stähelin says, 'the source of the geographical notices is very exact in its statements; gives introductory remarks to longer paragraphs (xiv. 1-5), and almost never forgets, after specifying the portion of a tribe, to add a closing sentence (xv. 12; xvi. 9; xviii. 20, 28; xix. 8, 16, 23, 31, 39, 48; xx. 9), even as it finishes the account of the division of the land with a longer closing sentence' (xix. 51). But the historical part also, in its larger sections, does not lack either introductory remarks (comp. only v. 1; ix. 1; x. 1; xi. 1), or formal titles (comp. xii. 1, 7), or closing expressions (comp. x. 40-43; xi. 23; xiv. 15). And is not the account of the conquest of the land finished with a longer closing remark? (xi. 16-23). The less frequent use of closing expressions in the historical part, arises from the fact that there was here less opportunity for applying them, since this part consists entirely of longer narratives of diverse contents, which could not possibly be closed with a constantly recurring stereotyped form of expression. This argument, on which great stress is laid also in the case of the Pentateuch, does not in the least prove the diversity of the sources; but it shows well the quite mechanical procedure of those critics, who seize merely on external appearances, and have no surmise, much less an idea, of the relation of the form to the substance of the book.

The differences in regard to things do not, therefore, prove the composition

composition of our book out of Elohistic and Jehovistic sources, since they involve no actual contradictions, but admit of an easy and natural solution.

II. But perhaps the differences in regard to language prove it? Let us see :—

1. Under this head, Hauff (p. 132, *seq.*) has urged the variation in style, that the entire first half of the book 'is characterised by a fullness of expression for clearness' sake, united with a harmonious rounding in the structure of its periods; while in several places of the second part the repetitions or interposed remarks are made, more or less, at the expense of clearness,' of which a few examples are given from ch. xvi. and xvii. This observation is so far right that we do not find in the geographical chapters lengthy and rounded periods, such as appear in the historical, and that in some verses of ch. xvi. and xvii. the expression is obscure; but this is sufficiently explained by the great difference of the subject. In boundary specifications and in lists of cities there is no room for long periods, beautifully constructed, and the obscurity which appears here and there may be due to the documents employed. But the cases which Hauff (p. 141, *seq.*) has adduced of different and peculiar words in particular places, will not prove the difference of the writers of the particular parts so long as it is not shown that the things expressed by the peculiar words are mentioned also elsewhere but in a different way. Hauff has not shown this; Stähelin (*loc. cit.*), however, has maintained the following indications of difference of language in the historical and the geographical sections :—

2. 'In the historical sections the word שֶׁבֶט *shebet* is chiefly used for tribe (iii. 12; iv. 2, 4, 12; vii. 14, 16; xviii. 2, 4, 7; xxii. 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, &c.; xxiii. 4; xxiv. 1), and the synonymous word מַטֵּה *matteh* appears but rarely (vii. 1; xxii. 1): in the geographical sections, on the contrary, we find chiefly מַטֵּה (xiii. 15, 24; xiv. 1-4; xv. 1, 20, 21; xvii. 1; xviii. 11; xix. 1, 24, 40, 48; xx. 8; xxi. 4-6, &c.) and only seldom שֶׁבֶט (as in xiii. 33). This double usage is constant, so that even in the half-historical section, xiv. 1-5, the word מַטֵּה always stands, while in a similar one, xviii. 1-10, only שֶׁבֶט is used.' But is the fully equivalent sense of these words so certain as Stähelin assumes, so that the use of the one rather than the other depends on the accidental peculiarity of different writers? Why, in that case, were the two ancient authors so inconsistent, that each appropriates, a few times, the word peculiar to the other? For the author of the historical sections uses מַטֵּה not only twice, as Stähelin states, but four times (vii. 1, 18; xxii. 1, 14); and the author of the geographical sections

sections has שֹׁבֵט three times (xiii. 29, 33; xxi. 16). Or does the equivalence follow from Num. xviii. 2, Jos. xiii. 29, and Ezek. xix. 11, 14, where both words stand together, and both have the sense *staff* and *tribe* (*baculus* and *tribus*)? By no means. Both can express the same object, but in different aspects, and hence are not strictly synonymous. The difference in their meaning is clear from Ezek. xix. 11, 'and her strong staves (קִטְוֹתָיו, *i. e.* the strong branches of the vine) became sceptres of rulers (שִׁבְטֵי מַלְכִּים)', and ver. 14, 'and a fire went out of the staff of her branches (קִטְוֶהּ בְּרִיחַ, *i. e.* the vine-stock), devoured her fruit, and there remained not in her a strong staff (קִטְוֶהּ), a sceptre to rule' (שִׁבְטָהּ לְמִשׁוֹל), *i. e.* a branch that could form a sceptre. Here מִטָּה is not only distinguished from שֹׁבֵט, but also its primary meaning clearly given. As derived from נָטָה *natah*, 'to stretch out,' מִטָּה *matteh* signifies a branch or rod grown out of a stem or root. Now since such branches or rods were cut off for hand-sticks, מִטָּה signifies, 1. the *staff* or *stick* used by the feeble and the aged for support, and hence figuratively the *stay*, *e. g.* of bread (Lev. xxvi. 26, *et saepe*); 2. the *staff* of the shepherd, with which he tends the flock, drives away the beasts of prey, and thence figuratively the staff as instrument of correction (Isa. ix. 3; x. 5, *et saepe*), but never the *staff* as sign of rule or authority, the *sceptre*. For also in Ps. cx. 2, and Jer. xlviii. 17, the only passages which seemingly favour the last mentioned sense, מִטָּה signifies nothing but the strong staff wherewith enemies are smitten and subdued. On the contrary שֹׁבֵט, whose etymology is obscure, signifies indeed a *staff* for smiting, *e. g.* Ex. xxi. 20 *et saepe*, but never a *staff* for support, as Gusset, *sub voce*, has correctly observed: 'certe non tribuitur homini, ubi agitur de infirmitate corporis propter senium aut morbum aut iter sustentanda,' although Gesenius in his *Thesaurus* still erroneously adduces Ps. xxiii. 4 for the meaning, 'baculus cui quis innititur.' Even for the shepherd's staff it is used only in the phrase 'to pass under the rod' (Lev. xxvii. 32; Ezek. xx. 37), and also in the figurative passages in Ps. xxiii. 4 and Mic. vii. 14, in all which, however, the idea of rule predominates. For שֹׁבֵט, whatever be its derivation, denotes always the *staff* of the master or ruler, most commonly therefore the *sceptre*, and it is thus clearly distinguished from מִטָּה, מַסָּל, and מִשְׁעָנָה. There is quite as decided a difference between the words in the tropical sense *tribe*. מִטָּה denotes a *branch of the people*, and is used of the tribes of Israel only when they are viewed according to their descent from one common ancestor, or according to their relative ramification. In these cases שֹׁבֵט never occurs, for this denotes the tribe as a corporation or political power, having independence and authority.

While

While therefore **מטה** denotes *tribe* from the primary sense *branch* of a tree, **שבט** does it from the sense *sceptre*, and stands for the body of those who are ruled by *one* sceptre. So Winer (*Lexicon, sub voce*) has rightly explained it: ‘tribus Israel, quæ sceptro h. e. duci paret, fere ut german. *Fähnlein* de iis qui vexillum sequuntur,’ against which, however, Gesenius in his *Thesaurus* gives the untenable explanation, ‘locutio est metaphorica, repetita a planta e cujus radice plures virgæ, stirpes assurgunt,’ which passes well for **מטה**, but not at all for **שבט**, which never means *virga*. From this difference in the sense we must explain the varying use of these two words in all the places in the Pentateuch and Joshua; it is only thus we can explain why **מטה** is so common in Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, and never occurs in Deuteronomy; also why both words are used together in Num. xviii. 2 and Jos. xiii. 29, where there is no vain tautology. Because **מטה** denotes a tribe in its genealogical ramification with the other tribes of *one* people, therefore it is employed not only in the geographical chapters of our book, which give the division of the land as based on the genealogy of the tribes, but also in the historical passages (ch. vii. 1, 8), in the account of Achan’s descent, and in ch. xxii. 1, 14, for the half-tribe of Manasseh; and **שבט** stands in the historical portions not only in ch. i.-xii., but also in ch. xviii. 1-10, xxiii. and xxiv., because in these places the tribes of Israel are always viewed as corporations or small independent powers, which view led to the use of this word also in ch. xiii. 29, 33, and xxi. 16.

3. Stähelin next observes:—‘the historical part (xi. 23; xii. 7; xviii. 10) has the rare word **מחלקה**, ‘division,’ which we never find in the geographical.’ But the last of these passages (xviii. 10) belongs to the geographical part of the book; and Stähelin could not maintain the contrary without arbitrarily reckoning to the historical part all the verses and paragraphs of the geographical part which give historical elucidations to the division of the land, and so leaving nothing else for the geographical than the specifications of the boundaries of the several tribes and the catalogues of their cities. Were we now to let this arbitrary sundering of what is really coherent pass, still we should at least wish that he had first shown whether the pieces which he leaves over to the geographical part, offered any occasion for the use of this word. The truth is, they offered none at all, for in them we never, as in the historical surveys, find the various divisions of the people into tribes, families and single households expressed under one general idea, which is done by **מחלקה**, ‘divisions;’ but they treat only of the separate tribes and their subdivisions into families (**משפחה**).

4. Stähelin

4. Stähelin further notices, that the expression יֵרֵחוֹ לִירְדֵן, 'the other side Jordan,' occurring in the geographical part (xiii. 32; xvi. 1; xx. 8) is wanting in the historical, which he maintains employs another phrase, 'beyond Jordan' (xviii. 7), instead. But he must have stated this either without reflecting on the meaning of this expression, or under the conceit that it denotes in general the whole territory of Israel beyond Jordan (Peræa). Had he better considered the passages where the expression occurs, in order to ascertain its meaning, he would have seen that it is used only of the plains of Moab, which lay directly east of Jericho (comp. Num. xxii. 1; xxvi. 3, 63; xxxi. 12; xxxiii. 48, 50; xxxvi. 13); and that it could not be used in Jos. xviii. 7, because this place speaks of the whole land beyond Jordan given to the two tribes and a half for a possession, of which the author of our book could not dream of saying, that it lay beyond the Jordan at Jericho. Num. xxxiv. 15, 'the two tribes and a half have received their inheritance beyond the Jordan at Jericho eastward, toward sun-rising,' will not prove the contrary, for here by מֵעֵבֶר לִירְדֵן is intended not the geographical position of the inheritance of these tribes, but only the place where the division of the country beyond Jordan among them took place, *i. e.* the region over against Jericho in the plains of Moab, where the Israelites were then encamped.

5. 'Moses is called עֶבֶר יְהוָה, 'servant of Jehovah,' only in the historical sections.' This argument appears just, provided we detach from the geographical part the historical remarks that belong to it as elucidations, and count them to the historical part. But the true state of the case is different from what we might be led to believe from Stähelin's words. In the whole book Moses is called *Jehovah's servant* only seventeen times, while the simple name Moses is found thirty-four times, and twenty-two of these in the portions designated as historical by Stähelin; and it is so found not only in places where the designation 'servant of Jehovah' has occurred before, so that it might be omitted for brevity's sake in repeating the name, but also in entire chapters, in purely historical sections, *e. g.* iv. 10, 12, 14; xxiii. 6; xxiv. 5. What right then has one to infer, from the absence of this honourable title of Moses in the geographical accounts of boundary lines and of cities, that these statements come not from the same author as the historical sections, since the designation occurs five times in the historical elucidations of the geographical part (xii. 6, *bis*; xiii. 8; xiv. 7; xviii. 7).

6. 'In the historical sections the priests are called "the priests the Levites" הַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם (iii. 3; viii. 33), or only "priests" הַכֹּהֲנִים (iii.

(iii. 6, 15, and a few times in ch. vi.) ; but in the geographical portion, in ch. xxi. 4, 9, 13, 19, they are called sons of Aaron.' This plea is set aside by the simple fact that in ch. xxi. the priests came into consideration not according to their office, but according to their genealogy, while the division of the territories took place according to the lineal division of the tribes into families. As in the case of the other tribes, always 'the sons of such and such a tribe according to their families' received their portion of land by lot, so also the sons of Levi received their cities according to their families.

7. Finally, 'we meet with the rare word חֲמִישִׁי, "half," only in the geographical portions' (xxi. 25). This last argument is intended, seemingly, to add one more to the number of reasons, and thereby to increase their cogency. For nothing can possibly be proved from this word's occurring but once in this form in the whole book, since its equivalent form חָמֵשׁ, 'half,' is found in the same chapter three times (ver. 5, 6, 27), and six times more in the other portions which Stähelin allows to be geographical (xiii. 25, 29, 31 *bis*; xiv. 2, 3); and the form חֲמִישִׁי, of fuller sound, is chosen in xxi. 25, doubtless only for this reason, that it forms the beginning of a period in this very periodic chapter.

Thus a more careful consideration of the contents and spirit of our book causes all the differences in regard to things and to language to disappear, which a superficial criticism declares to be contradictions and manifest proofs of different original documents. The opponents have, indeed, sought to strengthen their hypothesis by proving that the Pentateuch exhibits the same differences. But though various sections of our book are closely connected, in both matter and style, with sections corresponding with them as to contents in the Pentateuch, yet it by no means follows that both writings have a like origin and composition—that they were originally *one* work. For, in the first place, the hypothesis of different documents has quite as little ground in the Pentateuch as in Joshua; then, secondly, it is a wholly untenable supposition that the so-called Elohistic parts of our book were, at first, united with the *Elohim* source of the Pentateuch. The death of Moses, it is argued, forms no suitable conclusion, no resting point, where we can believe that the author could have broken off his narrative. For 'Moses is not the proper hero of the history, but the people of Israel in their relation to Jehovah; but the people are found at the death of Moses in such a position (on the borders of the Promised Land and prepared for taking it, but yet without having entered it) that whoever had continued the history from the creation of the world down to this point could not have

have been able to break off here.* The validity of this conclusion depends on this:—that not Moses but the people of Israel in their relation to Jehovah is the proper hero of the history. Which is quite right, but so broadly and so vaguely put that one might equally well infer from it that the work, which beginning with the creation relates the origin of the people of Israel and the choice of them to be the covenant-people of Jehovah, could not possibly close with the capture of the land of Canaan, but must have continued the history of this people down to the subversion of the Jewish state, since the taking of Canaan into possession was not the end, but rather the commencement of their historical development. Or shall we suppose that Jehovah's relation to his people ceased with their conquest of the land? Was it Jehovah's purpose simply to give them Canaan for a possession and then to abandon them to their own ways? Has the legislation at Sinai reference merely to the conquest of Canaan? Was it not intended, at the same time, to regulate the whole historical development of Israel? Were all the promises given to the patriarchs fulfilled on the entrance of their seed into the land of Canaan, so that an author, who wished to write the history of Israel in their relation to Jehovah, could have closed his work with the death of Joshua?—The argument of our opponents falls with the false premises from which it is drawn. The death of Moses, it is true, does not form an epoch for the history of the Israelites, but it does for the history of the theocracy. Moses was not only the leader of the people, but also the founder of the theocracy, the mediator of the old covenant, by which Israel received their distinctive constitution, which forms the Old Testament economy. At his death the work of legislation came to an end; all succeeding leaders and guides of the people, all judges and kings, all priests and prophets, were subject to the law given by Moses and bound by its requirements, so that they could not with impunity transgress, and much less change or annul it. 'There arose not a prophet since in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face' (Deut. xxxiv. 10; comp. Ex. xxxiii. 11, and Num. xii. 8). But the Pentateuch is not a purely historical work, but, according to its chief contents, it is 'the statute-book of the Israelites, as indeed it professes to be' (Deut. xxx. 10). Is it not then in the highest degree fitting that the statute-book of the theocracy should close with the death of the legislator, which of itself put an end to the legislation? When therefore it is said by von Lengerke (*Kanaan*, I., p. lxxxv.), 'the design of the writing, on which the Pentateuch is based, was to set forth how Israel came into possession of Canaan, and hence it could not

* Bleek, *loc. cit.*, p. 46; Stähelin, p. 93, *seq.*

finish except with the narrative of that event; we must call on him first to prove the premises before he ventures to draw this conclusion. Yet Stähelin (p. 94) observes further, 'that the historical books of the Old Testament contain elsewhere no important prophecy without relating also its fulfilment, which would not be the case in regard to the important promise of the possession of Palestine.' But the author forgot to prove his assertion. The very contrary may be shown without difficulty. For does the Pentateuch with Joshua included relate the accomplishment (not to say of the Messianic predictions), but even of the promise made to Jacob (Gen. xxxv. 11), 'kings shall come out of thy loins?' Lengerke finally maintains, 'that the original work already indicates beforehand the chief regulations of Joshua, and has an eye constantly to his times, so that it presupposes throughout a narrative also of the succeeding period.' So much is true, viz., that Moses, according to the Pentateuch, adopts many preparations for the taking of Canaan, and before his death names by divine command Joshua as his successor; but all this does not presuppose that Joshua's deeds are to be told by the *same* writer who relates those of Moses. This hypothesis, then, which assumes the original oneness of Joshua and the Pentateuch, has no clear and convincing reason in its favour; yet one might take it up as a plausible conjecture if various facts did not decidedly contradict it and demand its rejection.

We must not overlook, in this respect, the circumstance already intimated in § I., that the author of the book of Joshua clearly designed to give a positive independence to his history of the theocracy under Joshua, inasmuch as he has embodied in full in his work Moses' conquest and division of the country beyond Jordan among the two tribes and a half, and also Moses' appointment of the cities of refuge in that region; and has even added a statement to complete the Pentateuch account of that conquest and division, as is shown in the Commentary on xiii. 21. The language of our book is still more a proof of its independence. From the relation of its subject matter to that of the Pentateuch the expression must naturally agree very often, in the main, with the books of Moses. Even the simplicity of the Hebrew language and prose necessitates that the same things, when they recur, should be mostly expressed again by the same terms. To which must be added, that our book relates the carrying out of many of Moses' directions, so that it is again quite natural that the expression should remain the same, that the execution should be mentioned in the same words in which the direction had been given. But yet, notwithstanding all these causes of similarity and sameness in the language of both works, the book of Joshua contains

tains still some very characteristic peculiarities of speech to distinguish it from the Pentateuch. One of these appears in the difference constantly observed in both works in writing the name *Jericho*, which is always יְרִיכוֹ *Jerēcho* in the Pentateuch (comp. Num. xxii. 1; xxvi. 3, 63; xxxi. 12; xxxiii. 48, 50; xxxiv. 15; xxxvi. 13; Deut. xxxii. 49; xxxiv. 1, 3) and always יְרִיחוֹ *Jericho* in Joshua (comp. ch. ii. 1-3; iii. 16; iv. 13, 19; v. 10, 13; vi. 1, 2, 25, 26; vii. 2; viii. 2; ix. 3; x. 1; xii. 9; xiii. 32; xvi. 1, *ter*, 7; xviii. 12, 21; xx. 8; xxiv. 11);^b and this difference is so striking that Hengstenberg^c has already urged it in proof of the different authorship of the two books. Further, we do not find in the Pentateuch the forms שָׁמַע, 'fame' (Jos. vi. 27; ix. 9, and only besides in Jer. vi. 24; Est. ix. 4), and קָנַס, 'jealous' (Jos. xxiv. 19, and only again in Nah. i. 2), but only שָׁמַעַ (Gen. xxix. 13; Ex. xxiii. 1; Num. xiv. 15; Deut. ii. 25) and קָנַס (Ex. xx. 5; xxxiv. 14; Deut. iv. 24; v. 9; vi. 15); nor do we find the infinitive form יָרַח (Jos. xxii. 25), but only יָרַחַ (Deut. iv. 10; v. 26; vi. 24, *et sæpe*). The Pentateuch also knows not the expression גִּבּוֹרֵי הַחַיִּל, which occurs so often in the later writings, to denote *mighty warriors* (Jos. i. 14; vi. 2; viii. 3), but uses instead of it בְּנֵי חַיִּל, 'sons of power' (Deut. iii. 18). Likewise the judicial phrase דָּמֹ בְּרֹאשׁוֹ, 'his blood on his head,' formed in accordance with the law (Jos. ii. 19, comp. Ezek. xxxiii. 4), does not occur in the Pentateuch, and it is to be regarded as a modification of the terms of the law which has only דָּמֹ בּוֹ, 'his blood upon him' (Lev. xx. 9, 11, 12, 13, 16). This gradual change in the language appears also in the fact that the archaisms peculiar to the Pentateuch, such as הָיָא for הָיָה, הָאֵל for הָאֱלֹהִים, &c., are no more to be found in our book.^d

With such proofs of a peculiar usage of language, deviating

^b König (p. 42) represents the name Jericho as written defectively יְרִיחַ in several places of our book (ch. ii. 1-3; iv. 13, *et al.*). Where is the ground for this statement? In the Bibles edited by J. H. Michaelis and Hahn I have never found it written so. Nor does Gesenius give it so in his *Thesaurus*, iii. 1293.

^c *Geschichte Bileams*, p. 256.

^d I lay less stress on an instance mentioned by Hävernick (*Einleitung*, i. 1, p. 198), viz., the curtailing of the proverbial saying in Exod. xi. 7, 'A dog shall not move his tongue against Israel,' which occurs in Josh. x. 21, without דָּבַר *dog*. In such sayings abbreviations very easily take place in the mouth of the people, so that even one and the same writer might use both the full and the shortened form. Yet what Stähelin (*Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1838, p. 272) urges as an objection, 'else must Gen. xli. 49, be later than Josh. xi. 4, since the former passage gives the same phrase in a shorter form,' is not at all to the purpose. He is, however, right in rejecting (p. 271) the meaning *plain* which Hävernick (*loc. cit.*) assigns to the word אֲשֶׁר־לִי in Josh. x. 40. What is further cited by De Wette (*Einleitung*, § 170), as deviating from the peculiarity of the Jehovist and the Deuteronomist, is devoid of all force.

from

from the Pentateuch, our book cannot be said to have the same author as either Deuteronomy or the entire Pentateuch. No more can the geographical sections of our book, or its pretended Elohist portions, be shown to have formed part of the supposed original source of the Pentateuch. For not only have all the grounds of this hypothesis been proved null and void, but it is also decidedly opposed by the inconceivableness of such an original document as the opponents assume. They wish to connect immediately with the close of Numbers the account of Moses' death in Deut. xxxii. 48-52; xxxiv. 1-9; and with this again the notice of the encampment at Gilgal, Jos. v. 10-12, and then the narrative in Jos. xiii. 15 *seq.* But what a connection? Moses died on Mount Nebo in the land of the Moabites; the people of Israel lay encamped at his death in the plains of Moab. With a mighty leap, a true *salto mortale*, the ancient Elohist must have magically conveyed the 600,000 men, with the women, children, and cattle, over the Jordan into the camp at Gilgal, where the people keep the Passover, and begin to eat of the natural productions of the earth, and then immediately undertake the division of the land, without having first conquered it! Is it conceivable that a rational and methodical narrator should have said nothing of the passage over the Jordan and of the taking of Canaan, that he should have related the division of the land without first mentioning its subjugation! Stähelin indeed thinks (p. 89) 'this brevity in historical things is not strange, according to analogy elsewhere; the Elohim source is, even in the Pentateuch, often very brief in what is historical, saying nothing, for instance, about the passage through the Red Sea, and about the various stations in the wilderness, of which a bare list is given in Num. xxxiii.' But these analogies prove nothing, first because they are partly only idle suppositions, since the existence of such an Elohim source to the Pentateuch is by no means proved or probable; and then because, in the book of Joshua, it is not a question of brevity, but of the absence in the supposed original writing of all historical notices about the Israelites' invasion and conquest of Canaan. The opponents' view remains, therefore, not only a strange, but inconceivable and consequently untenable supposition. Even Ewald has perceived this, and has in consequence not only attributed the list of the thirty-one vanquished kings of Canaan (ch. xii. 9-24) to the ancient Elohim document, or the book of the origins, but also conjectured that this ancient writing, in a very modified form, is the groundwork of the history of the conquest of Canaan in ch. vi.-xi.^o This, however, does not make much for the other critics. For as no trace of the style or mode of thinking of the Elohist is, according

* *Geschichte der Israeliten*, II., p. 227.

to their view, to be found in all the first half of our book, except in ch. v. 10-12, so they are reduced to the alternative either to deprive the Elohist of any share in ch. i.-xii., except ch. v. 10-12, or, as this would lead to absurdities, to abandon their critical procedure as unsuccessful and unfounded.

As then the view of these critics respecting the composition of the book of Joshua rests on no stable foundation, and leads to absurd results, it follows that its unity and independence stand fast, since all its parts hang most closely together; every single section not only holds its right place, but also points to the sequel, as well as presupposes what goes before. In the divine summons to Joshua in ch. i. 1-9, to fulfil his calling, we find the contents of the whole book indicated, not only the conquest of Canaan as given in the first half, together with all that Joshua did, at Gilgal and on Ebal and Gerizim, for ensuring success by the sanctifying of the people and the firmer grounding of them in God's law as delivered by Moses, but also the partition of the land as related in the second half, with the two assemblies of the people ordered by Joshua before his death for renewing the covenant with the Lord. Not less clear through the whole book are the chronological arrangement and coherent combination of the individual facts. Joshua enters on his calling with regulations which prepared for the entrance into the land of Canaan (i. 10-16; ii. 1-22). Then follow the removal from the camp at Shittim (iii. 1, which refers back to i. 11) and the passage over the Jordan (iii. and iv.). Then the narrative of what happened at Gilgal (iv. 19) in the camp on this side of the Jordan (v. 1-vi. 5), which is connected with the preceding by the *בָּעֵת הַהִיא*, 'at that time,' in ch. v. 2., and at the same time contains the immediate preparation for the taking of Jericho. The capture and destruction of this city, which then followed, are attended by Achan's trespass, with which again the taking of Ai is inseparably connected (vii. 1-viii. 29). Then succeeds, as the *וְעַתָּה*, 'then,' in viii. 30 shows, the march to Ebal and Gerizim (viii. 30-35). With this is naturally associated the mention of what the Canaanites, moved by the overthrow of Jericho and Ai, attempted against the Israelites (ix. 3; x. 1; xi. 1), which attempts proved disastrous to the former, and made the latter by two successive campaigns masters of the land in the south and north (ix.-xi.); so that our author had nothing more to do than to append in ch. xii. a list of the vanquished Canaanitish kings, and then, in ch. xiii., to pass on to the account of the division of the land, at which he had pointed already in the close of ch. xi. But this is quite appropriately introduced in ch. xiii., by the divine command for the parcelling out of Canaan (where the statement of the still unconquered districts is inserted), and by
a review

a review of the previous division by Moses of the land beyond Jordan among the two tribes and a half; and then the fulfilment of the command is related according to its historical progress (xiv. 1-xxi. 45), and a finish is given to this part by a closing sentence (xxi. 43-45), that points back to the beginning (xiv. 1-5). The book itself, however, could not close here, for we still need an account of the sending away and return of the fighting men belonging to the tribes beyond Jordan, who had, according to Moses' command and Joshua's consequent summons (i. 12-18), marched over the river with their brethren as auxiliaries (iv. 12, 13); which account follows in ch. xxii., as also the notice of Joshua's surrender of office and his death in ch. xxiii. and xxiv. Though the contents of these three last chapters are peculiar and varying from what is related immediately before, yet their original connection with ch. xiv.-xxi. and the whole book cannot be mistaken, if we only keep in view how, on the one hand, ch. xxiii. 1, in thought and expression, points back to ch. xxii. 3, 4, and these verses again to ch. xxi. 43-45; and how, on the other, the two speeches of Joshua in ch. xxiii. and xxiv. as plainly presuppose the division of the land as its conquest.[†]

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH.

By the Rev. DANIEL KERR, M.A.

THE history of the two kingdoms of Judah and Israel, from the time of their unhappy schism under Rehoboam to the destruction of Jerusalem and the captivity of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar, is confessedly one of the most intricate periods of ancient chronology. Dr. Hales has styled it 'the Gordian knot;' and if we consider the endless number of theories that have been proposed, the diversity of results that have been given, and the learning and ingenuity it has hitherto seemed to baffle, we might almost fear that it must be hopeless to unravel it. The following list presents the calculations of this period by some of the most eminent chronologists:—

| | Years. | | Years. |
|--------------------|--------|------------------------|--------|
| Kennedy | 358 | Oxford Tables . . | 389 |
| Marsham | 363 | Scaliger | 391 |
| Gantz | 373 | Volney | 393 |
| Petavius | 386 | Hales | 404 |
| Usher | 387 | Ensebius | 405 |
| Playfair | 388 | Titles to Josephus . . | 411 |

[†] The sequel of this Introduction, comprising Date of the Book of Joshua, Credibility of the Book of Joshua, and Exegetical Helps, will be given in the next Number of the Journal.

These

These present a difference upon the whole of more than 50 years, while even between Hales and Usher, whose rival systems at present divide public opinion, the difference is 17 years. And yet there is no portion of history so loaded as this is with such a mass of minute chronological data, and that, too, of the most valuable description; for the two histories running parallel with each other, mutually express their respective dates in terms of one another, and show that originally they were exactly adjusted together. The difficulty of now recognising this harmony must arise from one of two causes, if not from both: that either great corruptions have entered through time into the figures of this period, a fate to which figures have been peculiarly liable in past ages, as all historical documents testify; or that the real principles on which the histories have been compiled have not yet been discovered. It is not, however, our design, in the present attempt, to show how previous conclusions have been reached, or what are their peculiar faults or excellencies; but to pursue an independent and in some respects a novel path suggested to us by the study of the history itself, and more accordant, we think, with the oriental idea of time.

The following principles have mainly guided us in arriving at the results to which we have come, and we shall therefore state them before proceeding to an analysis of the history.

1. The well-known fact that the historians of the Bible computed the years in current and not in complete time: that is, that the first and last years of a reign were considered as full though they contained each but a few months of the year. On this principle we find that generally the last year of the father is the first of the son, and that it becomes 2 years in the history, though actually one only in the chronology.

2. The second principle is, that, except where it is so stated in the history, no son should reign in conjunction with his father, as has been too often supposed, when two dates jarred a little with each other, in order to evade the difficulty. In two cases, and only two, the sacred historian has faithfully recorded such a fact, and left us to infer that in all such instances it was essential to his design that these remarkable events should be carefully noted. The correction of the chronology ensuing from ascertaining the duration of one of these periods of co-regency forms one of the peculiar features of our present scheme.

3. A third canon by which we have been guided is, that the notion of an interregnum, in its occidental sense at least, was unknown to the compilers of the books of the Kings and Chronicles. This resource has hitherto been a favourite one with chronologists, when coming in contact with an evidently corrupted date,

date, even where all the circumstances of the history are opposed to such an idea. In only one instance during the whole currency of these kingdoms is such a state of anarchy recorded, as might be called an interregnum, when several competitors successively contended with each other for the throne of Israel, and the kingdom was for five years rent into violent factions. Yet so far was the historian from treating this as an interregnum, that he throws the whole of that time afterwards into the reign of the successful aspirant. In regard to all the other so-called interregnums, it will be found that a closer examination of the cases, with the aid of the instance alluded to, will account for them in a much more satisfactory way.

3. Lastly, another rule that has aided us not a little in our investigations is, that, wherever we observe a difficulty on the one side of the analysis balanced by a precisely similar difficulty on the other, we conclude that the one is the production of the other, and that such a correction is required as will rectify both. For example—if a king in one of the kingdoms requires, according to the dates given, to reign a certain number of years along with his father; and this is balanced by the next king on the other side requiring to reign the very same number of years with his, while yet the narrative mentions no such thing in regard to either: then it may be safely suspected that an error lies in the date of the former, and that by lowering it they should both be brought down to the year of their fathers' decease. Or, the opposite may occur, when the accession of a son is dated later than his father's death, and an unexplained interval is thus left between them, which is checked by a similar interval occurring on the other side before the accession of the king next in order. Or, in fine, if a son who should reign, according to the narrative, with his father, is required by the dates to reign only after him; but it is seen that there is a gap unnecessarily existing on the other side; then it may be at once concluded that this gap has been occasioned by the improper lowering of that son's accession, and is to be filled up by the shifting of it back the whole space of time that the interval indicates. Cases of all these kinds occur in the period under review.

These principles have conducted us to conclusions considerably different from those at present received, and have, we believe, enabled us to adjust the chronology of this important history, so as to approach much nearer the truth than it has hitherto been brought. The following table, as much abridged as possible, contains a scheme of the whole period included in our investigation, and is so constructed as to enable the reader to verify every date given, and judge for himself of every correction introduced.

TABLE

TABLE OF THE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

| JUDAH. | | | ISRAEL. | A.E. |
|--|---|---|--|----------------|
| REHOBOAM (1 Kings xiv. 21). He was 21 years old when he began to reign, and reigned 17 years in Jerusalem. | 1 3 5 9 13 17 | 1 3 5 9 13 17 | JEROBOAM (1 Kings xiv. 20) was made king, and reigned over Israel 22 years. | 1 5 |
| ABIJAH (1 Kings xv. 1) began to reign in the 18th year of Jeroboam, and reigned 3 years in Jerusalem. | 1 2 0. 3 | 18 19 20 | | 18 |
| ASA (1 Kings xv. 9) began to reign in the 20th year of Jeroboam, and reigned 41 years in Jerusalem. | 1 2 3 6 10 14 18 22 26. | 20 21 22. 1 1. 2 4 8 12 16 20 24 . 1 | NADAB (1 Kings xv. 25) succeeded in the 2nd year of Asa, reigned 2 years, and was slain by Baasha in the 3rd of Asa. | 21 22 |
| | | | BAASHA (1 Kings xv. 28) began to reign in the 3rd year of Asa, and reigned 24 years over all Israel. | 23 |
| | | | | 34 |
| | | | ELAH (1 Kings xvi. 8) succeeded in the 26th of Asa, and reigned 2 years: was slain by Zimri. | 46 |
| | | | ZIMRI (1 Kings xvi. 15) reigned one week, in the 27th of Asa: slain by Omri. Tibni then rose against Omri. | 47 |
| | | | OMRI (1 Kings xvi. 23) having defeated Tibni, he began to reign in the 31st of Asa, and reigned 12 years. | 51 |
| | | | AHAB (1 Kings xvi. 29) succeeded in the 38th year of Asa, and reigned 22 (20) years in Samaria. | 58 61 69 |
| | | | AHAZIAH (1 Kings xxii. 51) succeeded in the 17th of Jehoshaphat, and reigned 2 years: died by a fall from a window. | 77 |
| | | | JORAM (2 Kings iii. 1), the brother of Ahaziah, succeeded him in the 18th of Jehoshaphat, and reigned 12 years: | 78 80 82 |
| JEHOSHAPHAT (1 Kings xxii. 41) began to reign in the 4th of Ahab, and reigned 25 years in Jerusalem. | 41. 1 5 9 13 17 | 1 4 8 12 16 20 | | 85 |
| JEHORAM (2 Kings viii. 16) began to reign in the 5th of Joram—Jehoshaphat being then king—and reigned 8 years. | 1 2 3 4 6 | 22 23 24 25 10 | | |

JUDAH.

| JUDAH. | | | ISRAEL. | A. D. |
|--|-------|-------|--|-------|
| ABAZIAH (2 Kings viii. 25) began to reign in the 12th of Joram, and reigned 1 year. He was slain by Jehu at Jezreel. | 8. 1 | 12 | slain by Jehu, who was proclaimed king in the camp at Ramoth Gilead. He slew also Abaziah at same time. | 89 |
| ATHALIAH (2 Kings xi. 1) arose and slew all the seed royal, and reigned 7 years. She was slain by Jehoiada. | 1 | 1 | JEHU (2 Kings x. 36) having slain the kings of both kingdoms in one day, ascended the throne of Israel, and reigned 28 years. | 90 |
| JOASH (2 Kings xii. 1) began to reign in the 7th of Jehu, and reigned 40 years. | 3 | 3 | | 96 |
| | 5 | 5 | | |
| | 7 | 1 7 | | |
| | 5 | 11 | | |
| | 9 | 15 | | |
| | 13 | 19 | | 108 |
| | 17 | 23 | | |
| | 22 | 28. | | |
| | 23 | 1 | JEHOAHAS (2 Kings xiii. 1) succeeded in the 23rd year of Joash, and reigned 17 years. | 118 |
| | 27 | 5 | | 125 |
| | 30 | 8 | | |
| | 34 | 12 | | |
| | 37 | 15 | | |
| | 39 | 1. 17 | JEHOASH (2 Kings xiii. 10) succeeded in the 37th (39th) of Joash, and reigned 16 years. | 134 |
| AMAZIAH (2 Kings xiv. 1) began to reign in the 2nd of Jehoash, and reigned 29 years. | 1. 40 | 2 | | 135 |
| | 5 | 6 | | |
| | 8 | 9 | | |
| | 11 | 12 | | 145 |
| | 15 | 16 0 | JEROBOAM (2 Kings xiv. 23) succeeded in the 15th of Amaziah, and reigned 41 years. | 150 |
| | 16 | 1 | | 155 |
| | 19 | 4 | | |
| | 21 | 6 | | |
| | 24 | 9 | | |
| | 27 | 12 | | |
| UZZIAH (2 Kings xv. 1) began to reign in the 27th (14th) of Jeroboam, and reigned 52 years. | 29. 1 | 14 | | 163 |
| | 5 | 18 | | |
| | 8 | 21 | | |
| | 11 | 24 | | |
| | 14 | 27 | | 176 |
| | 17 | 30 | | |
| | 21 | 34 | | |
| | 25 | 38 | | |
| | 28 | 41 | ZECHARIAH (2 Kings xv. 8) succeeded in the 38th (28th) year of Uzziah, and reigned 6 months: slain by Shallum, who reigned 1 month in the 39th (29th) of Uzziah. | 187 |
| | 29 | 1 | MENAHEN (2 Kings xv. 17) having slain Shallum, began to reign in the 39th (29th) of Uzziah, and reigned over Israel 10 years. | 190 |
| | 31 | 3 | | 191 |
| | 33 | 5 | | |
| | 36 | 8 | | 195 |
| | 39 | 11 | | |
| | 40 | 1 | PEKAHIAH (2 Kings xv. 23) succeeded in the 50th (40th) year of Uzziah, and reigned 2 years: he was slain by Pekah. | 202 |
| | 41 | 2 | | |
| | 42 | 1 | PEKAH (2 Kings xv. 27) having slain Pekahiah, began to reign in the 52nd (42nd) year of | 204 |
| JOTHAM (2 Kings xv. 32) began to reign over Judah, in the | 1. 43 | 2 | | 205 |
| | 2. 44 | 3 | | |
| VOL. IV.—NO. VIII. | | 8 | JUDAH. | |

| JUDAH. | | | ISRAEL. | A.D. |
|---|--------|-------|---|------|
| 2nd year of Pekah, and reigned 16 years. | 3. 45 | 4 | Uzziah, and reigned 20 (28) years. He was slain by Hoshea, who reigned in his stead. | |
| | 4. 46 | 5 | | |
| | 5. 47 | 6 | | |
| | 6. 48 | 7 | | 210 |
| | 7. 49 | 8 | | |
| | 8. 50 | 9 | | |
| | 9. 51 | 10 | | 213 |
| | 10. 52 | 11 | | |
| | 13 | 14 | | |
| HAZ (2 Kings xvi. 1) began to reign in the 17th year of Pekah, and reigned 16 years. | 16. 1 | 17 | | 220 |
| | 4 | 20 | | |
| | 8 | 24 | | |
| | 12 | 28. 0 | HOSHEA (2 Kings xvii. 1) having slain Pekah, began to reign in the 12th year of Ahaz, and reigned 9 years. | 231 |
| | 13 | 1 | | 235 |
| HEZEKIAH (2 Kings xviii. 1) began to reign in the 3rd (4th) of Hoshea, and reigned 29 years. | 1. 16 | 4 | | |
| | 4. | 7 | | |
| | 6. | 9 | In the 4th of Hezekiah, which was the 7th of Hoshea, Salmazer king of Assyria came up against Samaria, and besieged it: and at the end of 3 years they took it; even in the 6th year of Hezekiah, that is the 9th year of Hoshea (2 Kings xviii. 9), Samaria was taken. | 240 |
| Sennacherib's invasion. | 10 | | | |
| Hezekiah's sickness. | 14 | | | |
| | 15 | | | |
| | 19 | | | 253 |
| | 23 | | | |
| | 26 | | | |
| MANASSEH (2 Kings xxi. 1) reigned 55 years. | 29. 0 | | | 263 |
| | 1 | | | 264 |
| | 4 | | | |
| | 8 | | | |
| | 12 | | | 275 |
| | 16 | | | |
| | 20 | | | |
| | 24 | | | 287 |
| | 28 | | | |
| | 32 | | | |
| | 36 | | | 299 |
| | 40 | | | |
| | 44 | | | |
| | 48 | | | 311 |
| | 52 | | | |
| AMON (2 Kings xxi. 19) having reigned only 2 years, his servants slew him in his own house. | 1. 55 | | | 318 |
| JOSIAH (2 Kings xxii. 1) reigned 31 years, and was slain in battle by Pharaoh Necho, king of Egypt. | 2. 1 | | | 319 |
| | 5 | | | |
| | 9 | | | |
| Jeremiah prophecies . . . 1 | 13 | | | 331 |
| (Jer. xxv. 3.) | 5 | | | |
| | 9 | | | 339 |
| | 12 | | | |
| | 16 | | | |
| Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiii. 1) reigned 3 months: deposed by Pharaoh Necho, and carried to Egypt. | 4. 31 | | | 349 |
| Jehoiakim (2 Kings xxiii. 20) | 1 | | | 350 |

JUDAH.

| JUDAH. | | | ISRAEL. | | A.R. |
|---|----|-----|---------|---|------|
| 36), raised up by Pharaoh, and reigned 11 years: his 4th year is the 1st of the captivity of 70 years. | 23 | 4 | 1 | Nebuchadnezzar's reign, in which year the great captivity of 70 years began. (Jer. xxv. 11.) | |
| JEHOIACHIN (2 Kings xxiv. 8) reigned 3 months, and was deposed by Nebuchadnezzar, in favour of his uncle Zedekiah. | 26 | 7 | 4 | | |
| | 28 | 9 | 6 | | |
| | 30 | 11. | 4 | 8 | 360 |
| | | | | The 2nd deportation took place in this year, and from it Ezekiel dated his prophecies "the year of our captivity." It was the 8th year of Nebuchadnezzar. | |
| ZEDEKIAH (2 Kings xxiv. 18), raised up by Nebuchadnezzar: he reigned 11 years. | 31 | | 1 | 9 | 361 |
| | 34 | | 4 | 12 | |
| | 37 | | 7 | 15 | |
| In the 9th year of the reign of Zedekiah, in the 10th month, in the 10th day of the month, Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon came against Jerusalem, and the city was besieged unto the 11th year of Zedekiah. And on the 9th day of the fourth month the city was broken up. And in the 5th month, on the 7th (10th) day of the month, which was the 19th year of the king of Babylon, the city was burnt, and the walls broken down. | 39 | | 9 | 17 | |
| | 41 | | 11 | 19 | 371 |

Notes explanatory of the Table.

JEROBOAM. As the schism of the two kingdoms occurred immediately after the death of Solomon, in the very beginning of Rehoboam's reign, we have made the reigns contemporaneous, and styled this era A.R. or the year of revolt.

ASA. It is stated that Asa began to reign in the 20th year of Jeroboam, but all the dates of the kings of Israel that refer to his reign require that his first year should rather correspond to Jeroboam's 21st. It might be that Abijah, his father, died so near the close of the preceding year that the small portion of it during which Asa ruled after him, was considered so short as to be unworthy of notice, especially as his reign extended to so great a length. The same thing occurs in several other instances, for, we presume, the same reason.

NADAB. This prince has a reign of 2 years assigned to him, and yet he only began to reign in the one and was cut off in the other. This fact curiously but clearly illustrates that singular feature of Hebrew chronology which is so strikingly exemplified in the 3 days of our Lord's being in the grave, viz., that a part

of time is taken for the whole—in other words, that current time is spoken of as complete. In the present instance, Nadab reigned only a part of 2 years, having come to the throne in the 2nd of Asa and died in the 3rd : it might not amount to an entire year altogether, and yet it is accounted 2 years in the narrative. This sum, however, Dr. Hales and others calculate as 2 years in their account, without considering the relative dates connected with it, which, it may be said, cause this reign to vanish altogether from the chronology ; for as the 1st year of Nadab is identical with the last of Jeroboam, and the 2nd with the 1st of Baasha, they both in fact are represented in them. The same remarks apply to the reigns of Elah the son of Baasha, and of Ahaziah the son of Ahab, each of which have 2 years, reckoned on the same principle, but actually adding nothing to the chronology. Many other years will thus disappear, as the table shows, so as to reduce the sum on the whole $8\frac{1}{2}$ years on the side of Israel and $9\frac{1}{2}$ on the side of Judah.

OMRI. We are, in the reign of Omri, presented with another of those peculiarities that mark this period of history ; and it has been, as already said, of no small service to us in disposing of the question of interregnums. We must therefore be somewhat particular in our account of it. Elah was slain by Zimri in the 27th year of Asa. When the intelligence reached the camp at Gibbethon where Omri was besieging the Philistines, it seems to have been received with a burst of indignation, for Omri was instantly proclaimed king, and the whole army, raising the siege, came up with all Israel and encamped against Tirzah, where Zimri, having slain the whole race of Baasha, was enjoying his first days of royal life in the palace of the kings. After a few days' siege the city yielded, and Zimri, rather than fall into the hands of his enraged and victorious assailant, set fire to the palace and perished in its ruins. Now mark here the faithfulness of the historian to the oriental idea to which we are about to direct attention. It is said, 'in the 27th year of Asa did Zimri reign 7 days' (1 Kings xvi. 15). Omri, however, was not yet allowed to take possession of the throne. A new candidate immediately appeared in Tibni, the son of Ginath, who was backed in his suit by a very powerful party in the nation : for it is said, 'Then were the people of Israel divided into two parts : half of the people followed Tibni the son of Ginath to make him king, and half followed Omri' (1 Kings xvi. 21). For 5 years these two great factions carried on an intestine war that must have plunged the kingdom into great distraction. At length, in the 31st year of Asa, the party of Tibni was subdued, the insurgent chief himself slain, and Omri became sole and undisputed king. The historian

now

now adds, 'In the 31st year of Asa king of Judah began Omri to reign over Israel 12 years: 6 years reigned he in Tirzah' (1 Kings xvi. 23). But observe the fact; he died in the 38th year of Asa, for then his son Ahab succeeded him: and consequently he reigned only 7 years, if his reign began where it is dated. If, however, to these we add the 5 years of anarchy that preceded, we obtain exactly the 12 years assigned to him, and find that the first 6 years were indeed spent in Tirzah, and the remaining 6 in Samaria, which he founded the year after he came to absolute power.

Now what is most deserving of attention in this account is, not the way in which the 12 years may be computed, but the remarkable principle on which these 5 years of anarchy are so disposed of as not to appear in that form in the chronology. The historian, it is clear, has no idea that they should or could be computed by themselves as an interregnum or debateable period, when no man was king, even though he had expressly stated that Omri began to reign when it was past, but considered it as necessarily now included in Omri's reign, since he had contended for this from the first, when he had been saluted king by his party. Had Tibni succeeded instead of Omri, the same thing might have been said of him; or rather, Omri, as the earlier usurper of the title, would have been described as king, like Zimri, until he was subdued, and Tibni should have reigned after him and in his stead. Thus the whole interval should equally have been appropriated and the supposition of an interregnum been impossible. The rule then which here guided the historian—and it is one that regulates evidently all such vacancies—is, that the earliest candidate for the crown, if he eventually succeeds, includes the whole period of previous strife in his historical reign; and if he fails—as in the case of Zimri, and afterwards of Shallum—he is said to have reigned until he fell. An interregnum therefore, under such a mode of reckoning, becomes an impossibility.

Many eastern facts illustrative of this might easily be cited, in regard to which our western minds would shrink from giving the royal title, as in the case of Smerdis the magian, whom we are ready to style an impostor, but whom the Persian historian and the book of Ezra would nevertheless denominate a king. In some cases they even carried the idea farther than this, and gave the title to upstart pretenders during the reign of the recognized monarch. Thus upon the tomb of Darius Hystaspes at Behistûn, lately decyphered for the first time by Major Rawlinson, there is among other matters a memoir given of all the impostors and insurgents that arose during his reign, whom he had successively subdued. Of each of them he says, that 'he became king,' that
is,

is, every one that took the title held it, orientally, until he was put down. The same ideas, therefore, directing the mind of the sacred historian in the cases under review, lead us to the conclusion that no interregnal periods are admissible, as there never would be a time when there was not a claimant for the throne either *de jure* or *de facto*.

АНАБ. This king reigned, it is said, 22 years. Beginning in the 38th of Asa his 22nd year would have coincided with the 19th of Jehoshaphat had he reigned so long; but for various reasons we are not inclined to believe that he exceeded 20 years. Ahaziah his son became king in the 17th year of Jehoshaphat and 20th of Ahab, and was succeeded by his brother Joram in the 18th, the year following. Now this would make the last two years of Ahab's life a co-regency, first with one son and afterwards with another, of which there is no hint in the narrative, nor any apparent necessity in the case. Ahab was not a man of such temper as to brook an equal with him on the throne, nor was he at the close of life in such a state of imbecility or disease as to require it. On the contrary, he was still vigorous, active and ambitious, when he fell in battle at Ramoth Gilead, fighting against the Syrians. From these facts we might have safely concluded that he reigned to the last alone; but the account of Ahaziah's accession sets the matter completely to rest, 'And the king died, and was brought to Samaria and buried there. . . So Ahab slept with his fathers, and Ahaziah his son reigned in his stead' (1 Kings xxii. 40). It is therefore clear that, as he died before the accession of Ahaziah, there must be an error of 2 years in his reign, which has crept in through some inadvertency. But, indeed, it does not affect the chronology whether he lived these 2 years or not, as they would fall from the reckoning in the supposed partnership: still they are undoubtedly an error.

JORAM, the son of Ahab. Two different dates are given of his accession to the throne. That which occurs in the regular course of the history, and which is in harmony with all the relative dates of his reign is, that 'he began to reign in the 18th year of Jehoshaphat, and reigned 12 years' (2 Kings iii. 1). But the other asserts, 'so Ahaziah died, and Joram reigned in his stead, in the 2nd year of Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat' (2 Kings i. 17). The first of these is evidently the true account; the second bears every mark of being a note of some ancient ignorant critic, that in course of time has found its way into the text. There are two reasons especially that determine us to this opinion. It is first of all introduced entirely out of the author's chronological order which he invariably observes in interweaving the history of the two kingdoms into one narrative, and which the reader may easily perceive

perceive by running his eye down the table, and noting the order of the chapters of the book of Kings. Here, therefore, in the 1st chapter, the historian could not introduce a date which, if true, which it is not, would fall in the order of time in the 8th, where we come for the first time to Jehoram's reign. Again, the clause is not only mistimed, it is also informal. The author of this history is exceedingly formal. In stating the order of events at the death of any king, he has a certain formula of expression to which he closely adheres, and in the only two instances in which there is a departure from it, it is remarkable that they are both inaccuracies, and are elsewhere contradicted. This is one of them. He always ends the reign of a king by a 'so he died, and was buried,' &c., 'and his son reigned in his stead.' But he never adds there *when* he reigned. It is not till he comes, in the proper course of the narrative, to that son's reign that he then introduces it with the date of his accession, &c. But in this clause it is otherwise, and therein we detect the unskilful hand of an interpolator. All this is more evident still when we learn that 'Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat began to reign in the 5th year of Joram the son of Ahab, and reigned 8 years' (2 Kings viii. 16), and that his 8th year coincided with Joram's 12th, in which his son Ahaziah, who had just begun to reign, was slain along with Joram at Jezreel, when Jehu slew both kings in one day.

JEHORAM. We have here an instance of a joint-reign of a son with his father, and it is therefore worthy of attention. It is recorded that 'in the 5th year of Joram—*Jehoshaphat being then king of Judah*—Jehoram the son of Jehoshaphat began to reign' (2 Kings viii. 16). The 5th year of Joram was the 22nd of Jehoshaphat, so that his son must have reigned with him during the last 4 current years of his life. The principle upon which our table is constructed finely exhibits this fact. The distinct and decided statement of this unusual occurrence, even though there is nothing in the transactions of the period necessarily requiring it, is a proof that the writer would have also noticed the same thing in other cases, had there been such; but as he only once again, in the case of Jotham, informs the reader of such a circumstance, the conclusion is clear, that only these two instances occurred during the whole course of this history.

JEHOASH. In the reign of this grandson of Jehu occurs one of those blemishes in the narrative to which our fourth canon applies, namely, a difficulty on the one side attended by a similar difficulty on the other. He is said to have commenced his reign in the 37th year of Joash king of Judah; but as this was the 15th year only of his father's reign, they must in that case have reigned 3 current years together, of which the history is utterly silent.

silent. Our suspicion of an inaccuracy here is confirmed by turning to the opposite column, in which we find that if Jehoash reigns with his father, Amaziah must reign the very same space of time with his father also, for he begins to reign in the 2nd year of Jehoash, and consequently any error in the placing of Jehoash will affect his reign to the very same extent. The similarity of the cases, therefore, and the mutual dependence they have on each other, naturally suggest both the cause and the correction of the error; for when the first year of Jehoash is lowered to the last of his father, the first of Amaziah falls into the same position where the tenor of the history requires them both to be. In the Aldine version of the LXX., the accession of Jehoash is dated, as we have given it, in the 39th, and not the 37th, year of Joash.

UZZIAH. This reign presents one of the greatest difficulties to be met with in the history before us: but the principles already laid down will successfully enable us to encounter it. Amaziah his father had been slain in a popular insurrection in the 14th year of Jeroboam II., when this prince was called to the throne. It is said 'they made a conspiracy against him in Jerusalem, and he fled to Lachish, but they sent after him to Lachish and slew him there. And they brought him on horses, and he was buried with his fathers at Jerusalem. And all the people of Judah took Uzziah (Azariah), who was 16 years old, and made him king instead of his father Amaziah' (2 Kings xiv. 19). When, however, the history comes to narrate in its proper place the life and reign of Uzziah, it commences with this statement: 'Uzziah (Azariah) began to reign in the 27th year of Jeroboam, 16 years old was he when he began to reign, &c. This date, therefore, leaves a vacancy of 12 years after the death of his father, which chronologists have too easily got over by calling it an interregnum. Many circumstances, as we shall proceed briefly to show, compel us to adopt a different opinion, namely, that the apparent discordancy here arises from a mere mis-statement of the date. 1. There is no allusion whatever in the history to such an unusual and undesirable state of public affairs as this would imply, and surely when the writer has so often noticed the most ordinary events it is not to be supposed that he would have allowed such an important fact to pass unnoticed as that for 12 years there was no king in Judah. 2. The youth of Uzziah at his father's death could form no constitutional objection to his immediate assumption of sovereignty: for though, on the supposition that the 12 years are authentic, he had been only 4 years of age when Amaziah's death took place, there was nothing in this to prevent his accession, as Joash before him was but 7 when he was made king, and Josiah after him is only 8. Though then the heir to the crown

crown was a minor, and therefore under guardians, still the law and practice was in every such case instantly to recognize and honour him as king. 3. The history itself, when we examine it, is opposed to the notion of an interregnum. It states that Uzziah became king directly after, and in consequence of his father's death; nay, that he was even borne up into power by the same excited tumult that had thrown his father down. Indeed his election would seem to have been an extremely popular movement, for immediately that his misguided father is slain, 'all the people of Judah took Uzziah, who was 16 years old, and made him king instead of his father.' The whole strain of the narrative, the violent death of his father, and the excited state of the public mind, which, in such a case, seldom rests short in the midst of its work, show that the succession was instantaneous, and that there was originally no gap in the history. 4. Even supposing that Uzziah had become king *de jure* only in the 27th year of Jeroboam, and that the succession till then had been disputed, or the powers of the crown held by some sort of regency, yet, at last, as in the case of Omri, the historian would have reckoned his reign of 52 years back, *de more*, from the 14th of Jeroboam, including the period when his pretensions had been merely held in abeyance. 5. To admit an interval of 12 years between Uzziah and his father will have the suspicious effect of producing a similar interval of exactly 12 years in the other kingdom, between Jeroboam and his son Zechariah. It arises thus:—The reign of Zechariah is dated in a certain year of the reign of Uzziah; if, therefore, you shift down the reign of Uzziah any distance out of its true place, it will of course carry down with it the attached reign of Zechariah exactly the same space also. Now whenever such a remarkable phenomenon in history occurs, the conclusion inevitably forced upon our attention is, that both reigns have fallen by some accident, this very distance, out of their true position. This is just what has occurred here: for by lifting up the 1st year of Uzziah to its proper place at the death of his father, you at the same time cancel the gap on the other side, and restore the succession to its true condition in both cases. 6. But lastly, Josephus has fortunately preserved in his account the correct reading of the passage for which we contend, and states that 'Uzziah began to reign in the 14th year of Jeroboam' (*Antiq.* b. ix. ch. x. § 3). We are therefore required by these considerations to date the reign of Uzziah from the last year of his father, and consequently to relieve the history of the supposed interregnum that cumbered both sides of the account.

JOTHAM. The change introduced into the reign of Jotham,
by

by which he reigns 10 years in conjunction with his father, constitutes perhaps the principal feature of the present sketch of the chronology of the two kingdoms. It was first proposed by M. Volney in his '*Recherches Nouvelles sur l'Histoire Ancienne*,' published in 1814; but has not yet, so far as we know, received the attention that is due to it. It admits of a much easier demonstration however upon our principles than on his. In the note to Uziah we have, for the sake of simplicity, spoken of the interval between Jeroboam and Zechariah as only 12 years, corresponding to, and produced by, the blank existing between Amaziah and Uziah; but this is only a part of the truth. We have now to explain further, that there is in all a vacuum of 22 years between Zechariah and his father, which is composed of two parts, 12 years attributable to the error stated in Uziah's reign, and the remaining 10 to a misconception that has arisen out of Jotham's. With this last blank of 10 years we now proceed to deal.

A careful perusal of the history at this point will show that all the reigns from Zechariah down to Pekah depend upon the date of Jotham's accession. That is said to have taken place in the 2nd year of Pekah king of Israel (2 Kings xv. 32). Some individual therefore, to whose ignorant interference we owe the disorder that has been created here, taking it for granted without inquiry, that Jotham's reign commenced at the death of Uziah, found that the dates of Pekah, Pekahiah, Menahem and Zechariah did not correspond with this idea, as they were all set 10 years higher than he thought they ought to be; and therefore to correct, what seemed to him an evident anachronism, he took the liberty of lowering these altogether, so as to make the 2nd year of Pekah quadrate with the last of Uziah. This seems to us the natural explanation of the present state of the record: for these reigns are all suited to the time of the supposed accession of Jotham; but thrown thereby out of harmony with the historical conditions of the period. It was not the case that Jotham's reign began at the death of his father; for it is expressly stated that he was called, in very melancholy circumstances, to assume the reins of government a considerable time before that period arrived. For Uziah's impious intrusion into the temple, and usurpation of the priestly office, 'the Lord smote the king, so that he was a leper unto the day of his death, and dwelt in a several house; and Jotham the king's son was over the king's house, judging the people of the land' (2 Kings xv. 5 and 2 Chron. xxvi. 16, &c.). Jotham therefore ruled, or reigned, in conjunction with his father from the time that this event took place till his death; but this clearly stated fact has been wholly overlooked by the person who ventured

ventured to alter the dates of this period. The question now to be considered is, how long did Jotham thus reign with his father? and the solution of the difficulty, we are happy to say, is not far to seek. The vacuum of 10 years between Jeroboam and his son Zechariah most significantly supplies the answer. Accordingly when we shift up the reigns of Zechariah, Menahem, Pekahiah, and Pekah 10 years higher than they are at present dated, to where they must originally have stood, the 1st year of Jotham, attached to the 2nd of Pekah, falls into the 43rd of his father, and shows us the correct duration of his co-regency. This correction secures all that the history desiderates: it dismisses the anomalous interregnum, renders the succession of Zechariah as close and consecutive as it ought to be; clears up an interesting fact in the history of Uzziah, at what period of his life he committed the impiety with which he was chargeable, and exhibits most accurately the fact of Jotham's participation with him in the government of Judah.

It may be necessary to advert here to the only question that has not been touched, that an interregnum between Zechariah and his father is as much opposed to the tenor of the history as between Amaziah and Uzziah. This prince, the reader will find, succeeded his father immediately, and peacefully, at his death. Had there been 10 years of anarchy it could not fail to have been mentioned. The promise also made to his ancestor Jehu, that his seed to the fourth generation should sit upon the throne of Israel, while it secured to Zechariah the possession of the throne, would still more clearly secure the calculation to him at last of all the previous years of strife, as being the rightful heir. But he reigned only 6 months; Shallum, like a second Zimri, slew him and reigned a full month in Samaria, and Menahem like Omri, removed him and reigned 10 or 11 years. The cases are so similar, that the same arguments apply in this case that were supplied by the other.

PEKAH. A reign of only 20 years is assigned to Pekah, which terminated, therefore, in the 4th of Ahaz. A singular anachronism occurs in the account given of his death. 'And Hoshea the son of Elah made a conspiracy against Pekah, and smote him and slew him, and reigned in his stead, *in the 20th year of Jotham the son of Uzziah*' (2 Kings xv. 30). But Jotham reigned only 16 years, and died in the 17th of Pekah, for at that time his son Ahaz succeeded him: so that it is evident Pekah could not be slain in the 20th year of Jotham. The critical reader will not fail, however, to recognize in the words we have put in italics the same hand that appended an exactly similar inaccurate clause to 1 Kings i. 17, in the case of Joram, and which

which we there exposed as an evident interpolation. It comes in here as much out of historical time, form, and truth as there, and needs no further remark. In the proper order and place of the narrative the writer afterward states that Hoshea began to reign in the 12th year of Ahaz and reigned 9 years. The relative dates of Hoshea's and Hezekiah's reign also require that he should begin to reign about the time specified; so that there is a gap of 8 years at this rate unaccounted for between the death of Pekah and the 1st year of Hoshea. It is not material to our chronology whether this be filled up or left blank; but the case of Omri again is exactly in point to prove that either they must be included in Hoshea's reign, or that he did not assassinate Pekah till the 12th of Ahaz. As Hoshea could not however reign sooner than is stated, we are restricted to the latter conclusion. We find this corroborated, besides, by the celebrated Alexandrian MS. which gives 28 years to Pekah; and according to Syncellus (p. 202) the copy of the Scriptures used by Basil had the same reading. Eusebius and some others, more awkwardly, fill up the space by giving Pekahiah 10 years instead of 2. The matter seems to be satisfactorily set to rest by Josephus, who says, after recording the death of Ahaz, 'about the same time Pekah the king of Israel died by the treachery of a friend of his whose name was Hoshea' (*Antiq.* b. ix. ch. xiii. § 1), a statement that accords with the 12th of Ahaz, but not with the 4th.

HEZEKIAH. The 4th and 6th of Hezekiah agree with the 6th and 9th of Hosea, so that the 1st of his reign must coincide with the 4th and not the 3rd year. Josephus dates the accession of Hezekiah in the 4th of Hoshea, as we have found it necessary to do. For the same reason Hoshea's reign must begin in the 13th of Ahaz, though probably he might accomplish his treachery in the end of the year before.

It is now only necessary to add that, in arranging the reigns of the remaining kings of Judah to the close of their history, as we have no equivalent dates to guide us, we have copied from the plan of the preceding reigns. Manasseh we have dated in the year after his father's death, as in the similar long reigns of Asa and Jeroboam. Amon's reign has been arranged on the plan of Nadab's, Elah's and Ahaziah's; while from the 13th year of Josiah we have the dates of Jeremiah's prophesying, and from the 4th of Jehoiakim, the reign of Nebuchadnezzar, to guide us through a very important part of the arrangement.

The result of all these corrections is that there are only 240 years from the disruption of the kingdoms to the captivity of Israel by Salmanezer, and 371 or 370½ years to the captivity of Judah by Nebuchadnezzar. This is 16 years less than the computation

putation of Usher, and 33 less than that of Hales. Without pronouncing on the indubitable certainty of these conclusions that so considerably abbreviate these periods, the writer would simply state that they have received a very unexpected corroboration. After the scheme was constructed, having occasion to examine somewhat particularly the chronology of Josephus in regard to another question, he met with two dates which he begs leave to produce, and with them to leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.

'The 10 tribes of Israel were removed out of Judea 240 years 7 months and 7 days after they had revolted from Rehoboam, and given the kingdom to Jeroboam.' (*Antiq. b. ix. ch. xiv. § 1.*)

'The entire interval of time which passed from the captivity of the Israelites to the carrying away of the two tribes, proved to be 130 years 6 months and 10 days.' (*Antiq. b. x. ch. ix. § 7.*)

These when united yield exactly our sum of 370½; and what is as important and convincing still, this number, as we shall show in a future article, proves a perfect clue to unravel the present confused chronology of Josephus, by revealing at once the source of its principal errors.

ON THE HYSSOP OF SCRIPTURE.*

By J. FORBES ROYLE, M.D., F.R.S., L.S. & G.S., &c.,

Professor of Materia Medica and Therapeutics, King's College, London.

WHEN I lately had the honour of reading a paper before the Royal Asiatic Society, on the Mustard-tree of Scripture,^b I ventured to make some observations on what I considered to be the requisites for, and the best mode of pursuing, as well as upon what we should admit as proofs in, such inquiries. I proceed now to treat of another biblical plant, which is not less interesting than the Mustard-tree to determine. This is the Hyssop, frequently mentioned in the Old, and twice independently in the New Testament, and which, if we are to judge by the numerous attempts which have been made to ascertain the particular plant that is meant, is not less difficult to determine, than any one of the several unascertained plants of the Bible.

* From the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. XV., November, 1844. Reprinted by the permission of the Author, and of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society.

^b The paper on the Mustard Tree here referred to was inserted in the April number of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*.

That

That I may not seem to exaggerate what appeared to others the difficulties of ascertaining this plant, I will quote the commencement of the article on Hyssop of the learned and judicious Celsius: 'De plantis plerisque in Hebræo Veteris Testamenti codice commemoratis, imprimisque de אֲזִיב, recte pronuntiare, res est longe difficillima. Veritatem hic, si uspiam,

Scruposis sequimur vadis.
Fronte exile negotium,
Et dignum pueris putes.
Aggressis labor arduus,
Nec tractabile pondus est,

ut loqui amat Terentianus.' It was not to Celsius alone that this appeared to be a difficulty; for he says farther on, 'Aben Ezra, inter Ebræos commentatores facile princeps, suam ignorantiam, circa hanc stirpem, palam, et ingenue fatetur ad Exod. xii. 22;' and he thus translates the passage from the Hebrew of Aben Ezra: '*Quænam hæc sit plantarum, ignoro,*' 'cætera, quanta est, Rabbīnorum turba modo hanc, modo aliam conjectando, satis declarant, hujus plantæ notitiam sibi, Ebrææque genti periisse.' (Celsius *Hierobotanicon*, i. pp. 407 et 409.)

Trusting that according to the acknowledged difficulties of the undertaking, so will be the indulgence accorded to any attempt to unravel its intricacies, I proceed, in the first instance, to adduce the passages in Scripture referring to hyssop.

The first mention of hyssop in the Old Testament is immediately previous to the departure of the Israelites out of Egypt, and at the first institution of the Passover, when Moses called for all the elders of Israel and said unto them (Exod. xii. 22), 'And ye shall take a bunch of *hyssop*, and dip it in the blood that is in the bason, and strike the lintel and the two side posts with the blood that is in the bason.' From this passage it is evident that the plant must have been indigenous in Lower Egypt, and that it must have been sufficiently large and leafy, to be fit for sprinkling the door posts as directed. 2. The next notices of the hyssop are in Leviticus and in Numbers, which books having been written by Moses, indicate that the substances which he directs to be employed for sacrificial purposes, must have been procurable in the situations where the Israelites wandered, that is, in the countries between Lower Egypt and Palestine. Thus in the ceremony practised in declaring lepers to be clean, the priest is directed (Levit. xiv. 4) 'to take for him that is to be cleansed, two birds alive and clean, and cedar wood, and scarlet, and *hyssop*.' These are again all mentioned both in verse 6 and in verse 52. So in Numbers xix. 6, in the ceremony of burning the heifer and preparing the water of separation, the directions are: 'And the priest

priest shall take cedar wood, and *hyssop*, and scarlet, and cast it into the midst of the burning of the heifer;’ and in verse 18, ‘That a clean person shall take *hyssop*, and dip it in the water, and sprinkle it upon the tent, and upon all the vessels, and upon the persons that were there,’ &c. Here we again see that the *hyssop* must have been large enough to be suitable for the purposes of sprinkling; that it must have been procurable on the outskirts of Palestine, probably in the plain of Moab. It is to this passage that the apostle alludes in Hebrews ix. 19: ‘For when Moses had spoken every precept to all the people according to the law, he took the blood of calves, and of goats, with water and scarlet wool, and *hyssop*, and sprinkled both the book and all the people.’ In this passage we obtain no additional information, but as in the Septuagint, the application of the Greek term *ὑσσώπος* as the equivalent of the Hebrew name *esof*. 3. The next passage where *hyssop* is mentioned in chronological order is in the beautiful psalm of David, where the royal penitent says (li. 2), ‘Wash me thoroughly from mine iniquity, and cleanse me from my sin;’ and in verse 7, ‘Purge me with *hyssop*, and I shall be clean: wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow.’ This expression is considered by Bishop Horne (and also by others), in his Commentary on the Psalms, to refer to the rite described in the above passages, as the ceremony of sprinkling the unclean person with a bunch of ‘*hyssop*,’ dipped in the ‘water of separation.’ But though the passage no doubt has a figurative signification, yet, with all due deference to such high authorities, the mode of expression is so direct, as to appear to me, as if the *hyssop* itself did possess, or was supposed to have, some cleansing properties. If so, such might have led originally to its selection for the different ceremonies of purification, or such properties may have been ascribed to it in later ages, in consequence of its having been employed in such ceremonies. At all events, if the plant which we suppose to be the *hyssop* of Scripture can bear this signification, it will not be less appropriate. 4. The next notice of *hyssop* is in 1 Kings iv. 33, where in the account of the wisdom of Solomon it is said: ‘And he spake of trees, from the cedar-tree that is in Lebanon even unto the *hyssop* that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes.’ In this passage we find that the plant which is alluded to by the name of *esob* must also have grown upon a wall, though not necessarily to the exclusion of all other situations. Some commentators have inferred that the plant alluded to must have been one of the smallest, to contrast well with the cedar of Lebanon, and thus show the extent of the knowledge and wisdom of Solomon. But nothing of this kind appears in the text. The last passage which

which we have to adduce occurs in the New Testament, where in the crucifixion of our Saviour the apostle John relates (xix. 29): 'Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar: and they filled a sponge with vinegar and put it upon *hyssop*, and put it to his mouth.' This passage has elicited the remarks of various critics, and inferences have been drawn respecting the nature of the plant, from the use to which it was applied. Others have observed, that the evangelists Matthew and Mark, in relating the same circumstance, make no mention of the hyssop, but state that the sponge was put upon a *reed*, and given him to drink. The deductions which we may legitimately draw from the above passage are, that the hyssop was a plant of Judea, found indeed in the immediate neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and that it seems to have been used as a stick to which the sponge was fixed. If the plant which I suppose to be hyssop is calculated to answer this purpose, it will likewise answer for the elucidation of the parallel passages in the other evangelists. Salmasius, as quoted by Celsius says: 'Quodcunque feceris, et licet in omnia tete veritas, probabilem aliam verbis Evangelistæ explicationem adplicare non possis, præter eam, quæ ὕσσωπον pro calamo, vel virga hyssopi, cui alligata erat sponsia Christo porrigenda, accipit. Ibi ὕσσωπον locum plane occupat καλάμου, cujus eandem ad rem usus apud alium Evangelistam.'

Before proceeding to ascertain the particular plant which is alluded to in the above passages, it is necessary to notice the name of hyssop in the Hebrew, as also those which were considered its synonymes in the several ancient versions of the Scriptures. For this information I am indebted chiefly to Celsius. The Hebrew name עֶשֶׂב *esobh*, written also *esob* and *esof*, also by some *azub*, Celsius derives from a Hebrew root אָזַב: 'Nempe Arabum اِزْب idem est, quod Hebr. זָוַב fluere, quo nostrum זָוַב referri solet; ut ab aspergendo nomen acceperit.' The Greek he derives from the Hebrew name: 'ab עֶשֶׂב *esob* derivandum esse Græcorum ὕσσωπον, unde Latini *hyssopum* habent, nulla est ratio, cur dubitemus, nam equidem frustra sunt, qui עֶשֶׂב Ebræorum, et ὕσσωπον Græcorum, re et nomine differre volunt, ac in nominibus illis non esse nisi fortuitam soni vicinitatem; unde concludunt, haud esse necessarium, ut, quæ planta Ebræis est עֶשֶׂב, sit omnino statuenda ὕσσωπον Græcorum; ex qua hypothesi tot diversæ plantæ ab unica עֶשֶׂב in versionibus interpretum propullularunt.' In this derivation agree Salmasius de Homonymiis Hyles Iatricæ, p. 19, and Bochart Geogr. Sac. 494, 'duum viros reipublicæ literariæ clarissimos;' and Celsius adds, 'Neminem puto fore tam morosum, ut etymi hujus veritatem in dubium vocare sustineat.'

sustineat.' Notwithstanding which, I cannot help thinking with the authors above alluded to, that the similarity in the sound of the two names is accidental, and has distracted the attention from other plants, to one which does not answer to all that is required. But it is quite possible that the name hyssop may in later times have been applied to the same plant, which at a certain period was indicated by the term *esob* or *esof*. Celsius further states, from Ovidius Montalbanus in *Horto Botanigraphico*, pp. 47 et 48, 'Hyssopus Salomonica, quæ erumpit e pariete, Hebraice *esof*, et Chaldaice *esofa*.' Also that according to Maimonides, Saadiah, Kimchius, and Bartenora, *אזוב* *esob* of the Hebrews, is *satur* *صتر* of the Arabs. This is variously translated, *origanum*, *thymbra*, *satureia*, *serpyllum*, in different Lexicons; but *majorana*, *marum*, &c., 'Talmudicis doctoribus' (Celsius, *l. c.* p. 409); while in the Persian version *دیرمنه* *diramne* is given as the synonym of *esob*, which is said by Castellus to refer to *Absinthium ponticum*. It is translated *muscus* in the Latin version of Junius Tremellius; in that of Piscator, *libanotis* v. *Ros marinus*; *Origanum* in dissertations of Anguillaria, &c. 'His adde *זסזב*, et *זסזורז* et *זסזורז*, quæ in Evangelista Johanne pro *hyssopo* legenda, superioris ævi Aristarchi censuerunt. Sed non raro *interpretum conjecturæ*, ut ait Cicero, *magis ingenia eorum, quam vim consensumque naturæ declarant*.' Celsius, *l. c.* p. 410.

The several plants which have been considered by different authors to be the hyssop of Scripture, are enumerated by Celsius under eighteen different heads. These we shall group together according to their natural affinities.

1. *Adiantum Capillus Veneris*, or Maidenhair, a native of Southern Europe and of the East, is adduced as the hyssop of Solomon, by Lemnius, but he thinks that this is distinct from the hyssop of the other passages of Scripture; 'Quoniam itaque exiguus est, atque e parietinis erumpit, hunc pro Hyssopo designari arbitror.' *Herb. Bibl. Expl.* p. 68.

2. *Asplenium Ruta muraria*, L., or Wall Rue, formerly called *Salva Vitæ*, or *Salvia Vitæ*, common in the fissures of rocks in Europe, is adduced by Deodatus in the notes to the Italian version. Both of these are of the class of Ferns.

3. Tremellius, adopting in some measure the opinion of Lemnius, yet translates *esob* by *muscus*, and considers *Polytrichum commune*, or common Hair Moss, found both in Asia and Europe, to be the plant.

4. Ovid. Montalbanus (in *Horto Botanigraphico*, pp. 47 et 48) conceives, in a passage quoted by Celsius, that *esob* is the small plant called *klosterhyssops* in German, and which Celsius ascer-

tained to be the *Alsine pusilla*, graminea, flore tetrapetalo, of Tournefort, *Sagina procumbens*, L., or Procumbent Pearlwort, of the natural family of Caryophyllæ, a native of Europe in sterile and moist fields.

Of the tribe of Compositæ, and genus *Artemisia*, two species have been thought to be hyssop. 5. *Abreta* or *Abrotonum*. 'Joh. Mercerus, profundæ in Hebraicis doctrinæ vir, existimabat (*Abrotham*) esse Græcorum, et Romanorum Abrotonum.' This is *Artemisia abrotonum*, L., or Southernwood, a native of the South of Europe and of Asia Minor, and which was, according to Celsius, thought to be the hyssop, by some of the Hebrew doctors. Casaubon remarks that it was probably this kind of hyssop which was given with the sponge and vinegar. 'Idque eo consilio, ut potionem Domino pararent penitus amaram, penitus ingratham.' 6. *Artemisia Pontica* (including probably also *A. Judaica*), a native of the South of Europe, Syria, and Central Asia, 'unde semen contra vermes colligitur et ex Chorasani deportatur Halebum;' It. *Seme santo*, Lat. *sementina*, is adduced by Castellus as a translation of the *Diramne* which occurs in the Persian version, but which is usually translated *Thymbra*, *Satureia Thymbra*.

The majority of plants which have been adduced as the hyssop of Scripture belong to the natural family of Labiata, of which many species 'are known for their uses in seasoning food, as thyme, sage, savory, marjoram, and mint, while others, as lavender and rosemary, are more celebrated for their uses as perfumes. Many of these, having been described in the works of the ancients, have found their way into those of the Asiatics, where *Lavandula stæchas* may be found under the name *oostakhodus*; rosemary under *ukleel ool-jibbul*; thyme as *hasla*; hyssop, *zoofae yabis*; basil, *rihan*; marjoram, *satur*; mint, *nana*; and sage under the names *salbiah* and *sefakus*, which last are evident corruptions of *salvia* and *elispacos*.' *Illustr. Himal. Bot.* p. 302.

The several plants of the family of Labiata which have been adduced by different authors, are as follow,—

7. Prosper Alpinus figures as *Hyssopus Græcorum*, a plant he describes as 'plantam nobilissimam,' having grown it from seeds obtained from Crete, and 'Origano Oniti' (pot-marjoram) 'adprime similem, esse legitimum hyssopum visum est.'

8. Some of the Hebrews (v. Celsius) call a plant *esob javan*, which by the Arabs is called *istuchodus*, and of which the leaves resemble the plant called *zatar* (v. infra). The Arabic name is probably a corruption of *Stæchas*, which is *Lavandula Stæchas*, Linn.; a plant found in the Mediterranean region.

9. *Rosmarinus officinalis*, or common Rosemary, a native of the Mediterranean region, and which may perhaps be found in Palestine :

tine: 'Quod in Galilea etiam frequens sit, auctoribus Radzivilio et P. Dappero.' (Cels. l. c. p. 418.) Some of the older authors have selected this plant, because being a shrubby species, a stick might easily be obtained, to which the sponge dipped in vinegar could have been tied. It is suitable also for sprinkling.

10. *Origanum Majorana*, Σάμψυχον of the Greeks, and *schom-schok* of the Talmud, was considered to be the hyssop by Pena and Lobel. (*Stirp. Advers.* p. 212.) It is doubtful whether this be not *Origanum Onites*. (*Spr.* ii. 507.)

11. *Mentha*, or a species of mint, is adduced in the Ethiopic version.

12. *Mentha Pulegium*, another species of the same genus, the γλήχων of the Greeks, and *foodnuj* of the Arabs, and *siah* of the Talmud.

13. *Teucrium Polium*, or *Teucrium pseudohyssopum*, *Schreb.* a native of the Mediterranean region, and found by Bové in the desert of Sinai, is brought forward by Columna, not only as the hyssop of the Greeks and Romans, 'sed ipsius quoque Mosis et Salomonis veram et genuinam hyssopum.'

14. *Thymus serpyllum*, or common Thyme, widely diffused in mountainous situations in Europe and Northern Asia; *hasha* of the Arabs, and חֲשִׁיחַ Talmudicis. Cel. l. c. p. 423.

15. In the Arabic version of the Books of Moses, *esob* is translated by سَعْتَر *satur* or *zatur* of the Arabs, *zitri* of Talmudical writers; the Arabic name is considered by them to be synonymous with ὀρίγανος of the Greeks, supposed to be *Origanum heracleoticum*, L., but several different species or varieties are included under the Arabic name *satur*, which it is needless here to inquire into, as they are all similar in nature and properties.

Some other names, as 16. *Hyssopus cochaliensis*, and, 17. *Marum album*, *Maruchivara* Talmudicis, are adduced by Celsius, pp. 416 et 419, which I have not yet traced out. Sibthorp (*Fl. Græca*, i. 596, 597) mentions that in Greece the name ὑσσώπος is applied both to *Satureia græca* and to *S. juliana*. He himself conjectures that *Thymbra spicata* may be the ὑσσώπον ὀρεινὸν of Dioscorides. *Thymbra verticillata*, L., was similarly adduced by Dalechamp.

The only plant which remains of those adduced by Celsius is, 18. the common or garden Hyssop, *Hyssopus officinalis* of botanists, which is supported by Celsius himself. It has had the greatest number of suffrages, apparently from the similarity of name. This may or may not be accidental. It is in the first place desirable to know, not only whether the *esob* of the Hebrews, the ὑσσώπος of the Greeks, and the *hyssopus* of the Romans, was the same plant, but also whether what we now call hyssop is the

same plant as any one of these. Of this, I believe, with Sprengel, and others, that there is no proof.

The account given of the hyssop by Dioscorides is so imperfect, that we have no points of comparison given in the article on that plant. But in describing ὀρίγανον (*Organum heracleoticum*), the leaves are described as being similar to those of hyssop, but that its umbel is not rotate, as if he wished to indicate that such was the inflorescence of the hyssop. In the chapter on Chrysocoma it is said that it has a corymboid coma, like the hyssop. Nicander moreover has stated that the hyssop is like marjoram (σαμψύχον) and the Arab Isaac Ebn Amram compares zoofa (لَبَنِيَّة) with marjoram. Besides this, Dioscorides mentions that

there are two kinds, one mountain, and the other garden hyssop, and that the best is produced in Cilicia; Pliny adds 'in Pamphylum et Smyrneum.' The Arab authors, Abu'l Fadli and Al-Olaji, as quoted by Celsius, also mention two kinds, the mountain and the garden. In the Talmud authors, that which is found in the desert is distinguished from the garden kind. Maimonides, as quoted by Celsius, says: 'Hyssopi multæ sunt species, in legem autem hæc qua homines plerumque utuntur in cibum, quam nos melle condire solemus.' That it was employed by the Greeks and Romans as a condiment is evident from its mention by Apicius; others describe it as bitter and fragrant; Dioscorides mentions only the diseases in which it is useful.

The modern hyssop (*Hyssopus officinalis*, L. Sp. 796) belongs to a genus of which itself is the only species. It is a perennial plant, usually very smooth; (but a variety is described by De Candolle, in the *Flore Française*, Suppl. 396, which he calls *H. canescens*, from its being covered with short rigid hairs.) The root throws up several leafy stems, which are woody at the base, diffuse, and much branched. The branches are from one to two feet in length. The leaves are opposite, sessile, rather thick in texture, narrow, linear, lanceolate, in one variety elliptical; margins very entire, flat, or subrevolute; green on both sides; below, one-nerved; held up to the light and looked at with a magnifying glass, they seem to be obscurely dotted. The flowers, of a bluish or reddish colour, are arranged *along one side* of the stem in closely approximated whorls in a *terminal spike*. The floral leaves are similar to those of the stem, but smaller. Bracts lanceolate, linear, acute. The calyx is tubular, fifteen-nerved, with five equal teeth, the throat being naked. The corolla, of a reddish-purple colour, with its tube equalling the calyx, is bilabiate, with its upper lip erect, flat, and emarginate; the lower one spreading and trifid, middle lobe largest; stamens four, exserted, didynamous,

mous, diverging; the lower ones the longest; anthers two-celled; cells linear, divaricate; style nearly equally bifid at the apex; lobes subulate, with the stigmas at the apex. The four achenia (or seeds with their coverings) ovoid, three-cornered, compressed, and rather smooth.

The localities of the hyssop, as given by Mr. Bentham, the latest and most accurate author on the family (Labiatae) to which it belongs, are as follow: 'Hab. in Europa australiori et Asia media; in Hispania [*Pavon*], Gallia australi, Italia, Germania australi, rarior in Germania media [*Reichenbach*], in Belgio [*Dumortier*], in Rossia meridionali [*Prescott*], in Tauria et Caucaso in Jugo Altaico [*Bunge*].' M. Bové mentions a hyssopus within three leagues of Jerusalem, and the rosemary. I myself have obtained it, and the specimens have been examined by Mr. Bentham, from Kanum and the Ganthung Pass in Kunawur, a tract along the Sutledge on the northern face of the Himalayan Mountains, and which may be considered a part of Tibet.

The hyssop is remarkable for its fragrant and aromatic properties, hence its employment as a condiment and a sweet herb, and as a moderate excitant in medicine: to it, however, many other virtues were formerly ascribed.

Of all these plants, we need only say, as Celsius has already done respecting a plant which he thought to be less eligible than what is commonly known by the name of hyssop, 'Nam postmodo, ubi de vera hyssopo aliqua dicenda erunt, Abrotonum cum reliquis, hyssopi umbris, uno falculæ ictu succidetur.'

The plants adduced by the latest writers are, 1st, *Phytolacca decandra*, by Dr. Kitto in the *Pictorial Bible* in Exod. xii. 22: 'The hyssop of the Sacred Scriptures has opened a wide field for conjecture, but in no instance has any plant been suggested, that at the same time had a sufficient length of stem to answer the purpose of a wand or pole, and such detergent or cleansing properties, as to render it a fit emblem for purification. Our woodcut represents a shrub remarkable in both these respects, which is the *Phytolacca decandra*.' Rosenmüller says, the Hebrew word *esobh* does not denote our hyssop, but an aromatic plant resembling it, the *wild marjoram*, which the Germans call *dosten* or *wohlgemuth*, the Arabs *zater*, and the Greeks *origanon*.

Dr. Robinson, in the ascent of Jebel Musa by himself and Mr. Smith says: 'In all this part of the mountains were great quantities of the fragrant plant *ja'deh*, which the monks call hyssop' (*Bibl. Res.* i. 157); and on the ascent of St. Catherine, 'The *ja'deh* or hyssop was here in great plenty; and especially the

* This is altered in the new edition of that work, which adopts the conclusion here exhibited.—*Editor*.

fragrant

fragrant *za'ter*, a species of thyme (*Thymus serpyllum* of Forskal), p. 162. Lady Calcott suggests that the hyssop of aspersion was hyssop tied to a stick of cedar. Winer (*Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, ii. 820) admits the same plant as Rosenmüller, but considers that several plants were included under the name *esobh*; and concludes his observations on Ysop by saying; 'We must, however, wait for more accurate observations upon the species of hyssop and *origanum* indigenous in Western Asia, before the meaning of the Hebrew *esobh* can be finally settled.'

My attention was first directed to the subject when lately collating the list of drugs in the Latin edition of Rhases, with those in my own MS. Catalogue before alluded to. It is stated in that work, as indeed in that of Dioscorides, &c., that there are two kinds of hyssop, the one a garden, the other a mountain plant; but Rhases further adds, that the latter is found on the mountain of the Temple, that is, of Jerusalem: 'est herba quæ oritur in montibus Templi, folia ut majorana. Sylvestri montanus fortior, et dicitur "ysopus altaris."' These two kinds are also noted by

Celsius as 'Hyssopus in montibus Hierosolymorum, زونا بجبال القدس *zoofa bu jibal al kuds*,' and 'Hyssopus sicca, زونا يابس *zoofa yabis*.' Jerusalem is now called by the Arabs *El-kuds*, 'the Holy,' and also by Arabian writers *Beit-el-Mukdis*, or *Beit-el-Mukuddus*, the Sanctuary, &c. (Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, i. 380). Rhases again, in the article *Epithymum* (*Cuscuta* or *Dodder*), says of it: 'Caret radice sed suspendit supra arborem yssopi magni et folia ysopi colligitur cum eo; et fit in montibus Templi.' So Serapion, quoting Aben Mesuai, says of it: 'Ex Creta ac domo sancta, allatum;' and of the hyssop, he quotes Isaac Eben Amram as saying, 'Laudatissima, ex domus sanctæ montibus.' Whether these expressions refer to the common hyssop, or to that which we conceive to be the true plant, it is not easy to determine, as the accounts are confused. But the large size of one kind indicates that it must have been a very different plant from the common hyssop. One troublesome circumstance is, that the translators of these Arabic works do not always adhere to the arrangement of their authors, as they sometimes convert the arrangement according to the Arabic alphabet, into one according to the Latin names and the Roman alphabet. Thus in the great work of Rhases, called *Hawi*, or 'Continens,' hyssop is described under the letter *ain*, and the name in the Latin translation is written *ysopus*; but in his work *Ad Mansor*, we have hyssop under the letter 'Ze id est, Z,' and two kinds mentioned, one called 'Cyfe, id est, hyssopus quæ vegetatur,' and the other written 'Cesypus autem humida, quæ et cerotes dicitur, quæ ex lanæ sordibus

sordibus fit.' These two varieties refer to the زونا يابس *zoofa yabis*, or *khooshk*, that is, dry hyssop, and the other to زونا رطب *zoofa rutub*, Lana succida, οἶσυνος of Diosc. 2. c. 84. (N. 98. 2. Av. c. 364.) Here we have very clear evidence, that two very different things have been treated of under one name, apparently only because the Greek names are a little similar. Hence it is not impossible but that similar confusion may have taken place with the Greek ὕσσωπος, hyssopus, and an oriental name like the Hebrew *esob* or *esof*.

Having suspected the existence of a plant distinct from the hyssop, I was led to what appears to me its discovery, by a passage from Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, quoted by Dr. Kitto in his work entitled *The Physical Geography and Natural History of the Holy Land*, p. 252: 'Among trees and shrubs known only by native names and imperfect descriptions: the *aszef* is spoken of this month by Burckhardt, while travelling in the Sinai Peninsula. On noticing its presence in Wady Kheysey, he describes it as a tree which he had already seen in several other wadys. It springs from the fissures in the rocks, and its crooked stem creeps up the mountain-side like a parasitical plant. According to the Arabs it produces a fruit of the size of the walnut, of a blackish colour, and very sweet to the taste. The bark of the tree is white, and the branches are thickly covered with small thorns; the leaves are heart-shaped, and of the same shade of green, as those of the oak. *Syria*, 536, 537.'

The above description, though apparently incorrect in the application of some terms, as that of *tree*, to a plant creeping like a parasitical plant, yet will strike most botanists, as a characteristic description of the Common Caper Bush, which is indigenous in these regions, and which I was aware had an Arabic name, in sound something like the *aszef* of Burckhardt. The caper-plant is one of those which in the copious language of the Arabs has more than one name. It is well known that its most common name is كبر *kibbar* or *kubar*. From this the Greek κάππαρις, and the Latin *capparis*, appear to have been derived. In referring to one of the Persian works on *Materia Medica*, which has been published with an English translation by Mr. Gladwin, that is, the *Ulfaz Udwiye*, we are referred from capers in the Index to Nos. 1271, 175 and 184. The first of these is كبر or capers, the second is أصل الكبر *ussul ul kubir*, root of the caper bush. No. 184 is another name for the same thing, أصل الاصف *usul al asuf*, as it is translated, root of the caper bush. We may learn also from

from other sources, that *asuf* is one of the names of the caper bush. Thus in the *Kamus*, or *Great Arabic Dictionary*, *asuf* is *al kubber*. So also in Freytag's *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum*, *asuf* is translated *capparis*; likewise in Richardson's *Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary*, London, 1829, and in Shakespear's *Hindustani Dictionary*, we have *اصف asuf*, 'the caper tree or root.' That this has long been known to be one of the names of the caper plant is evident from Mentzel's *Index Nominum Plantarum Multilinguis*, where we have *alasif* given as an Arabic name of *capparis*, taken from the Index of Avicenna, editio Veneta, 1564, fol. I quote this, as I am unable to find the word in my own copy of Avicenna, Venice, 1555. It appears to be a corruption of *alasif* that Forskal heard applied to the caper-plant which he found at Taas near Mocha, as a shrub growing out of a wall (*Flora Egyptiaco-Arabica*), and of which he says, 'Si hæc vera est *Capparis spinosa*, competit illi nomen Arab. *lasaf*, لصف.' This may be a corruption of *الصف*, or Forskal may have written it simply *اصف asuf*, and the mere junction of the letters would convert it into *لصف lasuf*, a mistake which might easily be made even by the celebrated Niebuhr, as he published the work from Forskal's notes after his death. In my own MS. *Materia Medica*, *asuf* is given as a synonym of *kibbur*, with *kifarus*, as the Yoonanee or Greek name, which is evidently intended for *κάρπαις*, as the letter *p* is wanting in the Arabic alphabet.

The similarity in sound between the *asuf* of the Arabs and the *esof* of the Hebrews cannot fail to strike every one, and this similarity would extend equally to the writing of the two names in the language of the other. A less degree of similarity has, in other cases of Hebrew and Arabic names, been considered to indicate identity of origin in words in these two languages. This similarity might certainly be accidental, but it cannot be accidental that the plant called *asuf* by the Arabs answers to every particular which is required for the due elucidation, not of one, but of every passage of the Bible in which *esof* is mentioned. This we shall proceed, we hope satisfactorily, to prove.

First with respect to its geographical distribution, the *asuf* like the *esof* ought to be found in Lower Egypt, in the desert or country between the Red Sea and Palestine, and also in Palestine itself.

The caper-plant, *Capparis spinosa* of Linnæus and of all modern botanists, is well known to be abundant in the south of Europe, where it appears to be indigenous. It is found also in the islands of the Mediterranean and generally on the coasts of that sea, the Mediterranean

Mediterranean region of botanists. It is specifically mentioned as found in Lower Egypt, by Forskal in his *Flora Ægypt.-Arab.* as *Capparis spinosa*, called *habbar* by the Arabs, growing wild in the neighbourhood of Alexandria. The same facts are stated by De Lile, in his *Illustratio Fl. Ægypt.*, pp. 8 and 16, forming the botanical portion of the great French work on Egypt. Previous to these authorities, Prosper Alpinus had stated that the capers of Alexandria were larger than those of other places: 'Capparis Alexandriæ majores quam alibi inveniuntur proveniunt, quos cappar quoque appellant' (*De Pl. Ægypti*, p. 60). So Pliny, 'Likewise in Ægypt groweth capparis, a shrub of a harder and more woody substance: well known for the seed and fruit that it carrieth, commonly eaten with meats, and for the most part the capres and the stalke are plucked and gathered together. The outlandish capres (not growing in Ægypt) we must take good heed of and beware: for those of Arabia be pestilentia and venomous: they of Africke be hurtful to the gumbs, and principally the Marmarike are enemies to the matrice, and breed ventosities. The Apulian capres cause vomit, and make lubricite both of stomack and bellie. Some call the shrub cynosbatos: others ophiostphayla.' (Holland's *Translation*, xiii. 23.) So in Avic. 141, capparis is called *habar* in the margin, with a reference to Diosc. ii. 166, 'quædam est species, quæ e Rubro Mari defertur.'

In Lower Egypt is also found another species, first discovered by Lippi, the *Capparis Ægyptia* of Lamarck. It is figured by De Lile, *Fl. Æg.*, p. 93, t. 31, f. 3, and described by him as a spreading shrub, of which the branches are slender but firm; it grows in the mountains of the desert opposite Minyeh. This species was also found by M. Bové, and by Aucher-Eloy, in the desert in the neighbourhood of Suez.

In the deserts and tract of country in which the Israelites wandered, the caper-plant, or some of the species of capparis resembling it in general appearance, are no doubt found in many places. The notices of it, however, are few, but the localities are so widely separated that we are warranted in considering that it might be found in many intermediate situations; and it would be so by competent travellers, that is, by those having some knowledge of Natural History.

From the description of Burckhardt already quoted, in which he saw the *aszef* in the Sinai Peninsula, springing from the fissures of rocks, with its crooked stem creeping up the mountain side like a parasitical plant, with a white bark and the branches thickly covered with small thorns, and heart-shaped leaves,—there can be little doubt of this being a species of capparis, and probably the caper-plant.

caper-plant. It is interesting to observe that he mentions it as a plant which he had already seen in several other wadys. We have, however, very definite information respecting the caper-plant in this situation, as M. Bové, in his 'Relation d'un Voyage Botanique en Egypte, dans les trois Arabies, en Palestine et en Syrie' (*Ann. des Sc. Nat.* i. 72), says: 'Le mont Sainte Catherine est au sud-sud-ouest du mont Sinai. Dans les déserts qui environnent ces montagnes j'ai trouvé *Capparis spinosa*,' &c. Belon (*Obs.* ii. 21) mentions '*Capparis non spinosa*—minores enim in Capparum stirpibus spinosis nascuntur . . .,' and at c. 60 'Per istos colles oberrantes, cappares invenimus, pumilarum ficuum altitudinem æquant, —semina instar piperis calida.' So Dr. Shaw, '*Capparis Arabica*, fructu ovi magnitudine, semine piperis instar acri.' Belon, *Obs.*, ii. 60. '*Nostra tricubitalis est. Folia habet glauca, crassa, succulenta, rotunda, uncialia, Fructus, quem vidi, pollicis fuit magnitudine, oblongus cucumeris forma, quem Arabes appellant Filfal jibbel, i. e. Piper montanum. Copiose crescit in via ad montem Sinai*' (*Travels*, ii. 355). More to the eastward we have no distinct notices of the true caper-plant, but other species are found, as *C. heteracantha* and *C. leucophylla*, between Aleppo and Bagdad by Olivier (*D.C. Sp.*, 12 et 13). So Aucher-Eloy mentions the banks of the Tigris as covered with 'la plus vigoureuse végétation;' that is, with *Tamarix*, *Salix*, *Capparis leucophylla*. If we trace it to the southward, we have already mentioned, that Forskal found it as a small shrub growing out of a wall near Taas in the neighbourhood of Mocha. Dr. Falconer, late Superintendent of the East India Company's Botanical Garden at Saharunpore, has informed me that when at Aden on his way home, he saw the rocks there covered with a species of *capparis*, which appeared very like the common caper. A species very similar to it is also among the plants collected by Lieutenant Wellsted in the island of Socotra.

We have, thirdly, to find the caper indigenous in Palestine and Syria. This there would be no difficulty in doing, if travellers took the trouble of noting the vegetation of a country, as one of the features which distinguish its physical geography. Some omit all notice of common plants. Others notice a plant only when first met with. Dr. Kitto, who has made an abstract of nearly all the natural history information of most of the travellers in the Holy Land, mentions the caper, only in the fields near Aleppo, as observed by Dr. Russel. M. Aucher-Eloy mentions a species of *capparis* (*C. effusa*) in the neighbourhood of Mount Tabor. Dr. Clarke found '*Capparis spinosa*, common caper-tree, at Cyprus, and in the Holy Land (Jaffa).' M. Bové, entering Palestine from Egypt, mentions on his arrival at Gaza, 'Au nombre

nombre des plantes spontanées, je citerai les suivantes : *Capparis spinosa*.' Again, on his arrival at Jerusalem, he says (*l. c.* p. 173), 'Dans les ruines croissent les *Rhus coriaria*, l'*Hyoscyamus coriaria*, le *Momordica Elatessium*, et le *Capparis spinosa*.' Belon had previously mentioned finding the caper-plant in the vicinity of Jerusalem (*v.* Rauwolf, p. 269).

In the above references we have ample proofs of the caper-plant, or *asuf*, being found in all the situations where the *esof* is mentioned in the Bible. That it grows out of the fissures of rocks and the ruins of buildings is evident from some of the above extracts. Thus De Candolle gives as its habitat, 'In muris et rupestribus Europæ australis et orientis.' When at Aleppo, Rauwolf says (*Travels*, p. 49), 'There grew also in the road and on old walls such plenty of capers, that they are not at all esteemed; they take these flowers before they open, and pickle them, and eat them for sauce with their meat;' and again, at p. 75, 'and near it in old decayed brick-walls and stony places.' So Ray (*Hist. Plant.* p. 1629), 'Locis arenosis et ruderatis gaudet. Nos in muris et ruderibus Romæ, Senarum, Florentiæ et alibi in Italia observavimus spontaneam; cultam circa Tolonam in Gallo-provincia, ad muros et macerias.'

We proceed now to show that capers were supposed to be possessed of cleansing properties. This is evident from the following quotations. Thus Murray (*Apparatus Medicaminum*, ii. 381), in summing up the account of its uses as given by the ancients, says: 'Et quæ veteres, quibus insigni in pretio fuit, de eo recensent, ad aperiendi vim potissimum et abstergendi pertinent. Nempe precipue in obstructionibus lienis, in mensium suppressione, malo ischiadico, in strumis discutiendis, porro in ulceribus expurgandis, præceperunt. Diosc. *Mat. Med.*, ii. 204; Galen *De Simpl.*, l. 7; Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xx. 15.'

Dr. Alston (*Mat. Med.*, i. 371) observes, 'Hippocrates even orders it as a detergent in peripneumonia. "Postquam autem purum esse sputum cæperit ari concham majorem et sesamum . . . Quod si magis educere voles radicis capparis corticem his admisceto." *De Morb.* iii. 493, lin. 23.'

Pliny, who exhausted all the sources of information to give us in his *Natural History* a view of the knowledge of his times, has a curious observation on the utility of the root of capers in a disease closely allied to leprosy, the complaint in which *esof* was employed by the Israelites. Thus in the translation of Holland we learn that 'The root of capres is singular good to take away the white spotted morpew (cousin germane to the leprosie), in case it be stamped, and the place affected rubbed therewith. Take the rind of the root, the quantitie of two drams, and drinke it

it in wine, it helpeth the swelled splene; provided alwaies that the patient forbear the use of baines and hot-houses: for (by report) this course continued 35 daies will cause the said splene to purge away, partly by urine and partly by seege. The same, if it be taken in drinke, allaieth paine in the loins and cureth the palsey. The seed of capers sodden in vinegre, brused and applied to the teeth, or otherwise the root thereof chewed only, assuageth the tooth-ach. A decoction of capers in oile, instilled into the ears, mitigateth their paines. The leaves and the root newly gathered, and so applied as a cataplasme with honey, healeth the corrosive ulcers that eat to the very bone. Likewise the root resolveth all those glandular swellings which wee call the King's evil: and if the same be sodden in water, it discusseth the tumors behind the ears, and riddeth away the wormes breeding within. It cureth also the infirmities of the liver. The manner is to give the same in vinegre and honey for to chase away the vermin engendered within the guts. Boiled in vinegre, it is singular for the cankers or ulcerations within the mouth: howbeit, all authors doe accord, that they be not good for the stomacke' (book xx. ch. xv.).

In modern works which have derived much of their information from the more ancient, we find it noticed, even in a botanical work, that 'Les capriers excitent l'appétit, et sont regardés comme apéritives, antiscorbutiques, et propres pour tuer les vers. L'écorce de la racine est apéritive, diurétique et emménagogue.' Lamarck, *Encycl. Botanique*, art. 'Caprier.'

So capers formed one of the 'Quinque radices aperientes minores,' or the five lesser aperient roots, as Caper, Dandelion, Eryngo, Madder, and Restharrow. It still holds a place in some of the German Pharmacopœias as well as in the Spanish, and continues to be employed throughout Eastern countries, where old remedies still enjoy their pristine repute. In Europe it is now almost universally known as a condiment, its unexpanded flower-buds being preserved in vinegar.

It remains only to consider whether the caper-plant is suitable to the passage of the New Testament in which the hyssop is mentioned, and it appears to me, that it is as well so, as any other that has been proposed.

The passage in which hyssop is mentioned has been much commented on, in consequence of the difficulty which commentators have experienced in finding a plant which should answer in all points to what is required. Thus it is said, John xix. 29, Σκεῦος οὗν ἔκειτο ὄξους μεστόν. Οἱ δὲ πλήσαντες σπόγγον ὄξους, καὶ ὑσσώπῳ περιθέντες, προσήνεγκαν αὐτοῦ τῷ στόματι, or as translated in the authorized version: 'Now there was set a vessel full of vinegar, and they filled a sponge with vinegar, and put it upon hyssop (*fixing*

it

it on a hyssop stalk of some) and put it to his mouth.' One difficulty has arisen from the evangelists Matthew and Mark, in describing the same occurrence, making no mention of the hyssop. Thus Matthew (xxvii. 48) describes one, as bringing a sponge, *πλήσας τε ὄξους, καὶ περιθεὶς καλάμῳ*, and they 'filled it with vinegar and put it on a reed, and gave him to drink.' Mark (xv. 36) in like manner writes, *καὶ γεμίσας σπόγγον ὄξους, περιθεὶς τε καλάμῳ*, 'and one filling a sponge with vinegar, and placing it about a reed, gave him to drink.'

In all the three accounts we have the sponge filled with vinegar, and given to our Saviour to drink; Matthew and Mark stating it as being raised on a reed, while John omits all mention of the reed, but describes the sponge as being put on or about hyssop. By some commentators it has been supposed that the sponge and hyssop were fixed to a reed or stick, and that one evangelist has omitted all notice of the latter, and the two other evangelists of the hyssop. Other commentators argue, that in the relation of the same circumstances by these witnesses, it is evident that the reed or stick must be the same as a stick of hyssop. As John is the more particular in his description and usually supplies what has been omitted in the other accounts of our Saviour, and as he expressly states (xix. 35), 'And he that saw it bare record, and his record is true,' so are we bound to make our explanation suit his description.

The difficulty has been to find a plant fitted for the purpose and to which the name hyssop was applied; for it is acknowledged on all hands that the common hyssop is too short and too slender to be used as a stick. Some commentators therefore have proceeded so far as to suggest alterations in the text. Thus Camerarius for *ὑσσώπῳ* proposes *ὑσσωῶ, pilo vel veruto*, 'javelin or dart.' Heinsius suggests *ὑσσωτῶ, asta*, 'a spear or pike,' and also *οἶσυπος, lana succida, vel sordida*; as the words *ὑσσωπον* and *οἶσυπον* are often confounded by others as well as by Arab authors, 'multis locis apud auctores tam Græcos, quam Latinos, errore scribarum esse permutatas' (Celsius, *l. c.* p. 444). Bochart again, retaining the name, has proposed changing the case of hyssop, 'et pro *ὑσσώπῳ* legendum censuit *ὑσσωπον*. Quasi vellet Johannes: *περιθεντες ὑσσωπον σπόγγῳ*, posuerunt hyssopum circa spongiam: quæ explicatio est violenta; contraria vero maxime naturalis, cum sponte se offerat accusativus *σπόγγον* ex ingenio linguæ, et phraseos, hic subintelligendus, et repetendus, ut sit: *περιθεντες (σπόγγον) ὑσσώπῳ*, *i. e. περὶ ὑσσωπον*, quomodo Græci nonnunquam loquuntur.' Celsius, *l. c.* p. 445.

Instead of supposing, as in the above instance, that the hyssop was placed round the sponge, Celsius himself is of opinion that
the

the sponge was filled with vinegar, and that to it was tied a bundle of hyssop, which might thus be contained in its middle when it was reached up to our Saviour. He further adduces Casaubon and others as agreeing with this explanation, as well as with the Ethiopic version, where we read, 'Et erat ibi vas aceto plenum, et impleverunt spongiam aceto, ac foliis hyssopi, et ligarunt super arundinem.'

But all these explanations and interpretations are variations from the plain and obvious meaning of the passage of St. John in which the sponge filled with vinegar is described as being put upon hyssop, that is, a stick of hyssop, and raised to our Saviour on the cross. The difficulties experienced have arisen from the common hyssop, which is generally supposed to be the plant alluded to, not being suited for the purpose. But we have already seen that the common hyssop does not answer in any respect to what is required. The caper-plant, which we have seen exactly appropriate to so many of the passages, seems also well suited to the present, as it will yield a stick large enough for the purpose. And this is required by some of the versions, as the old Italian, *un bastone d'hyssopo*: likewise in the Spanish, and in the French edition of Montensi, *au bout d'un baton d'hyssope*. So also in that of many celebrated men.

Some also of the ancient statements refer evidently to a larger plant than the common hyssop. Thus Josephus (*Antiq.* viii. 2) ranks it with trees. By the Rabbins it was included among woods, 'hyssopum inter ligna censeri apud Rabbinos.' Tract *Shebiit*, viii. 1; Parah, xi. 8. So in Tract *Succah*, xiii. 1, 'inter mentionem cannarum, et surculorum, quibus obtexerunt Judæi tentoria in festo tabernaculorum memorari etiam hyssopum' (Celsius, *Hierobot.* 439-442). It is more than probable that the *asuf*, or caper-plant, is the *esob* or *esof* referred to in these passages, and Winer says, 'Truly it cannot be concealed, that the Talmudists distinguish the hyssop of the Greeks and Romans from the *esobh* of the Law.' *Biblisches Real-Wörterbuch*, ii. 820.

The height of a shrub which would be fitted for such a purpose may be judged of, by what must have been the fact, that the cross of our Saviour could not have been higher than what any man of moderate stature might, with an ordinary stick and his arm stretched out, easily reach the mouth of our Saviour. For it is evident that the cross, to be of sufficient strength and yet carried by a man, could not also be very lofty.

For such a purpose it is evident that no large tree is required, because a shrub of moderate dimensions would easily yield a stick of three or four feet in length; and such any of the old caper bushes or trees, as they are sometimes called, growing in the congenial

genial climate of Palestine, would be able to supply. 'Ibi [that is, in Egypt], et capparitis firmioris ligni frutex' (Plin. xiii. 23). The prickly nature of the stem, moreover, would better fit it for the purpose of having the sponge affixed to it. The caper-plant was not only a plant growing wild on the rocks and walls of Jerusalem, no doubt, in ancient times as at the present time, but one which seems from the earliest times to have been valued as a medicine, and its flower-buds employed as an article of diet, or rather as a condiment. If it was allowed to hazard a conjecture, we might say that a notched stick, or a cleft reed, might have been employed in gathering the caper buds from off the extremities of the branches, and to this the name of hyssop stick might correctly be applied. This employment of capers is further interesting as explaining in some measure the presence of the vessel full of vinegar (ὄξους μεστόν). The word ὄξος, which is translated 'vinegar' in the English version, and *acetum* in the Latin, is sometimes translated 'sour wine,' and is supposed to have been there for the refreshment of soldiers. It may have been so; but it is curious that vinegar (which was also called ὄξος by the Greeks, as we may see in a nearly contemporary author, that is, Dioscorides, v. 22, περὶ ὄξους), should have been required for preserving different parts of the caper-plant in those days as at the present time. For we learn from Pliny, who says of fruits eaten, 'In fruticoso genere, cum caule capparitis' (xv. 28). Again (xiii. 28), 'Ibi et capparitis, firmioris ligni frutex, seminisque et cibi vulgati caule quoque una plerumque decerpto.' 'Likewise in Egypt groweth capparitis, a shrub of a harder and more woodie substance: well knowne for the seed and fruit that it carrieth, commonly eaten with meats, and for the most part the capers and the stalke are plucked and gathered together' (Holland's *Pliny*, xiii. 23, and in other places). 'Tritum ex aceto semen decoctiam,' &c. 'The seed of capres sodden in vinegre, bruised and applied to the teeth, &c. It cureth also the infirmities of the liver. The manner is to give the same in vinegre and honey. Boiled in vinegre, it is singular for the cankers or exulcerations within the mouth' (xx. 15). The caper plant, though wild in so many parts of the Roman Empire, was yet cultivated even in that age. 'Quippe cum capparitis quoque seratur, siccis maxime, area in defossu cavata, ripisque undique circumstructis lapide: alias evagatur per agros et cogit solum sterilesce. Floret æstate, viret usque ad Vergiliarum occasum, sabulosis familiarissimum' (xix. 8). Ray describes the process: 'Gemmas florum adultas—colligunt,—Tum vasi immittunt, et acetum super affundunt.' *Hist. Plant.* 1629.

The caper-plant is, however, supposed by many to be mentioned in Scripture by the name *abiyonah*, in Eccles. xii. 5, which in the Septuagint

Septuagint and Vulgate has been translated *capparis*. This is not admitted by others, as in the authorized English version, where *abiyonah* is translated 'desire.' 'When the almond-tree shall flourish, and the grasshopper shall be a burden, and *desire* (*abiyonah*) shall fail.' As the name *abionoth* was applied to the small fruits of trees and to berries, so it has been thought to be the same word as *abiyonah*, and to indicate the caper-bush. This plant may have had two names in the Hebrew language, as, indeed, it has in the Arabic, and we may suppose it to be particularly adduced as growing especially on old walls and tombs. Further, if we suppose, as is natural, that the figurative language employed by Solomon is carried on throughout the sentence, it appears to me appropriate. For the caper-plant, like most of its tribe, is conspicuous for its long flower-stalks, which are erect when the plant is in flower and the fruit young, but which bend and hang down as the fruit ripens. 'As the flowering of the almond-tree has been supposed to refer to the whitening of the hair, so the drooping of the ripe fruit of a plant which is conspicuous on the walls of buildings and on tombs, may be supposed to typify the hanging down the head before "man goeth to his long home."' *Cyclopædia of Biblical Lit.*, art. 'Abiyonah.'

The caper-plant is too well known to require a description, especially as so many details have already been given respecting its habit. We have seen in the first place that it has a name, *azuf*, in Arabic, sufficiently similar to the Hebrew *esof* or *esobh*. It is found in Lower Egypt, in the deserts of Sinai, and in Palestine. Thus it is found in all the places where the *esobh* must have been indigenous, for the Israelites to have been able to obtain it for their religious ceremonies. Its habit is to grow upon the most barren soil, or rocky precipice, or the side of a wall, and this is also essential; for it is said, that Solomon knew all plants, from the cedar of Lebanon to the hyssop that groweth on the wall. It has moreover always been supposed to be possessed of cleansing properties; hence, probably, its selection in the ceremonies of purification, or its employment in these may have led to the supposition of its possessing the power of curing diseases like leprosy. Finally, the caper-plant is capable of yielding a stick to which the sponge might have been affixed, as we learn from St. John was done with the hyssop, when the sponge dipped in vinegar was raised to the lips of our Saviour. A combination of circumstances and some of them apparently too improbable to be united in one plant, I cannot believe to be accidental, and have therefore considered myself entitled to infer, what I hope I have now succeeded in proving to the satisfaction of others, that the Caper Plant is the Hyssop of Scripture.

ON

ON INFERENTIAL REASONING FROM THE SILENCE OF SCRIPTURE.*

THE omissions of an uninspired writer may arise from one of two causes—either from his ignorance and consequent inability to record, or from knowledge coupled with an intention to suppress. To decide in any instance which of these is in operation will be difficult and our conclusions unsatisfactory. Now with respect to canonical Scripture, whatever be the precise degree in which we acknowledge its inspiration, the supposition of ignorance will have no part in explaining an omission. We are sure that each of the inspired writers was empowered to deliver the whole of his message. When, however, we consider the completeness of the *πᾶσα γραφὴ θεόπνευστος*, and acquiesce in the declaration of the 6th Article of the Established Church, that ‘Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation,’ we are the more ready to acknowledge that whatsoever has been omitted has been suppressed intentionally. It is true that a particular book will omit many things, and the writings of an individual inspired penman will be in themselves incomplete. We cannot argue definitely from the silence of an isolated evangelist, because one gospel is evidently supplementary to another; and as each intended his record for a particular class of readers, it is only in considering the four combined that we can judge of the precise amount of revelation intended by the Spirit for the church at large. But let us consider the canon of Scripture as complete, as having one inspired source, though given at different periods and by various writers; let us regard it as the only declaration of the will of God left on record for the guidance of mankind; then must we be conscious that whatsoever is written is divinely revealed, whatsoever is not written is divinely suppressed.

Hence we may regard the silence of Scripture objectively. It is an ascertained fact of no small importance when we can distinctly aver that a given subject has been concealed from mankind. Such a discovery may be variously used, according to circumstances: it may on the one hand stimulate inquiry, it may on the other command withdrawal; it may in one case urge us to other sources of information, it may in the other tell us that research is

* The rule of the Journal is to give the names of the writers of the articles contained in it. But it is not thereby intended to exclude the contributions of writers who, as in the present instance, may have special reasons for withholding their names from the public, although they are imparted to the Editor.

useless. Consequently it is wise to distinguish between the modes in which this silence is discernible. Of these, what we may term historical silence is the most obvious. It is easy to recognise a break in the chronicles of a nation. The interval between the histories of the Old Testament and the New is a conspicuous instance, and one that has excited the admirable labours of a Prideaux to supply the deficiency. The early history of Elijah is an instance of Scripture-silence which defies all curiosity. There is a further silence in Scripture which is less easy to deal with, because we have no opportunity of measuring its extent, and that is with reference to the 'deep things of God.' As to our own essence and composition, we may carry our investigations to some distance, and be repaid with much reward for our toil; but when analogy suggests a similar inquiry into the essence of Deity, Scripture meets us with blank silence. Equally futile is it to ask the origin of evil. That evil exists, Scripture everywhere tells us, but whence it came is an unsolved mystery. A little thought will multiply subjects on which we might *à priori* have expected a revelation, but if the revelation given is silent on these points, let this silence be pondered as an *observed phenomenon*.

There is a further class of subjects on which Scripture is nearly silent, and does no more than suggest their existence. These necessarily require a treatment different from the topics we have before mentioned, inasmuch as there is not that absolute suppression which would quench inquiry, but rather the utterance of faint sounds to which the mind is apt prematurely to bestow a meaning. Among the obscurities of Scripture none have excited more attention than that which relates to the state of the soul immediately after death. This is a question which every bystander at the dying couch, every mourner at the funeral obsequies, will be prompted to ask. It is the inquiry of human nature at large as it stands at the mouth of the sepulchre. And what does Scripture reply? Our Lord's answer to the dying thief, and one or two detached passages, just enable us to conceive of a locality termed 'Paradise,' or rather which we agree to call Hades (*ᾗδης*, quod videri nequit), which very name is alike a measure and an illustration of our knowledge of the subject. St. John's remark (1 John iii. 2) on the future state strongly bears on the subject of our present inquiry, as an instance of an inspired reference to the silence of Scripture. *It has not yet been manifested (οὐκ ἔφανερώθη τί ἐσόμεθα)* what we shall be. It is unnecessary to allude to other cases of what we may call the obscurities of Scripture; let it suffice to glance at this possible classification—historical silence, doctrinal silence, and partial silence. It is obvious that on subjects ranged under the two latter heads the greatest controversies have arisen.

arisen. The mind naturally inclines to claim wisdom above that which is written, and where human invention has least of inspired support it is to be expected that contrariety of opinion will be most prevalent. May it not be asked whether a more diligent observation of the silence of Scripture will not tend to narrow the polemical arena? It is of no less importance to study human ignorance than to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge; and if the inquirer ascertains the directions in which his efforts cease to be of use, he is at least spared much fruitless toil. Nature has her secrets as well as Scripture. 'As thou knowest not what is the way of the spirit, nor how the bones do grow in the womb of her that is with child; even so thou knowest not the works of God who maketh all' (Eccles. xi. 5). But what has been found to be the successful mode of investigating nature? A rigid adherence to experiment. The inductive philosophy has always set out from the most obvious facts. The clearest revelations of the created universe have been accepted as the groundwork, and hypothesis has been found of value chiefly as suggestive of further experiment. Consequently a knowledge of the material world is not sought by mere speculation, but the phenomena which were most obscure have rather prompted a more accurate study of those within reach. And this principle ought to be the basis of all inferential reasoning from the silence of Scripture, not to multiply speculation, but to take a more comprehensive view of that which is known and understood. The obscurities of Scripture will then be like the shades which the skilful painter makes use of to render more prominent the main features of his picture. The entire revelation will be more effectually investigated if we can discover analogies among the things revealed which do not characterize the things suppressed.

The inquiry indicated in the heading of this article is one that does not admit of plenary treatment. In other words, no single dissertation can possibly exhaust the subject. We can at best throw out suggestions which may help the student in future biblical researches. The silence of Scripture can only be made palpable to inquiry in certain aspects. Take it in its entirety, and our investigation will be like a search into infinite space, of which stars and firmaments necessarily share but a millesimal part. We shall not therefore enumerate a series of negatives or attempt to classify the topics of which Scripture does not speak, but narrow our attention to those where, *contrary to our expectation*, all mention is withheld. And our attention is further confined by the Scripture itself pointing in certain specific cases to the silence which we now examine. Comparison of spiritual things with spiritual is, after all, the main canon of interpretation. The parables would be

U 2

dark

dark sayings if the inspired solution of some did not suggest the mode of explaining the rest. The types would in like manner be mystical elements, material images and no more, if they were not irradiated by the light of a 'better covenant.'

The author of the epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. ix. 5) avows silence with respect to the typical meaning of the furniture of the tabernacle. 'Of which we cannot now speak (κατὰ μέρος) *particularly*.' He may imply no more than the inexpediency of occupying much space of the page of inspiration with a description of those mysterious emblems piece by piece. It would, however, rather appear that there was a veil purposely drawn over the whole subject, especially with reference to the cherubim of glory. Indeed the tabernacle altogether suggests greater mystery than any one thing beside described in the sacred narrative. It was itself the seat of the divine glory, shining from within with the unapproachable light of the Shekinah. Its symbols partially reappear in St. John's Apocalyptic vision, and in the mystic portraiture contained in Ezekiel's first chapter we find some traces of the same. Without endeavouring to give any explanation of their meaning, without attempting to follow interpreters in their speculations on these αινύματα, let it suffice to remark that there was doubtless a deep reason why the inspired writer to the Hebrews should not 'speak particularly' concerning them. But this is not the only suppression of information respecting the tabernacle. When we reflect on the minuteness of the directions given to Bezaleel and Aholiab for its first construction, to which whole chapters are devoted in speaking κατὰ μέρος of its various contents, when we observe the careful marshalling of the Levites and priests for the purpose of transporting it from place to place, when we notice the frequent mention of it in successive localities, and the various miracles wrought, as if by its particular presence, at the river Jordan, in the land of the Philistines, and at various times in that of Israel, we are tempted to ask what was its ultimate destiny? Scripture tells us that it went to Babylon, and after that—is silent. With regard to the end of the brazen serpent we have a revelation (2 Kings xxiv. 8), but in the case of the tabernacle all curiosity is disappointed. We hear of no Babylonish emerods, of no Chaldean Uzzah stricken with leprosy, no milch kine undirected by man conveying it to the sacred land. And this is the more remarkable as the Jewish types were by no means abolished, the tabernacle was divested of no portion of its mystic signification. Had the Levitical dispensation terminated at the Captivity, we should have expected no more to have heard of the tabernacle than we do in the Christian dispensation of the wood of the cross.

Now

Now the tabernacle and the silence of Scripture concerning it are closely mixed up with a parallel subject on which is observed a similar silence. This subject is summed up in the inquiry,—When did the Levitical system authoritatively cease? Inspiration, speaking thirty years after our Lord's death, applies to the old covenant the mild expression that it is 'ready to vanish away' (*ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ*, Heb. viii. 13). The priests and Levites can never be said to have received the divine command to cease their ministrations until that period when the destruction of the temple and the dispersion of the nation came as equivalent to an inspired decree. The rent veil at the time of the crucifixion may symbolize to well-instructed Christians the 'opening of the way into the Holiest,' but to the priest it was an unexplained mystery. Shall we say that if he had received the teaching of the Messiah and learned the true significance of his atonement, he would have ceased to offer bulls and goats? If a Christian priest had ceased to minister, a Christian apostle would have ceased to join as a worshipper. But here we are met by finding Peter and John (Acts iii. 1) at the temple at the hour of prayer joining in worship of which a slain lamb was the most conspicuous element. Indeed throughout the subsequent history we look in vain for any relaxation of Levitical ordinances as respects *Hebrew* converts to the faith. We may form our conjectures how we will on this fact, but in contrasting the revealed accounts of the beginning and ending of the Jewish dispensation, we cannot but find an analogy in the minutely elaborate foreground of a painted landscape, as compared with the misty and far distant horizon, in which the blue of the ocean melts imperceptibly into the azure of the firmament.

A silence not dissimilar to this is observable in the history of that portion of the Christian church which consisted mainly of Hebrews, and to whom the apostles of the circumcision were sent. St. Paul was emphatically the apostle of the Gentiles, receiving for that object a distinct commission from our Lord, and being thus independent of the original apostolic college, the numbers of which, if we may so judge from the circumstances attending the election of Matthias, appear to have received a definite limit. Now the remark has been often reiterated that the book which has received the name 'Acts of the Apostles' was rather a narrative of the acts of St. Paul. Consequently 'the twelve' have laboured almost in silence, so far as regards any inspired narrative of their ministrations. When we make them the subject of inquiry, even when we ask no more than the scene of their toils or the place of their death, we are answered, with one exception only, by the feeble voice of tradition. The apostle of the Gentiles, on the other hand, speaks by his acts as well as by the recorded workings of his inner mind.

mind. Indeed, with the exception of David, he is more known to the Church than any other character portrayed by inspiration.

This silence as regards the Jewish people and the termination of their polity, a silence which extends even to what may be termed the Hebrew-Christian Church, is at the least mysterious. To those who watch the present condition of that nation it will suggest much thought, especially taken in reference to those hopes to which, even in their exile, they so fondly cling, and the prophecies concerning their future history with which Scripture abounds. But we may pass from a subject wherein we are not prepared to draw any definite conclusion from the silence to which it has been consigned, to one on which the Scripture itself appears to give us some clue. The arguments regarding the priesthood of Melchizedec in the early portion of Heb. vii. are based on the silence of the inspired narrative. To substantiate this position it will be necessary to prove that the expressions (ver. 3) 'without father,' 'without mother,' 'without descent,' 'having neither beginning of days nor end of life,' are deduced from the 'absence of any mention of these particulars in the book of Genesis. We must observe the conclusion at which the writer aims; this was to remove Jewish prejudices that subsisted against a priesthood not formed on the basis of that of Aaron. 'The priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law' (ver. 12). Now a priest, according to the Jewish law, must be a lineal successor of Aaron, and, consequently, one of the tribe of Levi. The father must be a priest, his mother a woman taken in her virginity (Lev. xxi. 13), his genealogy must be clearly drawn out (Num. iv. 3), he must commence his ministrations at the age of thirty and bring them to a close at fifty. Now our Lord belonged to the tribe of Judah, and was of kingly, not of priestly descent. How then does the inspired writer overcome this difficulty? He brings a weapon to bear against the Jew which the latter cannot resist, viz., the language of inspiration; he quotes from Ps. cx. a passage that would be acknowledged as applicable to Messiah (Ps. cx. 4), 'Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchizedec.' But is the priesthood of Melchizedec subjected to the same rules as that of Aaron? If so, accurate mention will be made of the father, the mother, the genealogy, the ages of entering and of retiring from office. But no; on all these points *Scripture is silent*. As regards any record of these particulars he is without father, without mother, without genealogy (ἀγενεαλόγητος), having neither beginning of days nor end of life. The necessity of a succession from Aaron is set aside by the fact that Melchizedec lived when Aaron was not yet born. 'If I may so say, Levi also, who receiveth tithes, paid tithes

tithes in Abraham. For he was yet in the loins of his father when Melchizedec met him' (Heb. vii. 9, 10). Consequently, the claim of our Lord to a priesthood independent of that of Aaron is fully established, and, what is important to our inquiry, the argument is based on the silence of Scripture, on the comparison of what the Jew might have expected with what God chose to reveal. Alleged disqualification for the priestly office is overruled by a simple reference to the absence of any laws on which such disqualification could be established.

This apostolic argument on the priesthood of Melchizedec strongly confirms what we shall always be able to deduce from other instances of scriptural silence, namely, the wise adaptation of the revealed message to the purpose for which it was given. The narrative in the book of Genesis taken alone would be an historical fragment to which we should be able to attach but little meaning. Until we listen to the prophecy of the 110th Psalm the existence of Melchizedec is a scriptural fact the interest of which terminates in itself. The priesthood of the Messiah is, however, the most intensely important subject of revelation, and when we observe how narrowly every Jewish type was fulfilled, a particular deviation from Levitical ordinances becomes a matter of close interest. We have a new priesthood, following that of Aaron in type, but not in direct succession; its details are in general the same, but it has a fundamental difference in setting aside a genealogy from Aaron, and being constituted after the order of a royal priest to whom the progenitor of the Jewish nation paid tithes, and bowed to receive his blessing. The lapse of ages (or, to use the inspired expression) 'the fulness of time,' brings the antitype before us. His priesthood is asserted, and in examining it as the fulfilment of prophecy we refer to the history; then does the obscure mention of the royal priest of old shine out, and what is necessary to observe, the facts stated are exactly sufficient for the purpose and no more. We are first informed that such a personage had a real existence, and his freedom from Jewish enactments and ceremonial is inferred from the dignified silence of the inspired writer.

A similar inference may be drawn from the obscure termination of the Jewish history to which we have alluded. We must regard the New Testament as addressed not merely to the Jewish converts of the period, but to the Church living throughout the successive centuries of the 'times of the Gentiles.' The Levitical types, it is true, occupy a considerable portion of its sacred pages, thereby showing that the Christian dispensation was a necessary development of that which preceded it. But as Gentile converts were from the first expressly freed from every Jewish ordinance, even from the
the

the circumcision, it is clear that we have no more to do with that system, except to study its several parts as figures and shadows of the true. This portraiture of Christian doctrine is, of course, independent of the history of the ordinances themselves, and has full prominence in the sacred page, whilst the obligations of the system upon the Jews as a nation are at present wrapped in unrevealed mystery. In brief, the members of the Gentile Church may infer from the peculiar bearings of the several parts of the sacred canon the importance of those deep truths to which the Levitical ordinances afforded numerous types, while of the precise duration of the old system they are left in ignorance, enough however being recorded to show that they themselves are freed from its obligations.

Bearing in view the principle just enunciated, that the silence of Scripture everywhere gives prominence to that which is revealed, we shall find this verified in the history of our Lord himself; indeed, it is the peculiar glory of the Scriptures in both Testaments, old and new, that 'they are they which testify of him.' Consequently, we shall find the voice of inspiration and its silence alike tending to this end; yet, when we allude to the silence of Scripture in reference to our Lord, it will be necessary to point out the peculiar testimony which it bears to Him; and here we discover that isolated portions of his life are set in strong relief. In no instance is a particular history more strikingly characterized by its abrupt contrasts of light and shade. Remembering that the manifestation of our Lord is the object of both Testaments; that He is the theme of prophecy, the antitype of all Levitical emblems, the subject of devotional poetry; that to his person and office the arguments of the apostolic epistles are directed—we are struck with the discovery that thirty years of his short life are passed over in almost total silence. How different from the ponderous biographies of modern times, wherein the thoughts and actions of men are laboriously recorded; men whose influence was in some cases as transitory as it was feeble. An uninspired narrator would have been specially eager to have drawn the completest portrait. But do we not infer from the very suppression of particulars the reserve of inspiration? None but a divinely guided author would have bequeathed to the Church the Gospels in their present form. But let us examine the revealed incidents in the biography, that appear like isolated rocks piercing the dark waves of silence. They may be briefly enumerated in the order of time: first, we have our Lord's birth; then circumcision at the eighth day; the presentation in the temple at the fortieth; the adoration of the Magi; the flight into Egypt, with the subsequent return to Nazareth; an interval of at least eleven years;

years; then the visit to Jerusalem, when he was found discoursing with the doctors in the temple; then an interval of eighteen years; from which time the biography is comparatively full and consecutive.

To these notices of our Lord's personal history we may add the two genealogies. Now all these points taken up by the inspired historian (with the exception of the adoration of the Magi) may be shown to have the closest connection with Levitical types and ordinances. Strictly speaking, our Lord's history substantially begins at his thirtieth year, the previous allusions being exceptional to the general silence, and these we can separately account for. Observing the age at which our Lord commenced his ministry, we find that the revelation sets him prominently before us in his priestly office, and as the genealogies prove his descent from David, we have the typical conditions essential to the priest after the order of Melchizedec. As we follow the course of the inspired narrative we discern great prominence in all that pertains to his fulfilment of Jewish obligations. Whenever he is mentioned as being at Jerusalem, it is almost in every case a feast that occasioned his presence. On the very eve of his sufferings he assembled his disciples to eat the Passover. No iota of the law was disregarded, but in every respect he fulfilled all righteousness. The incidents of his life, moreover, synchronized with the prescribed dates of Levitical ordinances, especially that which brought it to a close, whereby he was so strikingly manifested as 'Christ our passover.' Viewing the inspired history from the commencement of his ministry as relating so distinctly to the parallel with Levitical ordinances, we turn to the breaks in the silence in which his early history is buried, and this principle is found to explain them. The infant of the early chapters of St. Luke is the future priest, the member of the house of Israel. How accurately is his parentage recorded! what careful proofs of the purity of his virgin-mother! The future priest must be circumcised on the eighth day; he must be presented in the temple on the fortieth, and the offerings made as prescribed by the law of Moses. The descent into Egypt perfected the typical connection of our Lord with the Jewish nation, so as to make the prophecy equally applicable to both: 'Out of Egypt have I called my Son'^b (Hosea xi. 1). Our Lord's *first* appearance at a

^b Mr. Greswell (*Dissertations on a Harmony of the Gospels*, vol. i. p. 338) shows with much probability that our Lord was a year old when he left Egypt; that after a residence in that country of 215 days, corresponding to the years of Israelitish bondage, he set out for the land of his birth on the feast of the Passover, thus accurately maintaining the parallel with the series of events to which allusion is made in this prophecy. In whatever degree this calculation may be depended upon, it confirms the reason alleged for a break in the silence observed by the inspired Evangelist.

paschal-

paschal-feast is the remaining break in the silence which we have to notice. This also has a distinct connection with his keeping of the whole law, for the time of life at which he is reported to have arrived at the period in question was a year short of the age at which male Israelites were privileged to commence the observance of the festival.* We have examined the exceptions to the blank in the history of our Lord corresponding to the first thirty years of his life; and in every case (excepting the adoration of the Magi, which is a kind of presage of his royal character) discern in the inspired narrative a jealous silence on every incident that does not tend directly to prove his accurate fulfilment of all types essential to his priestly office. This leads at once to the inference that the peculiar character in which our Lord offered an atonement for sin, and became an instructor of the world, was that which inspiration aims at making prominent. We are bidden to contemplate not so much the exalted personage, not so much the object of worldly admiration, but the instructor of mankind. If he works a miracle, it is to draw attention to his teaching; when he teaches, it is to elevate those who give heed. And this inference extends to the whole canon of inspiration, and adequately accounts for silence on all other topics, that the moral perfecting of the race, or to speak scripturally, the restoration of sinful man to the divine image and favour, is the object sought in every page. Moral and spiritual advancement must be a pre-requisite to further enlightenment of mind. 'I have yet many things to say unto you,' observed our Lord to his disciples during the last days of his earthly sojourn, 'but ye cannot bear them now' (John xvi. 12). And may not this be said of the Church even yet? The subjoined promise awaits a future plenary fulfilment. When He the Spirit of Truth is come he shall guide you into *all truth* (ver. 13), for the revelations expressed in terms so comprehensive must extend to infinity in amount and require eternity for their development.

Reason and Scripture alike bid us wait for future communications of knowledge. No one has yet discovered limits to the inherent powers of the human mind. Moral obliquity diverts its operations, physical infirmity retards them, but its own pure essence demands only free scope that it may fulfil the original

* 'That this was the purpose for which our Lord was now taken up, viz., not to celebrate the Passover, but to appear, as one of the male Israelites, at a stated time of such appearing before the Lord—to be made, in short, a disciple of the Law, and to undergo a ceremony something like to our confirmation—is presumptively certain even from what is recorded of his mode of employment in the temple, when he was found sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions; and astonishing those who heard him by his understanding and answers.'—*Greswell*, vol. i. p. 343.

design of its creation. The anticipation of such a state commends itself to reason, and is confirmed by revelation. And when this state shall open upon us, we may well conceive that things hitherto unrevealed shall be made plain. In short, the silence of Scripture suggests the subjects of future revelations. And here another question occurs to us, whether the soul's advancement will not be regulated by distinct progressive *steps*. The world has hitherto witnessed a succession of dispensations in which the light has struggled from dawn towards the culminating point of noon. Prophets and kings in one dispensation have desired to see things seen by fishermen in the next. The least in the new kingdom was greater than the greatest prophet of the preceding. The same order may still be observed, and what it just enters into the heart to conceive at one period, shall be palpable to sight and hearing at one still future. Our highest mental pleasures depend on the previous awakening of inquiry. The mind prepares its storehouse for the admission of new treasure. Who has not counted the strata in some precipitous cliff and pondered over the successive creative dispensations thereby indicated; each one of them implying the lapse of millenniums? Creative agency has been ceaselessly at work, and the wondrous timepiece that has recorded its operations is literally graven with pen of iron upon the rock. This analogy we safely apply to the moral dispensations of the past; we hazard the conjecture of its applicability to those of the future.

We have already observed that no dissertation can exhaust the subject now under inquiry. It is not easy to bring one so indefinite under distinct investigation. Consequently, it is not less difficult to lay down canons of interpretation. But the foregoing discussions of particular instances of Scripture-silence have so far embodied principles, that we may venture to enunciate them without elevating them to the rank of distinct rules.

I. When silence is observed on any given subject, ascertain whether it is absolute or partial.

II. Is the subject one wherein analogy would have led us to expect a revelation?

III. The fact of suppression being ascertained, how does it bear upon truths already known?

In this state we leave the inquiry, claiming no more than to have suggested certain 'aids to reflection' to those who love to penetrate the surface of biblical study, and dig deep into its mines; to those who are prepared to infer from the silence of Scripture the definite scope of revelation, and to discern the peculiar value set upon the truths revealed by Him who is their author.

PASCAL'S

PASCAL'S CONCEPTION OF THE PECULIAR ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

IN RELATION TO PHILOSOPHY IN GENERAL AND THE COMMON
NATURE OF THE RELIGIOUS CONSCIOUSNESS.

A LECTURE, by Dr. AUG. NEANDER.

Translated from the German by the Rev. J. TULLOCH.

IN our former lecture,^a on Pascal, we considered his views in so far as they related to the philosophy of religion, or the general nature of the religious consciousness. We did not enter upon his view of the special nature or essence of Christianity. We will now, however, do this, while we at the same time follow out the train of reflection in our former lecture. And, in doing so, it will be equally our aim to discriminate between the great truths in Pascal's system, available for all ages, and his own special Jansenistic conception of them, with which, as we formerly pointed out, they have no *essential* connection.

It is Pascal's great merit, as we explained in our first lecture, to have seen more profoundly and defined more precisely than any other the original ground of difference between the religious and every other species of apprehension.^b The clear conception of this forms the only safeguard alike against scepticism and dogmatism, scholasticism and rationalism. And it is especially important for our age to hold it firmly, when, on the one hand, the peculiar province of religion is like to be sacrificed to a one sided Intellectualism, which would swallow up everything, and on the other, the distinction between a mere creed, however systematic and clearly expressed, and the essence of religious faith and life, threatens to be always placed more in the back ground.

Pascal presupposes two factors as necessary to religious apprehension:° the communication of God with the spirit of man or revelation, and the corresponding inward susceptibility, or divine

^a A translation of this lecture was inserted in No. VI. of the *Journal of Sacred Literature*.

^b *Den genetischen process, wodurch, und die eigenthümliche Art wie das Erkennen göttlicher Dinge, das religiöse Erkennen sich von anderen Arten der Erkenntniss unterscheidet.*

^c 'Erkennen,' as in the previous sentence, which is used indiscriminately throughout the lecture with 'erkenntniss,' and would perhaps be more strictly rendered 'cognition.'

principle

principle in man, which, bursting its bonds, must resign itself to the revelation of its great Author. The religious disposition can only exist where this divine principle in man susceptibly unfolds itself to God. This holds true of all religious apprehension, whether produced through the divine revelation in nature or in Christianity. It is everywhere the same law which regulates revelation, and the manner in which it takes place is expressly conditioned just to excite in man the divine principle, without which this revelation cannot be apprehended. All depends upon the will, which determines the human disposition either to God or to the world. Such a thing as a compulsory revelation, a demonstrable system of truth, capable of being sensibly apprehended and seized upon equally by all through the medium of the understanding or reason, were neither possible nor desirable. All has been and is designed to lay hold of the free susceptibility of the human spirit—the motive power of the will;⁴ and thus it is that what constitutes revelation to one who yields with susceptible sense to the religious disposition is, and in fact must be, a cause of stumbling to another in whom this disposition is wanting, and who is ruled only by a worldly bias. What excites faith in the one will only confirm unbelief in the other. Such is the necessary process of development—dependent entirely upon ethical forces—of religious conviction. And just thus is there, in all the revelations of God, as well in nature and history generally, as in the special revelation of His grace in christianity, such a mixture of light and darkness, of that which on the one hand invites to faith, and on the other ministers to doubt; everywhere God revealing and yet concealing himself—revealing himself to the susceptible, concealing himself from the unsusceptible—all with a view to this ethical process of development of faith, which, going out from the inmost soul, is determined by the very nature of the will. Pascal, it is true, from his Jansenistic point of view brings here into application the opposition of the predestinated and non-predestinated, and would lead back the distinction between them to God himself. But this is something by no means essentially connected with the great truth unfolded by him. There ever remains the same antagonism in the ground-inclination of men, with a view to which all revelation is given, although it may not be true, with Pascal, that this opposition is to be traced to a divine decree as its cause. The great law which Pascal applies to the development process of the religious apprehension is, in fact, just that expressed in the words of Christ, ‘He that has, to him shall be given.’

We will now, in confirmation of what we have said, adduce

⁴ Den Uebel der Willensrichtung.

some of Pascal's luminous statements. In one of his letters of date 1648, for the first time published by Faugère, he gives the first expression to these views. 'We must,' he says, 'regard ourselves as criminals whose prison is quite filled with representations of their deliverer, and with the requisite directions for obtaining their freedom. But it must be confessed that we cannot read these sacred symbols without a supernatural light; for as all things speak of God to those who know Him, and reveal Him to those who love Him, these very things yet tend to obscure Him from those who do not know Him.' (i. 9.) And so also in another letter of the year 1656 (i. 38),*—'If God continually revealed himself to men faith could have no value, as we could not help believing; and, if He never revealed himself, there could hardly be such a thing as faith.' This he applies to nature, as a veil under which God conceals, and yet reveals himself; and likewise also to the letter of Holy Scripture as a similar veil. 'Thus the Jews,' he says, 'by adhering to the letter were misled into unbelief. And, even so, the infidel, resting in the mere contemplation of natural effects fails to recognize the great creative cause of all. The Jews, likewise, thus saw in Christ a mere man, without recognizing the higher nature in Him.' 'All things hide a mystery. All are a veil which conceal God—the Christian must recognize Him in all.' 'So also,' he says in his *Thoughts* (ii. 113), 'I wonder much at the boldness with which some endeavour to demonstrate to the unbelieving the existence of God from the works of nature. I would not so much wonder at this attempt if they addressed themselves to the believing; for to them, who have a living faith in the heart, everything that *is* manifestly appears as the work of the God whom they adore. But it is very different with those in whom this living light is extinct, and sought to be revived—those destitute of faith and grace, who, while searching with all their light,[†] all they see in nature, which might lead them to the knowledge of God, yet only find obscurity and darkness; to say to such that they have only to behold the least of the things which surround them and they will find God revealed therein, and, as at once a proof of this great and important truth, to point to the course of the moon or the planets, and profess to have thus accomplished its demonstration, is truly to afford them ground for believing that the evidences of our religion are very

* It is the letter from which this and the immediately succeeding quotation are taken, that I have referred to in the note at the end of the article as so strangely omitted in the translation of Pascal's miscellaneous writings just published by Longman.

[†] 'De toute leur lumière,' meaning, of course, all their natural powers of understanding, in contradistinction to that divine and living intuition of the truth which they want.

weak,

weak, and I am assured from reason and experience that nothing is more fitted to inspire them with contempt of these evidences. This is not the manner in which Scripture speaks, which knows better the things that are of God. It says, on the very contrary, that God is a hidden God, and that since the corruption of human nature, He has left man in a state of blindness, from which he can only be delivered by Jesus Christ, whose words are, 'No one knoweth the Father save the Son, and He to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him.' This is what the Scripture means when it says, in so many places, that they who seek God find Him. People do not speak thus of that light, which is as the day at full noon. They do not say, that they who seek daylight at full noon, or water in the sea will find them. And it is obviously therefore not evidence of this sort which discovers God in nature.' And elsewhere he says (ii. 155), 'It is not true that all things reveal God, and it is no more true that all things conceal Him. But it is true both that God hides himself from those who tempt Him, and discovers himself to those who seek Him. For men are at the same time unworthy of God, and capable of attaining this knowledge, unworthy by reason of their corruption, capable, by reason of their primitive nature.' In a similar manner he speaks of the revelation of God in Christ Jesus (ii. 151): 'He would at once discover himself to those who seek Him with the whole heart, and hide himself from those who fly from Him with all their heart. He has adapted this revelation, so as to give indications, visible enough to those who seek Him, but obscure to those who do not seek Him. There is plenty of light for all who desire to see, but sufficient darkness for all who are of an opposite wish.' 'Had Jesus Christ,' he says farther, (ii. 282) only come 'for a sanctuary,' then it would have been an easy task to convince the infidel, for all Scripture and all things would have tended thereto. Had Jesus Christ, on the other hand, only come to blind, his whole ministry would have been confused and unintelligible, and there could have been no means of convincing the unbelieving. But as he has come, in the words of Isaiah, equally 'for a sanctuary and a stone of stumbling,' we have no means of forcibly convincing the unbelieving, and they, on the other hand, have no power of seducing us; but even thereby may we convince them, just by admitting that there is no force of conviction either one way or the other in the whole ministry of Christ.' In these last words of Pascal we must, in the manner already indicated, distinguish the Jansenistic exaggeration from the truth lying at the root, and from the paradox of the expression, unfold the true import of the thought. Pascal would by no means say, that the contemplation of the life of Christ does not necessarily tend to excite faith, but, only,

only, that there is no objective force of demonstration, arising out of that life for every reason, so that the infidel, from his own stand-point, is right enough, if he desiderates such a kind of proof. Here, as everywhere, it is the same process of God revealing himself, and yet concealing himself, which Pascal has already described with reference to the different dispositions of men. The right application of this truth, however, he is prevented from apprehending by his Jansenistic views, which would infer an absolute separation, appointed by God himself, and excluding all mediation, between the believing and unbelieving.

The great end of the divine plan of human education, through that mixture of light and darkness in the revelation of God, of which we have been speaking, has been also pointed out by Pascal. 'God,' he says (ii. 158), 'will rather move the will than the intellect. Perfect clearness would serve the one but injure the other.' Through the will struggling onwards through all doubt, the intellect, weaning itself from the world, must resign itself to God, though the denial of self and the world, would he say, man must meet God in his revelation. Self-humiliation can alone lead to faith—faith, without perfect knowledge, 'humbling,' as Pascal says, 'the proud reason.'

Pascal teaches us to recognize, in the manner in which God thus reveals himself, and excites to faith, by what means alone we should endeavour to produce religious conviction in others. He marks out the limits of such an endeavour, and, important as such views are, for the right comprehension of all divine revelation, and for all religious instruction and education, they are equally so for the apologetic interest, the true apologetic method. The difficulties of Holy Scripture, the mixture of the divine and human in it, will no more perplex any, who rightly apprehend these views,—but will appear as something designed and appointed by God, as essential to the process of development of the religious consciousness. With truth may Pascal, in this view, adduce the fact that what strengthens the infidel in his unbelief, only sheds new light upon the faith of the believer. Apologetics, dogmatics, exegesis, and biblical history will thus learn not to ignore, but openly to recognize scriptural difficulties, and to consider them, with every other thing, as necessary to the exercise of faith. A happy freedom, and assurance of faith will thus arise.

Several important consequences from his views occur to Pascal in relation to the subjective nature of the process of development of the religious conviction. From what has been said concerning its *origin*, it follows that this conviction differs no less from any other species of conviction and apprehension in its continued *development* and *preservation*. While other species of knowledge of a
merely

merely intellectual nature once acquired, become the inalienable property of the soul, it is, on the contrary, necessary for the preservation of whatever has once become the subject of religious conviction, that the two factors from which it originally took its rise, always continue to co-operate—the same divine revelation, on the one hand, and the same humble resignation of the human will, on the other. The same spiritual elevation, the same divine life, by which the truth was at first implanted, are requisite to sustain and propagate it in the soul. In one of the letters published for the first time by Faugère, Pascal says (i. 13), ‘When you say that it is unnecessary to repeat to us these things because we know them already, I fear that you do not sufficiently apprehend the difference between the things of which you speak, and more ordinary matters; for, without doubt, it is enough to have once learned the latter, and retained them, in order to need no more instruction in them; but not so with the former. To have once apprehended and know *them*, in a right way, that is to say, by the inward motion of the Divine spirit, is by no means sufficient to preserve their knowledge in a like manner, even if we should retain their recollection. We may indeed commit to memory, and retain an epistle of St. Paul, quite as easily as a book of Virgil: but the knowledge thus acquired, and its preservation, are a mere effort of memory; while, in order to understand that sacred language which is hidden and strange to those to whom heaven is so, it is necessary that the same grace which could alone impart the first intelligence, continue to revive and quicken it so that it may unceasingly arise in the heart of the believer. ‘Always new efforts,’ he afterwards says, ‘are necessary to acquire this continual renovation of soul; for the old grace cannot be retained, unless by the acquisition of new. Otherwise we will only lose what we thought to retain, in the same way as those who would enclose the light, in fact shut in only the darkness. Therefore should we be vigilant to purify, unceasingly, our inward nature which is prone, continually, to contract new defilements, while retaining the old, since without this continual renewal we are not fitted to receive that ‘new wine’ which refuses to be put into ‘old bottles.’ As new truths, according to Pascal, always require for their spiritual preservation the same new life, so, by virtue of this new life they produce a new *speech*, which, again, is only intelligible through this higher life. He calls this, in one of his letters (i. 40), ‘that new speech which is usually the fruit of a new heart. Jesus Christ, in the Gospel, has given this as the mark, by which those who have faith shall be known, that they speak a new language, and, in fact, the renewal of the thought and desires ever leads to that of the speech.’ We here see how

Pascal, reasoning from within, is led outwards to the right apprehension of the idea of the gift of language.

It is evident, how important what is here said by Pascal is, to enable us to understand aright the fluctuations in the development of the religious conviction, especially in times when scepticism finds much excitement and sympathy in the prevailing intellectual atmosphere—and, moreover, what an important warning it furnishes to those who, by earnest struggle, have attained to a religious conviction, that they watch closely over themselves that they may be protected from the contact of a grasping spirit of doubt and denial. It is further evident how far it avails to remove or soften many doubts regarding the Gospel history which have been recently advanced, for example, in reference to the discrepancies about John the Baptist. And, no less, may it be employed with advantage to define the right relation of the ideas of revelation and inspiration to one another.

From this point of view, Pascal has further recognized how important it is, for the preservation of the religious conviction, to have the divine and the natural united as a matter of custom, that the conviction having once arisen in a higher light, and been appropriated by an enlightened reason, may form into a natural instinct an element of custom. The reaction of the natural man against the divine principle will thus be softened, for while the former is held in check, the higher life out of which alone divine truth can be understood, is formed by custom into a second nature. Thus he expresses himself, while speaking of the relation of these three factors to one another (ii. 174). We must not misunderstand ourselves. We are sensual,^s as well as intellectual beings, and therefore demonstration is, by no means, the only instrument of producing conviction within us. Demonstration only convinces the intellect. Custom affords our strongest and most available proofs. It inclines the sense which unconsciously influences the mind. Who has demonstrated, for example, that there will be to-morrow, and that we will die, and yet what things are more universally believed. It is custom alone which convinces us of such facts, . . . and to custom it is specially necessary to have recourse, when the mind has once apprehended where the truth lies, in order fully to imbue ourselves with it, and deepen that belief which is ever so apt to escape us. For we cannot always have the proofs present to our mind. We must, therefore, acquire this more simple

^s Pascal here uses the term 'sentiment' as frequently, when he means to express the same thing, with reference to the Cartesian view of the animal creation accepted by him. The same remark, however, which we have made regarding his peculiar Jansenistic or Catholic views, here equally applies in reference to his Cartesianism. The fundamental truth expressed stands in no essential connection with it.

mode of belief, that, arising from custom, which, without violence, without art, or argument, leads us to believe things, and inclines all our faculties to their belief, so that it becomes to us a second nature. To believe only, by the force of intellectual conviction, and while the sense is otherwise inclined, will avail little. It is necessary to unite both elements—the mind convinced by reasons, which, on examination, were once seen to be quite satisfactory, and the sense by custom preventing it from inclining in a contrary direction. ‘The reason,’ says he further (ii. 176), ‘acts slowly, and on so many grounds and principles which must always be present to it, that it is every moment apt to slip and get confused, from not having all its principles before it. Feeling^h operates quite differently. It acts, in a moment, and is always ready to act. We must, therefore, make our faith a matter of feeling. Otherwise it will be always fluctuating.’ And again (ii. 177), ‘there are three means to faith—reason, custom, and inspiration. . . We must open our mind to *arguments*—confirm ourselves therein by *custom*, but render ourselves by humiliation susceptible to inspirations.’ To this connection belongs that passage of Pascal which has given occasion to so many reproaches against him, and which, having been excluded from the older edition of the ‘Thoughts,’ on account of the paradoxical and seemingly offensive form of its expression, has been for the first time published in its complete form by Faugère (ii. 168). ‘You would,’ he says, ‘attain to faith, and you know not the way. You would cure yourself of unbelief, and you know not the means: learn of those who were once as you are, and with whom faith is now all in all. There are, be assured, those who know the way which you would follow, and have been cured of the evil from which you would be delivered. Follow them. Do as they have begun to do. Act as if you believed. Sprinkle holy water. Say mass, and, naturally, as it were, will this lead you to faith and quiet you.’ⁱ Undoubtedly if these words are separated from the connection of thought in which they occur, they might serve to promote the dangerous error, that all that was necessary for believing was to stupify the reason. But it is to be carefully taken notice that Pascal is here speaking in opposition to a one-sided intellectual tendency, which was just one form of the prevailing sensualism of his day, and no less opposed than other forms of it to that child-like resignation to the divine, without which there can be no faith. He is speaking, we say, in opposition to this over-curious, ever-reasoning disposition, which keeps us from resigning ourselves to intuitive impressions. Against such a dis-

^h ‘Le sentiment.’

ⁱ ‘Naturellement même cela vous fera croire et vous abêtira.’

position, always considering, never determining, Pascal adduces such an *abêtir* as advantageous for the religious conviction. The over-curious logical spirit must give way to the living intuition. It is just as when St. Paul, in allusion to a reason, refusing in its darkened wisdom to come to the truth, desires that the wise man may become a fool, in order that he may attain to true wisdom. One must live in religion—this is what Pascal means. When Aristotle maintains against Socrates and Plato, who call virtue a science, that this is indeed one view of it, but by no means all; it being further necessary, through the continuous direction of the will, to produce an *εξις*, and through this *εξις* to unite the *αλογον* in the soul with the *φρονησις*—he expresses, in fact, just the same truth which Pascal here applies to the religious life.

Pascal is far from ascribing too much to the power of custom—the formation of the *εξις*. He is well aware that, in the same way, the false and bad may acquire influence over reason. ‘Custom it is,’ he says (ii. 175), ‘which makes so many Christians. The same thing makes Turks, pagans, tradesmen, soldiers,’ &c. He only desires, in a similar manner, that what has been at first received, through a divine movement of the disposition, and enlightenment of the reason, should become a thing of the whole life. From the Christianity produced by these three combined forces, he distinguishes the Christianity of mere habit, which rests on no other foundation than that on which false religion equally rests, and is, therefore, readily shattered by the reaction of awakened thought and doubt. And, accordingly, we find this remarkable statement (i. 228). ‘People, in general, have the power of not thinking of that of which they do not wish to think.’ ‘Do not think only of the passages which relate to the Messiah,’ said the Jew to his son. It is the same often with ourselves; and thus, in the case of many, are false religions perpetuated, and even the true one also. But there are those who have not the power to prevent themselves from thinking, but who, in fact, only think the more, the more they are forbidden to do so. These persons dismiss false religions, and no less the true, if they do not find their evidences solid.’ Pascal here, at length indicates a stand-point, which, to the awakened freedom of thought and the excitement of scepticism, may form a point of transition from a mere unconscious Christianity of custom, either to unbelief or to a conscious living Christianity.

As we have seen, Pascal teaches that God must have revealed Himself to man in his inner being before he is able to find a divine revelation in all around him. All is designed to call forth in man at once a sense of his estrangement from God, and a desire after Him, in order that he may strive after reunion with Him, which
he

he can only obtain in Christ. Thus, that which prevents man finding God in nature is just a proof of the great truth presupposed by Christianity, a pointing as it were to Christ, in whom alone man can find both the practical and theoretical solution of all the problems of his own being, as of all existence. The longing after the highest good, kindled in man, is that which leads to Christ. 'It is well,' says Pascal (ii. 96), 'to be wearied in the vain search after the true good, that we may stretch out our arms to the Redeemer.' Whoever rests in the contemplation of nature is either led to the consequent denial of all supernaturalism, in other words, to atheism, or he reaches only the 'recognition of a great, powerful, and eternal first existence,' as Pascal defines Deism, an existence altogether external to man, separated from him by an infinite gap, without any living communion with, or personal relation to, him whatever, and thus affording the very least possible gratification to the religious feeling; which, on the contrary, desiderates a living personal relation to God, an intimate communion with Him, without which man is soon torn from the weak tie which, in Deism, may still unite him with the supernatural. The deep principle in man which urges him to recognize in Nature the revelation of an overruling God is by no means met and satisfied by such a mere external relation to Him. Pascal says (ii. 117), 'All who, abiding by nature, seek God without Christ either find no light which satisfies them, or make a religion for themselves without a mediator, and then fall either into atheism or deism—two things which the Christian religion almost equally abhors.' The contemplation of himself and of the world, Pascal means, should lead man to Christ as his Redeemer, and through Christ will he then learn to recognize and understand God everywhere. 'If the world existed,' he says in the same place, 'just for the purpose of leading man to the knowledge of God, his divinity would shine forth on all sides incontestably; but as the world exists only by and for Christ, and in order to lead men to the knowledge of their corruption, and their consequent need of redemption, so all testifies clearly of these two facts. The phenomena of Nature evince neither an entire exclusion nor a manifest presence of the Deity, but the presence of a God who yet conceals Himself. All bears this impress.' And so Pascal distinguishes between such a Deism and Christian Theism. 'The God of the Christian,' he says (ii. 116), 'is not merely the Author of geometrical truths and of elemental order, for this is the mere paganish view of the Deity; He is not merely the supreme Disposer of the lives and goods of men in order to give a happy succession of years to those who worship Him, for this is only the Jewish view; but the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, the God of the Christian, is a God of love and of consolation;

consolation ; a God who fills the heart and the soul which He possesses, who makes his people at once feel their own misery and His infinite compassion ; who unites Himself with their very innermost being, replenishing it with humility, joy, confidence, and love, and rendering them incapable of desiring any other end but Himself.' 'The God of the Christian,' he further says (ii. 354), 'is a God who makes the soul feel that He is its only good ; that all its peace is in Him ; that its only blessedness can be in loving Him, and who makes it at the same time abhor the obstacles which hinder it from loving Him with all its strength. Self-love and all lust which thus hinders it are insupportable to it. This gracious God makes it feel that such self-love is rooted in it, and that He himself can alone cure it.' With reference to the view which rests on the mere recognition of an absolute Cause, he says (ii. 115), on the contrary, 'Should a man be merely convinced that the relations of number are spiritual and eternal truths depending on a first Truth in whom they subsist, which he calls God, I would not consider him near salvation.'

According to Pascal, then, the true knowledge of God and of ourselves are intimately conjoined, so that man may become conscious at once of his originally kindred relation with God, and his estrangement from Him, and so may learn the means by which he may attain to a true knowledge of God, and communion with Him. The medium of both is the knowledge of Christ, as Him, through whom man can alone be freed from a state of divine estrangement, and again brought to find in God his highest good. Without Christ there can only be the two opposite extremes, self-exultation or despair. 'Christianity,' says Pascal (ii. 35, 36), 'equally teaches man these two truths—that there is a God whom he is capable of knowing, and of whom he is yet, from the corruption of his nature, unworthy. It is equally important for him to understand both these points. It is alike dangerous for man to know God without knowing his misery, or to know his misery without knowing the Redeemer, who alone can deliver him from it. To know only one of these points constitutes either the pride of the philosophers who have known God without knowing their misery, or the despair of the atheists, who know their misery without knowing a Redeemer. And as it is thus equally necessary for man to know both these points, so it equally pleases God to make them known. This the Christian religion does. In this it consists. If we examine from this point of view the whole order of the world, we will see how all things serve to establish these two main points of that religion.' And so likewise, he says (ii. 315), 'The knowledge of God, without the knowledge of our misery, produces pride ; the knowledge of our misery without the knowledge of God produces

duces despair; the knowledge of Christ is the medium whereby we at once find God and our misery.' . . . 'In Christ have we a God whom we approach without pride, and before whom we bow without despair.' The perfect reconciliation in Christianity of these opposite tendencies, which are to be found in human nature, is the great internal evidence of its truth. So Pascal says (ii. 314), 'In their incapacity to discover the whole truth, men have either only recognized the dignity of human nature or its corruption. They have failed to see both together. And according as the one or other of these views have swayed them—as they have recognized only the excellence or the corruption of human nature, they have plunged into pride or despair. And hence the divers sects of the Stoics and Epicureans, the Dogmatists and Academicians. 'Christianity,' he says (ii. 136), 'can alone reconcile these discrepancies—alone cure both evils, pride and despair—not by expelling the one by the other according to the wisdom of this world, but by expelling both the one and the other by the simplicity of the Gospel. For it teaches the just that while it elevates them even to be partakers of the divine nature, they still carry with them, in this lofty state of elevation, the source of all that corruption which renders them, during life, subject to error, misery, sin, and death. At the same time it proclaims to the most impious, grace through a Redeemer. By thus at once giving occasion of trembling to those whom it justifies, and of consolation to those whom it condemns, it mixes with just measure fear and hope through the twofold capacity in all of grace and sin,—so that it abases infinitely more than reason, yet without producing despair, and exalts infinitely more than natural pride, yet without puffing up.' In this relation, also, Pascal draws attention (ii. 316) to the fact that, whereas the notion of humility as a virtue was alien to the stand-point of the ancient world, it is in Christianity apprehended as self-resignation, self-humiliation seen in unison with the other virtues. 'Only Christianity,' he says, 'could unite things which have hitherto appeared so opposite. It alone has taught men that so far from humility being incompatible with the other virtues, without it all other virtues are only vices and defects.' With how little pride does a Christian believe himself united with God! with how little dejection does he compare himself to the worms of the earth!

Accordingly, Christ appears to Pascal as well the central point of all existence and religion as of the faith and life of the Gospel. Apart from him all the other doctrines of the Gospel lose their peculiar meaning. 'Christ,' he says (ii. 115), 'is the end and centre of all. Whoever knows Him knows the reason of all things. The erring fall into error by not seeing one of two things. We can know God without knowing our misery, and our misery without knowing

knowing God; but we cannot know Christ without knowing at once God and our misery. And therefore it is I would not venture to prove by natural argument the existence of God, or the Trinity, or the immortality of the soul, or anything of this nature, not only because I do not find myself able to discover in Nature anything sufficient to convince the hardened atheist, but, rather, because such a knowledge, without Christ, were sterile and useless.'

* * After the enlightened and comprehensive exhibition of Pascal's views in these lectures, and the eloquent and most interesting paper which appeared some time ago in a contemporary journal,^k it were superfluous to attempt any further defence of Pascal's *truly* philosophical character. And we believe we can have no better wish for the cause of a genuine philosophy than that the 'Thoughts' of Pascal, now for the first time published in an authentic and entire form, may be widely studied by all in our day whose minds are alive to the great and essential questions now so obviously stirring society on all sides.

Entertaining such an opinion of the worth of the *Pensées*, we were glad to observe the announcement of a translation of Faugère's edition, by George Pearce, Esq., 'Editor and Translator of the Provincial Letters.' Our pleasure we own, however, has not been heightened by a partial examination of the first volume of this translation just published. Amid evidences of scholarship and taste, and of a hearty love of the subject, it is yet marked by a license and, in some places, an inaccuracy and diffuseness in rendering Pascal's exact statements, that we think quite unwarrantable, and, surely, in regard to such a writer as Pascal, generally so clear and simple, wholly unnecessary. And, for one of the most important of the extracts from letters addressed to Mademoiselle de Roannes, viz., that marked II., p. 57 of Faugère, we have sought in vain. Does its omission arise from carelessness or intention? In either case it seriously impairs the value of the translation.—
TRANSLATOR.

* *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1847.

A COMMENT

ON ST. LUKE'S PREFACE TO HIS GOSPEL.

By J. VON GUMPACH.

WHAT imparts to the few words of dedication to Theophilus, by which St. Luke prefaces his Gospel, so important a character in regard to biblical criticism, is the light which, when correctly interpreted, they are calculated to throw upon the origin of the Gospels generally. Unfortunately the Greek text is couched in terms, admitting of an unusual latitude of meaning, and thus presenting a corresponding scope for interpretation.

Among the various translations of the New Testament, our Authorized Version occupies a distinguished, if not the very first place. With all its excellencies, however, it must yet be allowed to combine also many defects, the most prominent of which arise from too anxious an attempt at literality, and from a calculated ambiguity of wording in cases of difficulty and doubt. Owing to the great superiority of the Greek language (even as idiomised by the sacred writers) in comparison with our own, for richness and variety of form and copiousness of expression, a *literal* translation is frequently a matter of impossibility; whilst that *vagueness* of meaning, embodied in a quaint and unaccustomed combination of sounds, which lends in so high a degree the baneful charm of mystery to our version, is not, it ought to be remembered, the attribute of the divine word, but, on the very contrary, the offspring of mere human want of understanding. The English translation, in common with all others, would seem to require that, by disencumbering it of the dead letter, it should be made more freely to breathe the living spirit of the original.

Admitting the general truth of these remarks, it will not be thought presumption on our part, we hope, if, in calling the attention of our readers to the preface of St. Luke, we do so with a view to a critical revision of the Authorized Version of the same, transcribing the latter to our pages, for the sake of more convenient comparison, collaterally with the Greek text.

ST. LUKE, i. 1-4.

(1) Ἐπειδὴ περ πολλοὶ ἐπε-
χείρησαν ἀνάταξασθαι διήγησιν
περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν
ῥῆμιν πραγμάτων, (2) καθὼς παρέ-
δωσαν

Forasmuch as many have taken
in hand to set forth in order a
declaration of those things which
are most surely believed among us,
2. Even

δοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται
καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου·
(3) ἔδοξε καὶ μοί, παρηκολουθηκότι
ἀνωθεν πᾶσιν, ἀκριβῶς [,] καθεξῆς
σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, (4)
ἵνα ἐπιγινῶς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης
λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν.

2. Even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word ;

3. It seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus,

4. That thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.

The whole of our proœmium, we thus perceive, forms but one period, composed of several sentences, and divided into two main parts, the protasis, as they are called in grammatical language, and the apodosis, the latter being marked by *ἔδοξε καί μοι*.

Our translators render the Greek conjunction *ἐπειδήπερ*, v. 1, in its *causal* signification. We hold this to be an error, considering that St. Luke, who not only must have included St. Matthew and St. Mark, who wrote before him, among the 'many' to whom he alludes ; but who, moreover, was about to make a large, and frequently a literal use, of their very Gospels, cannot possibly have intended to represent the existence of the latter as a *reason* for the publication of his own—such a reason necessarily implying either a *justification* in behalf of the writer, which it does not constitute ; or else a *censure* on the compositions of his predecessors and authorities. Both suppositions are equally out of the question. On the contrary, the real sense which St. Luke evidently meant to convey, would seem to us to be that, in faithfully delineating the primitive history and the fundamental doctrines of Christianity for the use of Theophilus and the circle of his friends, as St. Matthew and St. Mark had done for the instruction of their friends, he had even from their excellent example derived *encouragement* to imitate it. The Greek word *ἐπειδήπερ* is composed of the conjunction of time and, though less frequently, of causality, *ἐπειδή*, *since*, *after*, *as*, *because*, and the enclitical particle *περ* ; and in the Latin version of the New Testament is with sufficient correctness rendered *quoniam quidem*, taking *quoniam quum jam*, in the sense of *as already*. This, for the reasons adduced, we believe to be here the true meaning of the original term. Ἐπιχειρεῖν, to take in hand, i. e. *to undertake*. Ἀνατάσσειν διήγησιν, literally to dispose an account all along in order, i. e. *to render a connected account* (of certain things) ; the proper meaning of διήγησις being *a narrative*, not a declaration. As a noun, the word certainly appears only this once in the New Testament ; frequently,

frequently, however, in its radical form of a verb, and as such, though a few times rendered by our translators 'to declare,' exclusively in the strict sense of *to relate*. A double construction may be put upon the words *περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων*, according to the sense of *to be surely believed* or *to be fulfilled*, i. e. *to come to pass*, which we attach to the passive verb *πληροφορεῖσθαι*. Either interpretation is linguistically admissible. In our version the former has been adopted—an error we judge it to be of importance, inasmuch as the translation in question would appear to render the existence of our Saviour, in a word the entire historical foundation of Christianity, a matter of abstract *faith* rather than of concrete *fact*, thus opening a wide door to incredulity and doubt, and so greatly favouring the mythical speculations of modern infidels. St. Luke describes the events which he relates, not only as a contemporary, upon the testimony of eye-witnesses, whose intimacy he enjoyed; but, from an early period, as one of the chief actors in those selfsame events from personal knowledge and experience. Under such circumstances it cannot for one moment be supposed that the Evangelist should have spoken of occurrences which *he knew* to have *actually taken place*, as occurrences which were '*most surely believed*' among the early Christians. True, the Authorized Version renders τὰ πράγματα 'things' instead of *events*, and by inference leaves the word to be construed in the sense of *doctrines*; we need hardly say, however, that such a construction is utterly inadmissible, for though the Greek term in our passage, certainly, does comprise the doctrines as well as the acts of our Lord and his disciples; yet the former so exclusively in virtue of their historical character, i. e. as doctrines delivered, or, in other words, as *acts of instruction*.

Ὑπηρέτης, v. 2, in a general sense *a servant, an assistant, a dependent agent*; τοῦ λόγου of the doctrine, i. e. the doctrine of Christ, *Christianity*: thence ὑπηρέτης τοῦ λόγου, *a propagator of Christianity*, which we hold here to be the most appropriate translation. Οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται κ. τ. λ., those, who from the beginning were . . . i. e. *the earliest eye-witnesses*, &c. Can the Apostles, who are evidently thus alluded to, for one moment be supposed to have communicated to their fellow-labourers those events in the life and the ministry of our Lord, of which the later disciples were possessed of no personal knowledge, by means of *written* statements, instead of familiar discourses? Hardly. Παράδιδόναι is consequently in this place to be taken in the sense of '*to verbally deliver*,' i. e. *to relate*, and in which it occurs in numerous passages of the New Testament.

The second part of our preface opens (ver. 3) with the antithesis

thesis ἔδοξε καί μοι, *it has seemed good also to me*, ἀκριβῶς καθεξῆς σοι γράψαι, κράτιστε Θεόφιλε, *to write unto thee, most excellent Theophilus, accurately in order, i. e. to send thee, most excellent (or most worthy) Theophilus, the present record* [of the said events (to be supplied as an ellipsis)], *arranged in accurate order and succession*. Ἀκριβῶς is almost invariably, and so in our Authorized Version, connected with the verb of the intervening sentence παρεκολουθήσθαι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν [ἀκριβῶς]; but, as already Luther has rightly perceived, in complete defiance of the grammatical position occupied by our term in regard to that verb. As to the latter sentence, it is generally held to express St. Luke's *authority* for his undertaking, and the text being rendered, 'having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first,' the inquiries of the Evangelist into the early history of Christianity are as generally considered to constitute the presumed authority. Duly considered, however, the somewhat dubious sense of that translation conveys nothing more than an *excuse*, or at the best a *justification*. Let us, on the other hand, take the verb παρακολουθεῖν in its proper meaning *to accompany, to be constantly at the side of, to be the constant companion of* (Mark xvi. 17; Xen. Symp. viii. 23; Dem. cclxxx. 22; Diod. Sic. xx. 29, &c.), and refer πᾶσι, as, according to strict grammatical rule and the natural connection of the context it should be done, to 'those who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses,' &c.; our sentence will then read thus, 'having from the first been the constant companion of all [these men],' and in the close personal intimacy of the Evangelist with every one of the principal members of the earliest Christian society, we possess, indeed, a real, and with reference to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, we may say the *only* legitimate authority which could warrant St. Luke in composing a *new*, though extended work on a subject upon which a similar work, written by one of the Apostles themselves, already existed. Nor does the Authorized Version of our passage appear to us to be consistent with the inspired character of the sacred volume, inasmuch as the Evangelist is made to assure Theophilus that he had *perfect* understanding of ALL things from the very first, whilst yet a reference to the Gospel of St. Matthew, and more especially to that of St. John, will show that in the account of St. Luke some highly important discourses, several visits of our Lord to the Jewish capital, and other interesting circumstances connected with his life, are left unrecorded. We are consequently to infer that Luke either knowingly omitted, or rather suppressed such information, or that unknowingly his assurance was not made in conformity with truth; and both suppositions we hold to be equally irreconcilable with a belief in the inspiration of his Gospel.

Thus

Thus grammatical as well as internal reasons fully entitle us to reject the common version of our sentence.

Ἐπιγινώσκειν, ver. 4 (composed of the verb γινώσκειν *to learn*, and the augmentative particle ἐπὶ) *to obtain a more accurate, a fuller knowledge.* Κατηχέομαι (ηχω), *to hear a report, to receive information, to be instructed.* Ἀσφάλεια, *that which is firm, the real truth of a thing, the real fact as to a reported occurrence.* This ἀσφάλειαν Theophilus is to learn, the Evangelist writes, περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων, which words may be interpreted either in a doctrinal or a historical sense. According to the former our Authorized Version reads, 'That thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.' We hold this translation to be inadmissible for several reasons. In the first place, St. Luke, as a non-Apostle (in the more restricted acceptance of the term apostle) being but the equal of any other authorized teacher of the Christian doctrine, did, consequently, not possess that superior authority which the translators of our Bible would have him arrogate to himself. In the second place, the Gospel of St. Luke is not, properly speaking, so much a doctrinal as a *historical* work. Lastly, the plural form οἱ λόγοι (רִבְרֵי) is never made use of to express *doctrines*, the *implied*, but erroneous sense of the correct, but only ostensibly employed term 'things' of the Authorized Version.

Having thus explained what we believe to be the true meaning of the original text of our preface, we are enabled to give a corresponding translation of it. Here it is, placed, for comparison's sake, in juxta-position to the accustomed phraseology.

AUTHORIZED VERSION.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty of those things wherein thou hast been instructed.

REVISED TRANSLATION.

Already many having undertaken to publish a connected account of such events as have come to pass among us, even as they were related to us by the earliest eye-witnesses and propagators of Christianity; it has seemed good also to me, who have been from the first the constant companion of all these men, to write unto thee, most worthy Theophilus, in accurate order and succession, to the end that thou mayest more fully become acquainted with the real truth of those things, regarding which thou hast received information.

To

To judge of the comparative merits or demerits of either version we must leave to our readers. What would appear to us to constitute the chief source of error on the part of our early translators, is that, forgetful of the historical character of St. Luke's work, in the *second* part of which, '*the Acts* (i. e. *the History of the Apostles*' (ch. i. 1) he himself calls the *first* part, the Gospel, τὸν πρῶτον λόγον, '*the first book of histories*,' the Greek term being in this sense used also by Herodotus, Xenophon, &c. They mistook the corresponding character of our preface, in taking a doctrinal view of it, and thus, for the sake of consistency, were compelled to force, in dubious language, a construction upon the text which it does not and will not bear.

As to the conclusions to be drawn from our proœmium in regard to the origin of the three first Gospels, it is not our present purpose to enter into this subject further than to point out its most apparent feature—the all-important fact that at any rate those histories of primitive Christianity which had been written previously to the Gospel of St. Luke, and among which number the Gospels of both St. Matthew and St. Mark may be proved to belong, were based, as well as his own, partly on the *oral* testimony of the entire body of the Apostles and other *eye-witnesses*, and partly on the *personal* knowledge and experience of the writers themselves. One or two more remarks: St. Paul, in his second epistle to the Corinthians (viii. 18) says, 'συνεπέμψαμεν δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ (Τίτον) τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ διὰ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, which words are by our translators of the Bible rendered, 'And we have sent with him (Titus) the brother, whose praise is in the Gospel throughout all the churches.' The brother here alluded to is generally admitted to be St. Luke, whom we know at that time to have been in the company of St. Paul; and the evident sense of our quotation is, that the Gospel of Luke was the subject of universal praise among the Christian churches. Now the second epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, or at least that portion of it from which the above sentence is taken, can most satisfactorily be shown to have been composed in the year 59 A.D., shortly after Easter. The three first Gospels consequently must have been written previously to that period.

With regard to the Gospel of St. Luke, we believe this period may be fixed with much greater accuracy. That Theophilus was a Roman, and that the Gospel dedicated to him was designed for the especial use of Romans, we are entitled to infer from numerous passages occurring in it, and upon the most ample grounds. When St. Paul, after a prolonged stay at Corinth, left that city, according to our computation in the early part of the year 53 A.D., Aquila and Priscilla, his friends and disciples, accompanied him as far as Ephesus,

Ephesus, where they remained (Acts xviii. 19, comp. 26). About six years later we find them again settled at Rome, whence a public decree of the Emperor Claudius against the Jews had expelled them in 49 A.D. (Orosius, *Hist. Eccl.* vii. 6); for St. Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans (xvi. 3-5), says, 'Greet Aquila and Priscilla, *my helpers in Christ Jesus*, who have for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the churches of the Gentiles. Likewise greet the church that is in their house,' &c. Who, in reading these words of the Apostle, can doubt but that the Christian community at Rome, then already numerous, was planted by Aquila and Priscilla? At the earnest entreaty of St. Paul, it would appear, they had returned to Rome, to spread and confirm the truths of the Gospel of Christ among its adherents in that capital, until such time as he himself should be able to visit Rome, to the end that they might 'be established.' Hence he calls Aquila and Priscilla 'his helpers in Christ Jesus'; hence he says, 'they have for his life laid down their own neck,' which is evidently to be taken in a proverbial sense, meaning that for 'his life,' the promotion of Christianity, they have made every sacrifice, and perhaps even incurred personal danger; hence he states them to be deserving not only of his individual gratitude, but of the thanks also of every Gentile church. Connecting then these two facts with the last sentence of St. Luke's preface, the natural conclusion we arrive at will be, that Theophilus, a Roman of distinction, and a former personal acquaintance of the Evangelist, on hearing from Aquila of 'the new doctrine' and the wonderful circumstances which had attended its introduction into the world, took a sufficient interest in that relation to make inquiries of St. Luke as to its real truth. Such, indeed, would appear to have been the immediate occasion which originated the third of our Gospels; and if this view be correct, we may with a considerable degree of certainty place its appearance in the years 55-57 A.D., a sufficient time with regard to the two extreme periods named above being allowed, on the one hand, for the stay of Aquila and Priscilla at Ephesus and their return to Rome, and, on the other hand, for the Gospel becoming known 'throughout all the churches.'

Lastly, it is deserving of notice that St. Luke, according to our revised translation, states his Gospel to be arranged in *strict chronological order*. Whether the same order is still preserved, or whether it has subsequently been disturbed, and under what influences and to what extent—these are questions the discussion of which is necessarily excluded from the scope of our present design.

OBSERVATIONS

OBSERVATIONS ON THE TENSES OF THE HEBREW VERB.

By the Rev. D. H. WEIR, M.A.

‘When we come to the consideration of the manner in which time is specified in Hebrew, we must begin by discarding the preconceived notions we have acquired as to the proper function of the tenses.’—*Nordheimer*.

I.—On the Formation of the Tenses.

‘VERBS,’ says Adam Smith, ‘must necessarily have been co-eval with the very first attempts towards the formation of language. No affirmation can be expressed without the assistance of some verb. We never speak but in order to express an opinion that something either is or is not. But the word denoting the event, or the matter of fact which is the subject of our affirmation, must always be a verb.’

This observation I believe to be upon the whole well-founded. It is true, indeed, that some very simple propositions may be, and in Hebrew and other languages are, expressed without the assistance of the verb. But, in general, the verb is essential to the expression of thought, and must, therefore, constitute an original part of every language.

The attempt to trace back every Hebrew verb to a more primitive noun seems, therefore, to involve a violation of the constitution of language. There is, indeed, a very intimate connection between the cognate verbs and nouns in the Hebrew language; and upon this connection Dr. Lee has founded his very ingenious system. But to affirm that the noun has in *every case* preceded the verb in the order of time—however numerous the analogies by which that affirmation may seem to be supported—is an excess of refinement by which the natural and probable are sacrificed to the apparently simple and ingenious.

Neither, on the other hand, is the noun to be regarded as invariably a derivative of the cognate verb. In very many cases, I believe, it is; but there are in every language, not excepting Hebrew, nouns to which, if our classification be a natural one, we must assign the position of primitives. It appears to be as inconsistent with the principles of language to consider the noun in every case the derivative of the verb as to consider the verb in every

every case the derivative of the noun. And much ingenuity has been thrown away in searching for verbs from which to deduce the formation of nouns really primitive.

To say that it is convenient, in laying down the rules of Hebrew grammar, to consider either the noun or the verb as comprehending all primitives, is no proper defence of an arrangement, which is obviously unnatural.

Assuming then the verb to be an original and essential part of the Hebrew language, we proceed to inquire into the formation and uses of its various parts. Our attention will be confined to the inflections of the *kal* conjugation, as the other conjugations (or rather distinct derivative verbs) probably came into use at a later period in the history of the language.

If any part of the verb must be fixed on as the root, from which all the others are derived, that part appears to be the imperative. This is the part which would naturally come first into use, especially in a primitive state of society; and in all languages, accordingly, its form is extremely simple. When I say, 'come,' 'go,' 'stand,' 'tell me,' &c., I use a form of expression necessary even from the earliest times; and we cannot, therefore, err greatly if we fix upon this part—supposing it necessary to fix upon any—as the primitive part or root, from which to deduce all the other inflexions of the verb.

Another principal part of the verb is the participle, the form of which is very short and simple. It usually consists of the same consonants as the imperative; but the difference in signification was probably marked from the beginning by a difference in sound. It is employed to denote a state of action or existence either really present or supposed to be present; and is thus essentially distinguished from the imperative, which necessarily involves the idea of futurity. This distinction in signification was accompanied and expressed by a distinction in sound; thus *אֵרִיז* arise, *אֵרִיז* arising; *לֵבֵן*, *לֵבֵן*, &c.

From these two parts, the imperative and participle, all the other inflexions of the verb are easily deducible.

From the imperative is derived at once the infinitive, which is usually of the same form, and expresses the same idea, but without any particular reference to person or time. 'He told me to come' is only a modified form of the more ancient expression, 'He said to me, Come.' Hence we find *לֵבֵן* imperative and infinitive. The absolute form of the infinitive seems to be of later origin.

Each of these forms, the imperative and infinitive, is varied according to the number, &c., of the objects spoken to or spoken of.

The imperative is used only when one or more persons present are addressed. It has, therefore, but one person—the second. Of this person, however, there are four variations, formed by affixing particles of gender and number. For the masculine singular the primitive form is retained. The feminine is distinguished from it by the addition of ך, probably part of הִי. To denote the masculine and feminine plural respectively ם and ך are affixed: ם or ך which is sometimes found being the sign of the plural, and ך or ךָ its feminine.

The use of the infinitive is more extensive and indefinite. It is employed to denote action, &c., on the part not merely of the person or persons addressed, but also of the person or persons speaking and those spoken of. It, therefore, admits and requires a greater variety of inflexions than the imperative. These are formed, chiefly, by *prefixes*: the object speaking or spoken to or spoken of being first brought before the mind, while the action or state of being affirmed of that object is regarded as future, and therefore placed last. Thus *קטל*, to kill, is an expression than which no other can be more indefinite. But when I prefix *הִי*, as *קטל הִי*, contr. *יִקְטַל*, he to kill, or he shall kill, the expression at once becomes definite—the act of killing being restricted to the person of whom I speak. Similar is the formation of *תִּקְטַל* and *תִּקְטַלְי*; the former being a contracted form *קטל תִּקְטַל*, thou to kill, or thou shalt kill; and the latter of *קטל אֲנִי*, I to kill, or I shall kill. Adding to the first two of these three forms the plural termination ם (for ך), and changing the prefixed ם of the other into ך (from *אֲנִי*), we have the three corresponding plural forms *יִקְטְלוּ*, *תִּקְטְלוּ*, *תִּקְטְלוּ*. These six forms probably constituted the original future. But, as the language became more copious, other changes of inflexion were made with the view of marking the distinction not only of number and person, but of gender. Such a change was obviously unnecessary in the first person. To the second and third persons, however, both of the singular and plural feminine forms were attached. Those of the second persons are analogous in structure to the corresponding parts of the imperative, *תִּקְטְלִי* and *תִּקְטְלִיךָ*. With these the third persons feminine are nearly identical, *תִּקְטְלִי* and *תִּקְטְלִיךָ*. The formation of these last has never been very satisfactorily explained. May I hazard the conjecture that they originally belonged to the second person, the object spoken of (according to the present usage) being formerly the object spoken to?

We come now to what is usually called the past tense, but which

which I propose, for reasons afterwards to be given, to denominate the present. Its formation is equally simple with that of the future. The participle may be regarded as its stem or root ; and to this the pronominal particles are affixed, not prefixed. This constitutes the very obvious distinction between the two tenses ; and the explanation of it is not difficult. In the present tense, the object of which action, &c., is affirmed, is regarded as already before the mind of the speaker or writer, and therefore the most prominent position is assigned to the action affirmed of that object : while, in the future, the object must be clearly marked out before the action affirmed of that object is described, and is therefore placed first.

The important inquiry now presents itself, What do these forms—the פקד and יפקד—respectively import? Under what varying phases do they describe the idea expressed by the verbal root? Many attempts have been made to give a satisfactory solution to this question, and many plausible hypotheses advanced; yet, notwithstanding all that has been written, no certain conclusion has been arrived at.

For a long period no great attention was paid to the fundamental principles of the language. Much care and labour were expended (and by no means in vain) in collecting what were considered variations in the use of the tenses; but no attempt was made to trace these variations to any general principle. And thus, as the language became more accurately known, difficulties increased; anomalies were multiplied to a very great extent, and the number of rules heaped together without any proper bond of union served rather to distract and discourage than to assist the student and stimulate him to perseverance.

The two temporal forms were usually—as, indeed, they are still—called the past and the future. But grammarians assigned to each a much wider range of signification than these names respectively import. Both past and future tenses are set down as denoting also present time; and even the past has not unfrequently a future reference, and the future, a past. And now, after all the improvements which the study of universal grammar and a more careful attention to the principles of language have introduced, it must be confessed that much still remains to be done. The use of the Hebrew tenses, as described and explained in the latest and best grammars of the language, is so vague and indeterminate, that to the reflecting student some regulating principle appears still to be undiscovered,—some law which may give unity and harmony to the system, connecting and reconciling what now seems independent and anomalous.

Of course we cannot expect that time should be very accurately

marked in a language which has but two forms to denote it. But it is important that the original signification of these forms should, if possible, be fixed, and the extent of their use defined. The remarks which follow are the result of much thought and some research.

II.—Of the *פָּקַד* form.

The connection between this form and the participle is generally acknowledged. That the participle 'has most frequently the signification of the present' is also acknowledged. Why, then, not come to the conclusion that the *פָּקַד* form also denotes present time?

Indeed, it is admitted that present time is *sometimes* denoted by this form: but that this is its proper and primary signification has not, so far as I am aware, been maintained by any grammarian. Ewald (§ 262) limits its use as a present to the description of 'actions which the speaker contemplates as finished, already accomplished, but extending in that state into the present, where modern languages would use the simple present,' and to the case of 'universal truths, which are clear from experience, and have decidedly proved themselves so.' In the same manner Gesenius, Nordheimer, and others, explain away this use of the *פָּקַד* form; and, in doing so, they exert no great ingenuity, as in the course of Providence every present action or state of being is in some measure dependent on past actions or states.

But let us notice for a moment the examples Ewald gives, and which occur in almost every page of Scripture: יָדַעְתִּי I know, זָכַרְתִּי I remember, שָׂנֵא he hates. Now, it is true that knowledge is founded on experience, and memory necessarily implies something past which is remembered, and hatred points to some injury sustained, or some ugly feature of character exhibited. Yet it is no less true that in all this we have no proper ground for concluding that יָדַעְתִּי or זָכַרְתִּי or שָׂנֵא denotes that which 'the speaker contemplates as finished or already accomplished.' On the contrary, what can be more evident than that these terms denote present time, describing something which occupies the mind at the time of speaking? No doubt there is a past reference; but *that* is only implied; the state described is present.

An example, different from any to which Ewald or Gesenius has referred, will set this in a clear light. In one of the visions described by Zechariah, four chariots with horses of different colours are seen coming out from between two mountains of brass. The Prophet asks, What are these? He is told they are

* See Rödiger's *Gesenius' Gram.*, § 131.

the four spirits of heaven going forth (הָיָאֵלִים) from standing before God (vi. 6, &c.); 'the black horses which are therein go forth (יָצְאוּ) into the north country; and the white go forth (יָצְאוּ) after them; and the grisled go forth (יָצְאוּ) toward the south country; and the bay went forth (יָצְאוּ), and sought (וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ) to go that they might walk,' &c. Let me dwell on this passage for a little, as we may derive from it some important conclusions. I must premise that this part of Zechariah's prophecies is evidently written in simple prose. 1. We find here the participle (יָצְאוּ) and the קָם form (יָצְאוּ) used to denote exactly the same time which confirms what was noticed above as to the connection of these parts of the verb. 2. We have the קָם form used to denote present time^b—to describe what was actually taking place, and that too without any very obvious dependence upon the past. Here, it is obvious, the tense does not denote either 'a condition or attribute already long continued and still existing,' or 'a permanent or habitual action,' but simply describes what was at the moment going on before the Prophet's eye.^c Here, then, the tense decidedly and necessarily denotes present time; and that this was a *common* use of it we may gather from the fact of its being so used in this passage, in which the Prophet, rather than employ an uncommon phraseology, would undoubtedly have continued to use the participle with which he had begun, and the signification of which could not have been mistaken. 3. We have here an example and illustration of the historic style, to which reference will be made more particularly afterwards, יָצְאוּ וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ—translated in our Version, 'they *went* forth and sought.' But why, it is natural to ask, should יָצְאוּ be rendered 'they *go* forth' in one verse, and 'they *went* forth' in the very next? There is no intimation of a change of time. The letters, both consonants and vowels, are exactly the same in both verses. The conclusion, therefore, is a probable one, that the time is in both cases the same, *i. e.* present. And if the קָם form denotes present time in such a phrase as יָצְאוּ וַיִּבְקְשׁוּ, which represents the common use of the tenses in historical narrative, then the real character of this form is at once fixed. It must be a *present* tense.

Another class of passages in which this form is obviously employed to denote present time consists of those in which it is commonly said to be used as a future—'in protestations and assurances in which the mind of the speaker views the action as

^b See also, for passages in which this form denotes present time very obviously, *Exod.* vii. 1; *Num.* xiv. 20; *Deut.* iv. 26; viii. 19; ix. 16; xiv. 11; *Judg.* i. 2; *1 Sam.* viii. 5; xv. 2; xvi. 2; xvii. 10, 28, 34, 55; xxiv. 11, 15, 24; xxviii. 9.

^c Rödiger's *Gesenius*, § 124. 3

already accomplished, being as good as done.^d Thus it is employed in every page of the prophetic Scriptures. Gen. vi. 13, הֲנִי מְשַׁחֲתֵם, Lo, I destroying them; I will destroy them. Here the participle is used, and rightly translated by the LXX, ἐγὼ καταφθείρω αὐτούς. So the פָּקַד form is used. Thus Gen. ix. 9, וְהָקַמְתִּי אֶת בְּרִיתִי, ἐγὼ ἀνίστημι, I establishing my covenant, has evidently the same meaning as v. 11, וְהָקַמְתִּי אֶת בְּרִיתִי, καὶ στήσω (according to the Seventy). Both participle and פָּקַד form in this and similar passages evidently denote the same time, *i. e.* present.

There is, however, another very large class of passages to which the preceding remarks have little application—that in which the פָּקַד form is usually or rather universally supposed to denote past time. Can these be explained in consistency with our theory? This apparent difficulty leads us to unfold a General Principle, which seems to have had an extensive influence on the structure of the Hebrew language.

The principle is this:—The Hebrews were accustomed to regard and describe past events as present, because they transported themselves, as it were, to the period when the events of which they speak took place, and thus viewed and described as if they were spectators of them. This is a principle which is adopted to some extent by all Hebrew grammarians; but is not, I think, carried out far enough by any of them.

It is evidently a natural principle: quite in accordance with the habits of thought and expression prevalent in a simple state of society.^e To throw one's self back on former days—forgetting one's own position—and pourtray, as if from actual observation, what had taken place long before, is a characteristic which we might have anticipated from the period and the state of society in which the Hebrew language grew up to maturity.

In primitive times, too, the memory of historical events seems to have been preserved by means of paintings. These probably preceded written annals. The American tribes, it is well known, had attained some skill in painting, and employed it as a means of transmitting the knowledge of past events, while writing was altogether unknown among them. The same must have been the case in the East; many specimens of Eastern historical painting

^d Rödiger's *Gesenius*, § 124. 4.

^e Nordheimer's notion as to the Hebrews regarding the present as a *point* of time from which the past and the future extended in opposite directions appears to be utterly untenable. The present is far too important in the estimation of all men, whether Jews or Gentiles, to be reduced to a mere point. This 'abstract idea of the nature of time' could never have regulated the formation of simple primitive languages. More probable far is it that the present would, in such circumstances, be greatly extended than that it should thus be indefinitely contracted.

still

still remain. It is, therefore, probable that the first historical narrative was simply a description of a series of historical paintings; these were, perhaps, under the writer's eye, and the events delineated on them would thus be very naturally described by him as if he were himself present a spectator of them all.

Whatever weight may be attached to the preceding observation, it is certain that, in a simple state of society, the imagination exerts a much more extensive influence than when society is more advanced and better compacted. Hence historical poetry usually precedes historical prose. Homer comes before Herodotus. And though we should admit—which we by no means do admit—that the earliest records the Bible contains are written in prose, yet it is a prose which preserves many of the characteristics of poetry.

Let us notice some of these :—

1. We find, in the first place, that various expedients are employed by the Hebrew writers to bring the objects described and the events recorded as directly and immediately as possible before the mind. The parties, whose actions are recorded, are brought upon the stage in person, and made to speak for themselves. We see them; we hear them; we, as it were, join their society, and enter into their feelings, and purposes, and actings.

2. This delusion, if I may call it so, is strengthened by the frequent use of the particle הנה, which points to something present, or imagined present, and thus brings the person or event it introduces immediately before the mind :^f thus 1 Sam. xxx. 3, And David and his men come to the city, and lo! burnt with fire והנה שרפה באש; ver. 16, And he goes down, and lo! spread over all the land והנה נקשים. See also Zechariah ii. 1, And I look, and lo! four horns; ver. 5, I look, and lo! a man having a measuring line; ver. 7, And lo! the angel cometh forth (אני); ver. 14, Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion; lo! I come הנה אני. This particle is employed to direct attention to past and future events, as well as present; but in every case it tends to bring the object spoken of into our presence. Thus, in the examples given, the historian, as it were, points to the city burnt with fire, the men lying in security, &c.; we no longer hear, we see; the past is changed into the present.

3. The use of the demonstrative pronoun הן this (as distinguished from ההן that) is not less frequent; and this usage has the same effect of bringing the object pointed at before the eye.

^f See also Exod. iii. 22; xiv. 10; Num. iii. 12; xiii. 10; Deut. iii. 11; Judg. i. 2; iii. 24, 25; 1 Sam. v. 3; ix. 14; x. 10; xvi. 11; xvii. 23; xxiv. 2; xxvii. 8; 2 Sam. i. 2, 6, &c. Instead of הנה, we sometimes find הנה, as in Deut. i. 8, 21; ii. 24, 31; iv. 5, &c.

‘הָ אוֹתוֹס, *hic*, always points to an object present or near; but אֹתוֹ *autos*, *is*, an object already mentioned or known. This distinction is clearly seen in Judg. vii. 4.* See 2 Sam. ii. 13, They sat down, the one (אֶלֶּה) on the one side (צִדָּה) of the pool, and the other (אֶלֶּה) on the other side (צִדָּה); ver. 20, And Abner said אֲנִי עֲשָׂה אֶת הָאִשָּׁה, ‘Art thou Asahel?’ *lit.* ‘thou this one,’ or ‘thou here;’ in which expression the real force of the pronoun is apparent. Several instances of such a construction might have been anticipated, and are met with in all languages, but in Hebrew this is the general usage; and its effect is to bring us into immediate contact with the object spoken of, and thus excite a deeper interest in our minds.

4. Similar is the result attained by the use of the participle, which, accordingly, we find conjoined with הֹנֶה and הָ. Grammarians are accustomed to say that the participle is used for all the tenses; though they generally acknowledge with Gesenius that it *most frequently* denotes present time. But, upon consideration, it appears erroneous to affirm that it denotes any other time than present. It is only used for the future when that future is conceived of as present; and in all such cases the force of the passage depends on its being accounted a present and not a future. Nor are the examples of its use to denote past time at all more satisfactory. Gesenius refers to Job i. 16, עוֹד הוּא מְדַבֵּר וְהָ אֵחָד בָּא, ‘the one [was] still speaking, and another came,’ as he translates it; but a little reflection must convince us that a present action is described. ‘Yet this one speaking, and this other comes.’ The speaking of the one and the coming of the other are described as simultaneous, and the הוּא, here as elsewhere, has the effect of bringing the whole party before us, and making us eye-witnesses of the scene. Another example he adduces is Gen. xlii. 35, ‘It came to pass as they emptied their sacks (הֵם מְרִיקִים), that behold every man’s bundle of money was in his sack.’ Here again the use of the present is preferable, especially as הֹנֶה is employed. ‘And it is, they opening their sacks, that lo! each man [has] the bundle of money, &c.’ His third reference is to Exodus ii. 6: thus rendered in our Version, ‘And when she had opened it, she saw the child, and lo! the babe wept’ בָּכָה. But how much more simple and expressive the rendering, ‘Then she opens and looks on the child, and lo! the babe is weeping.’

The consideration of these various usages prepares the way for the enunciation of the General Principle—that the Hebrew

* Rödiger’s *Gesenius*, § 120.

writers,

writers, instead of keeping constantly in view the period *at* which they wrote, and employing a variety of tenses to describe the different shades of past, present, and future time, accomplished the same object by keeping their own times quite out of view, and regarding as *their present* the period not *at* which but *of* which they wrote. Thus, to take as an example the very first words of the Bible: 'In the beginning God ברא the heavens and the earth'—this may either be rendered God 'created' or God 'creates'. Adopting the former, we suppose the historian to speak from his own position, looking back on an event long past. Adopting the latter, we suppose him to speak as one present, as spectator, to forget himself and his time, and bring the event prominently before his reader's eye by describing it as present to his own. Either of these renderings may be adopted without in the least affecting the sense of the passage; the latter we deem preferable, because it seems most in accordance with the general structure of the Hebrew language.

The adoption of this principle gives very great simplicity to this part of Hebrew grammar. Turning to the Grammar of Gesenius, we find no less than five different significations assigned to this form. According to that grammarian, and indeed almost every other, it stands 1. 'in itself and properly for absolutely and fully past time;' 2. for the pluperfect; 3. for the present; 4. for the future; 5. for those relative tenses in which the past is the principal idea—the imperfect subjunctive, the pluperfect subjunctive and the future-perfect; not to mention the various changes effected by the converse י. All this appears very unnatural and inconsistent with the simplicity of a primitive language. There must be some principle of adjustment and harmony yet to be discovered and applied;—some idea which may form a bond of union between significations so various and apparently so opposite and incompatible. Apply the principle which has been just laid down. View the speaker or writer, not as fixed at one standing-point; but as moving along with the narrative, changing his standing-point with the course of events. Then we discover a reason why the uses of the Hebrew temporal forms should be to our eyes so numerous and seemingly discordant. We have been applying to this ancient and primitive language the rules of those with which we are more familiar; and have thus become involved in great confusion. The simple and natural principle which has been explained, brings order out of confusion. To the tense but one signification is assigned; and at the same time the variety of significations usually attributed to it is easily explained.

Indeed, it is now generally allowed, that it is improper to call this a past tense. Ewald and other grammarians prefer the name

name Perfect, 'although not in the strict sense of the Latin grammar.' 'The conception of the time of action,' says Ewald [§ 261], 'is twofold. It is either considered as already *finished, done*, and therefore as *definite* and certain, or as *not yet finished and done*, as being done merely. The first is the positive and objective, the other the negative and subjective side and view of the relation of the action to the circumstances of time. Hence these two forms of time are not confined to external spheres of time, to abstract past or future as contradistinguished from the present; but in whatever sphere of time the speaker can conceive the event, he can consider it in that sphere either as finished or unfinished, so that these forms do not acquire their more definite signification by themselves alone but in particulars, essentially by the connection of the whole sentence also.' Several of these observations are, I think, well founded. But instead of the terms *finished* and *not finished*. I prefer the old fashioned *present* and *future*, for these reasons:—

1. The former seem to have reference almost exclusively to one class of verbs—active verbs. It is of these that Ewald speaks; for to these only the terms he employs seem properly to apply. In other verbs, describing a state of being or existence, nothing is more common than the use of the קָרַב form to denote a present state,—a state, which may indeed be continued from the past, but which may also be continued into the future. In such cases this form cannot strictly be said to denote what is finished in opposition to what is not yet finished. Thus when the Psalmist says אֲנִי זָקֵן , now I am old, it is plain the tense does not denote what is finished and done, for his old age was not then over, but simply a state or condition actually existing. And such expressions are of very frequent occurrence.

2. Even in active verbs this form does not always denote a finished or completed action as distinguished from action not yet finished. This Ewald himself allows when he says that it sometimes denotes 'an action which the speaker contemplates as finished, already accomplished, but extending in that state into the present,' that is, in plain language, finished but not yet finished. In such cases the idea expressed is not that of *completion* but of *actual existence*.

Here then we have two ideas, the idea of something done, and the idea of something existing, denoted by this form. Both of these appear to be comprehended in the general idea of the Hebrew present. *In that language an action done and a present action seem to be one and the same thing. The very mention of an action as performed implies that the action spoken of is regarded by the speaker as actually present. The period of performance is for the moment his standing-point; he dwells amid the scenes, and takes*

takes part in the actions, which he describes. Thus the distant past is regarded and described as the present.

But, it may be said, if the writer be thus supposed to follow the course of events, and describe past and future actions as present, without any regard to his own actual position, does not this banish from the form the idea of *time* altogether, and restrict its use to the mere affirmation of action or existence? This inference would not be incorrect, were there no other form by which time is denoted, and with which the form just considered is most intimately connected.

This leads to some observations on

III.—The *יפקד* form.

With regard to the formation of this tense, its probable connection with the imperative and infinitive has been already noticed. In both of these moods the idea of futurity is implied. The command given by the imperative has reference, of course, to an action afterwards to be performed; and the infinitive is a more abstract and indefinite form of the imperative. If this be so, we can have no difficulty in assigning to the *יפקד* form a future signification, though its use differs, in many respects, from that of our future tense.

In the grammars we are, as usual, overwhelmed with a great variety of significations; but, by applying the principle already explained, we shall be enabled to render the investigation and its results more simple. My object is to show that this form *uniformly* involves the idea of futurity.

That it denotes absolutely future time is, I believe, almost universally acknowledged. Examples are to be found in almost every page of Scripture.^h One may be sufficient, 1 Sam. xxii. 3. Let my father and mother be with you till I know what God will do for me *עַד אֲשֶׁר אֶדְעֶה מַה יַּעֲשֶׂה לִּי אֱלֹהִים* [lit. till I to know what he to do to me, God].

In the same chapter there is an example somewhat different, on which I mean to found some remarks. 1 Sam. xxii. 22. And David said unto Abiathar, I knew it that day (*יָדַעְתִּי בַיּוֹם הַהוּא*) when Doeg the Edomite [was] there that he would surely tell (*בְּיָדְהוּ*) Saul. Now, at the time when these words were spoken, Doeg had actually told Saul of the matter to which reference is made. But it is plain that the action denoted by the

^h See also Exod. vi. 1; vii. 2; ix. 29; xi. 1; xii. 44; Num. ii. 2; vi. 3; Judg. i. 2; ii. 2; 1 Sam. i. 11; ii. 30, 34; 1 Sam. viii. 9, 11, 19; x. 3; xvii. 26, 27, 37; xviii. 17, 18; xx. 10; xxii. 3, 22, 23; xxiii. 2, 12, 13; xxvi. 6; 2 Sam. i. 10; ii. 1, 6, 22, 26; Zach. ii. 8, 9; iii. 7, 10; Lament. ii. 13, &c.

verb *יָדַע*, though absolutely past, is here viewed as future in reference to the time denoted by the verb *יָדַעְתִּי*. In other words, David throws himself back to the period when he saw Doeg the Edomite, and when the thought occurred that the information of Doeg would occasion the slaughter of the priests. That period he regards as present; and in relation to that period, therefore, the act of Doeg is viewed as future. By this simple device the Hebrews avoided the complexity of our verbal formation. But it is to be noticed that, on the principle thus laid down, *יָדַעְתִּי* must denote present time, indicating the period in reference to which the *telling* of Doeg is future. The literal translation, therefore, is as follows, 'I *know* in that day, when there Doeg the Edomite, that he *will* surely tell Saul.' This is scarcely good English; but it matters not, if it furnishes an exact expression of the mode of thinking adopted by the Hebrews. That the act of the mind of which David speaks was past at the time when he spoke is certain; but the fact that it was past *in that point of view* is indicated not by the verb *יָדַעְתִּי* but by the phrase 'in that day,' with which it is conjoined. See also 2 Sam. i. 10, I slew him because I was sure he could not live *יָדַעְתִּי כִּי לֹא יִחְיֶה* [lit. because I know that he will not live.] Such modes of expression appear very strongly to confirm the views we are suggesting.¹

For, in these cases, this form is employed to denote actions which are absolutely past, but which are regarded and described by the speaker as future. Why? Because he takes as his standing-point and describes as present not the time *at* which, but the time *of* which he speaks—in relation to which period the events to which reference is made are future.

On the same principle we easily perceive how this tense is employed to denote the *consequence* of an action or state, even though that consequence, as well as the action or state from which it flows, be, according to our mode of thinking, strictly past.² Thus, 1 Sam. iii. 2, Eli's eyes began to wax dim, so that he could not see, *לֹא יָכַל*

¹ See Ewald's *Grammar*, § 602. He adduces as examples Exod. ii. 4, and Job xxxvi. 10; and his remark is: 'A proposition containing an indirect thought is annexed in the same simple manner (as if direct), for the language possesses *no particular form or mode* to express it: the tense remains as it would be if the thought were simple and direct.' How much more probable the explanation here given. Ewald almost touches on what I think the true view when he remarks on Exod. ii. 4, 'She stood to know what would be done' (*וַתֵּקֶם וַתֵּדָע*), that '*at the time when she wanted to know it, it was still future.*' Surely, then, that time must have been regarded by the historian as present.

² See Ps. cxv. 5. A mouth to them, but they do not speak (*וְלֹא יִדְבְּרוּ*); eyes to them, but they see not (*וְלֹא יֵרְאוּ*), &c : speaking, seeing, &c., being the proper effects of having mouth, eyes, &c. See Ps. cxvi. 3, 10; Deut. iv. 28; Lament. 3, 7, &c.

לְרֹאֹת. Here יִיכַל is future, being viewed in relation to the dimness of vision mentioned immediately before. See 1 Sam. xix. 17.

For the same reason this form is usually employed to denote *continuance* of action or existence. The Hebrews, following out the principle already mentioned, were accustomed to view such continuance of action from its commencement; from which point it must be regarded and described as future. Gen. xxiv. 31, לָמָּה תִּעַמְד בְּהוֹי, wherefore dost thou *continue* to stand without? Judg. ii. 1, אָנֹכִי אֲתָרֶם מִמִּצְרַיִם, I *continued* to ascend with you from Egypt; the whole journey being viewed, as it were, from the point of starting. 1 Sam. xxv. 28, Evil hath not been found in thee all thy days. וְרָעָה לֹא תִמְצָא בְּךָ מִיָּמַי. Here the future tense is employed, because Abigail begins her survey with the commencement of David's life (as is indeed not obscurely indicated by the use of the preposition כִּי in מִיָּמַי), and thus views his whole career as future.^m

On the very same principle we explain the use of this tense to denote habitual actions or states, common opinions, &c.;—these actions, &c., being viewed from their commencement, and thus described as future. Haggai i. 11, whatsoever the ground bringeth forth, תּוֹצִיא, *i. e.*, usually brings forth. Judg. xxi. 25, Every man did, נִעָּשָׂה, what was right in his own eyes, *i. e.*, was *accustomed* to do. 1 Sam. xvi. 7, The Lord seeth not as man seeth, וְיָרָא; for man looketh, וְיָרָא, on the outward appearance, but God looketh on the heart, וְיָרָא, *i. e.*, is accustomed to look. 1 Sam. xviii. 5, David went out whithersoever Saul sent him, וַיִּשְׁלֶחֶנּוּ, [and] behaved himself wisely, וַיִּשְׁכִּיל, [wherever Saul *will* send him, he *will* behave himself wisely], the series of actions being viewed as future, because viewed, according to our principle, from its commencement.ⁿ

Now, in all these usages, there is involved this one principle—that, in viewing a continued series of past events, the Hebrews, instead of looking back *towards* the commencement of the series, take their station in thought *at* the commencement, and, looking forward from thence, view its gradual development. Admit this principle,—and we have an easy solution of difficulties in which we must otherwise be involved.

We now proceed to examine briefly the various significations

^m See also Exod. iv. 11; v. 15; Num. xiv. 11; Judg. i. 21, 27; 1 Sam. v. 5; xi. 5; xxiii. 13; xxiv. 10, 14; xxix. 5; 2 Sam. iii. 8; Lament. ii. 1, 10, 12; iii. 3, &c.

ⁿ See also Gen. xxix. 26; Exod. xiii. 22; xviii. 15, 16; xl. 32; Num. ii. 17; iii. 31; iv. 9, 14; ix. 14, &c.; xi. 5; Deut. i. 31; ii. 11, 20; iii. 9, 13; iv. 17; viii. 3, 5; 1 Sam. i. 7, 8; ii. 14, 19, 22; ix. 6, 9; xix. 24; xx. 2; xxiii. 22, 23; xxiv. 20; xxvi. 20; Lament. ii. 15.

assigned

assigned to this form by Gesenius, applying to them the preceding remarks.

After mentioning the use of this tense to denote strictly future time, which I hold to be its only use, he goes on to notice that it is employed (2) to denote present time, especially 'in the expression of permanent states which exist now and always will exist; hence also in the expression of general truths.' But it is very obvious that the tense may denote and describe permanent states and general truths without necessarily marking present time.* These states and truths have no necessary connection with the present, though, in expressing them, we generally use the present tense. That is the mode of expression which *we* adopt, but it does not follow that the Hebrews adopted the same. A permanent state may be spoken of as future not less strictly and properly than as present; and this the Hebrews seem usually to have done, because they looked rather to the beginning of the state, and to its continuance from that time forward, than to the fact of its being a present state. On the examples, therefore, adduced by him under this head, it is unnecessary to enlarge; one general remark will suffice.

These general truths and permanent states are expressed sometimes by the קָרַן , and sometimes by the יָקַר form. Perhaps it is impossible to describe exactly in what cases the one of these forms is used, and in what cases the other. The following rule, however, will be found extensively applicable. When the state denoted by the verb is described, either formally or by implication, as the *cause* of some other state, the קָרַן form is employed; when as the *consequence*, the יָקַר is employed. Two examples given by Gesenius himself will illustrate this rule. Psalm i. 1, Blessed is the man who walketh (הִלְךְ) not in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stands (עָמַד), &c. Here the קָרַן form is used because the not walking in the counsel of the ungodly, &c., is described as the *cause* of blessedness, whereas in Prov. xv. 20, A wise son maketh glad (גִּלָּה) his father, the making glad is the *effect* resulting from the wisdom of the son. This rule, which, so far as I have been able to examine, is very extensive in its application, flows at once, it will be perceived, from the principles already laid down. The present tense properly denotes the *accompanying cause*; the future, the *resulting effect*.

* See Luke i. 37: $\text{ὅτι ἄδυνατόν ἐστι παρὰ τῷ θεῷ πάν ἅπαντα}$: 'Nothing shall be impossible with God.' This we more naturally express. 'Nothing is impossible.' But it would surely be very erroneous to affirm that the future tense here denotes present time. The reason why the future is used plainly is, that there is implied a future reference to the miraculous birth of Christ which the angel announced as soon to happen.

Gesenius

Gesenius properly remarks that it is not necessarily without difference of meaning that the sacred writers employ such phrases as *אֵין קֵץ בָּאָה* and *קֵץ בָּאָה*. The former is usually employed: and for this reason, that, according to their accustomed mode of thinking, the Hebrews viewed the journey from its *commencement*, and framed their questions accordingly. The 'coming' is viewed and expressed as future, in relation to the place of departure; and not past, in relation to the time of arrival. When the latter form is employed there is usually some good reason. In Gesenius's example, Gen. xvi. 8, the reason is very obvious, *בָּאָה* being contrasted with *הָלַךְ*. So much for this use of the *יָפַק* form.

Further, according to Gesenius, 'it denotes a series of relations which in Latin are expressed by the subjunctive, especially by the present-subjunctive;' more particularly (1) for the subjunctive after particles signifying *that, that not, &c.*; (2) for the optative; (3) for the imperative; (4) for the potential. In all these, however, the idea of futurity is necessarily implied. The Hebrews easily dispense with those distinctions of mood essential to other languages, by adopting the simple device of transferring themselves and their hearers to the period of which they speak and the scene which they describe.

Fourthly, Gesenius sets down this form as denoting past time. It is chiefly used thus in the following cases, which we must examine and explain; otherwise our theory falls to the ground.

1. After the particles *אֵין* then, *בְּקֵץ* not yet, *בְּקֵץ* (when not yet) before. Applying to these cases the general principle already explained, we discover an easy solution of the apparent difficulty. Suppose the historian not to speak of events in relation to his own times, but to go along with his narrative, we at once perceive why he employs such phrases as *אֵין יָשַׁר מִלֶּחֶם* and *אֵין יָרַב יְהוֹשֻׁעַ*; the singing of Moses and speaking of Joshua being future in relation to the events recorded immediately before, and which, for the time, the historian views as present. So with *בְּקֵץ* and *בְּקֵץ*. The idea of futurity is necessarily implied in the verb which follows such particles. In such cases, indeed, we employ the past tense. We say, 'before he came, went, &c.' But the reason is that we view time quite differently from the Hebrews. We speak of events in relation to our own times. But the Hebrews did not so. Or, at least, suppose they did not so—suppose their notions of relative time were such as have been already set forth—then we have at once the reason why in such expressions they use the future tense. The action denoted by the verb, following such a particle as *בְּקֵץ*, must necessarily be future in relation to some other action or state with which it is connected, and from which it is viewed and described.

scribed. Gen. xxiv. 45, **וְכִּי אָנֹכִי לֹדֶבֶר**, before I had done speaking in my heart, behold, Rebekah came forth; lit. I, before I to finish to speak in my heart, lo! Rebekah coming, &c.; **אָנֹכִי** being future in relation to the coming forth of Rebekah.

2. Of customary and continued action. How the idea of future time is implied in these has been already explained.

3. Also of single acts that are done and past where the preterite might be expected.^p The examples are all taken from the poetical scriptures. Job iii. 3, Perish the day in which I was born, **וְאֶגְדָּר בּוֹ**; lit. I to be born in it; Job going back in thought to a period preceding this birth. So Job iii. 11, Why not from the womb I to die, **אָמַת**. Even in these cases, therefore, we find the operation of the same principle.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the fifth variety of signification which Gesenius ascribes to this form—that of an imperfect subjunctive—especially in conditional sentences. In all the examples future time is apparent.

Neither is it necessary to enter on the questions suggested by the lengthened and shortened forms of this tense. These do not at all affect the present inquiry.

IV.—**וַיִּפְקֵר** and **וַיִּפְקֵר**.

Having considered the tenses separately, we now come to view them in combination. This will lead to a discussion as to the real character of the **וַיִּפְקֵר**, which has occasioned so much perplexity to grammarians. If our theory furnishes a satisfactory explanation of the difficulties connected with this part of the subject, this will go far to establish its truth.

1. **וַיִּפְקֵר**.

The explanation of this form may be introduced by the notice of some other usages of a similar kind. The **וַיִּפְקֵר** form is employed after—

1. **אָן**. Numb. xxi. 17, **אָן יִשְׂרָאֵל**, then Israel sang. Deut. iv. 41, **אָן יִבְרָאֵל מֹשֶׁה**, then divided Moses. In these examples, as in others already adduced, the use of the future seems to intimate progression in the narrative. The events recorded in these passages are described as future in relation to those recorded immediately before. This particle is not always connected with the future tense. It is used also with the **פָּקֵר** form, especially by the later writers. In such cases the idea of futurity is not prominent, as usually in the former.

^p This third class is not found in the earlier editions of Gesenius' *Grammar*, and it had better have been omitted in the later.

2. **קָרַם**. Gen. xix. 4. **קָרַם יִשְׁכְּבוּ**, before they lay down; lit. they to lie down. 1 Sam. iii. 3. **קָרַם יִכְבֶּה**, before the lamp went out. Exod. x. 7. **הֲקָרַם תָּדַע**, dost thou not yet know, or rather, is it not yet thou to know. Exod. xii. 34. **קָרַם יִחְמץ**, before it was leavened. In such usages we perceive the operation of the same principle.

3. **מֵאֵין**, **מֵשָׁם**. Gen. ii. 10. **מֵשָׁם יֵרֵד** from thence it is divided—the writer standing, as it were, at the point where the separation commences and following the course of the river. Judg. xvii. 9. **מֵאֵין תָּבוֹא** whence hast thou come?—the mind of the speaker being fixed on the starting point.

4. **בְּאִשֶּׁר**, **אִשֶּׁר**. Deut. i. 33. **הַדֶּרֶךְ אֲשֶׁר תֵּלְכֶנָּה** the way in which ye went, **תֵּלְכֶנָּה** being future in relation to the beginning of the journey. Exod. i. 12, **בְּאִשֶּׁר יַעֲזֹבוּ אוֹתוֹ בְּן יִרְבָּה** the more they afflicted them the more they grew. The eye of the writer is fixed on the beginning of their troubles and describes them onward from that point in their increasing severity.

5. **לָמָּה**. 1 Sam. ii. 23. **לָמָּה תַעֲשֶׂוּן** Why do ye (Eli addressing his sons) or why continue ye to do—the use of the particle **לָמָּה** leading the speaker back to the cause, and therefore to the beginning of their wickedness. So also ver. 29; 1 Sam. xvii. 8, &c.; Gen. x. 9; 1 Sam. xix. 24; **עַלֵּיכֶן יֵאָמְרוּ** therefore it is commonly said—the *cause* being prominent before the writer's mind.

6. **וָאֵם**. Exod. xl. 37. When the cloud was taken up (**בְּהֶעָלֹתוֹ**) they went onward . . . but if the cloud were not taken up (**וְאִם-לֹא**) (**וַיַּעֲלֶה הָעָנָן**) then they journeyed not (**וְלֹא יֵסְעוּ**).

In all these passages the future tense is employed, though there is in all, according to our mode of thinking, a past reference; and although in most, if not all, we would employ the past tense. The explanation is simple upon the principles already stated.

Another step leads to the solution of the difficulties connected with the **ו** conversive. The same principle which we have been tracing in so many minute forms of construction is here seen operating in its full extent.

As the future tense is often employed without **ו** to denote a purpose or design, so it is, as might be expected, when connected with **ו**. Exod. ii. 7. Let me go and call a Hebrew woman that she may nurse (**וְהָיָה**) lit. and she to nurse. So ver. 20, call him that he may eat bread (**וְיָאָכַל**). Exod. viii. 4. Entreat Jehovah that he may take away (**וְיִסֶּר**) the frogs from me and my people that I may send (**וְיִשְׁלַח**) the people away, that they may sacrifice.

(וַיִּתְחַנֵּן) to Jehovah, lit. Entreat Jehovah . . . and he to take . . . and I to send . . . and they to sacrifice.¹

In all these passages there is a future reference even on our method of determining time; and the explanation of them is, therefore, simple. The difficulty lies in another class of passages in which the reference, according to our mode of thinking and speaking, is necessarily to past time, and yet the *יִפְקֹד* form is employed. Examples of this construction occur in every page, almost in every clause, of the Hebrew scriptures. Thus Deut. ix. 15 *וָאֵת וְאֶת וָאֵת* and I turned and went down, ver. 21 *לְקַחְתִּי וְאֶתְּרִיתִי* I took and burned.

This has always been one of the principal difficulties connected with the syntax of the Hebrew language; and yet I cannot but think that the explanation of it on the principle already suggested is extremely simple. Suppose Moses, in his address to the Israelites, throws himself back on the times of which he speaks, and describes the various incidents as if they were taking place before the eyes of the people, then we may at once perceive the reason of his employing the future form. The first example, literally rendered, will be, 'then I to turn and I to go down;' and the second 'I take and I to burn;' the future tense being employed to denote the succession of events—the futurity of the one to the other. This difficult construction, therefore, so far from being at variance with the principles of the language, is, on the contrary, a legitimate application and carrying out of them, though, when measured by the standard of other languages, it appears somewhat anomalous.

וַיִּפְקֹד most frequently follows the *מִקֵּד* form, but not uniformly. It is also found following the participle, and sometimes the verb preceding must be supplied.

1. *וַיִּפְקֹד* following *מִקֵּד* form. Exod. xxxi. 17, *שָׁבַת וְנִפְקַשׁ* he rested and was refreshed, lit. he rests, and [as the consequence of resting] he to be refreshed, or then he is refreshed.

2. *וַיִּפְקֹד* following participle. 1 Sam. ii. 6 *מְרִיד שְׁאוֹל וְעָלָה* he bringing down to Hades and he to bring up. This construction we might anticipate, as there is so close a connection between the *מִקֵּד* form and the participle; in both the idea of present time being prominent.

3. *וַיִּפְקֹד* following implied verb. Exod. ii. 16. And to the priest of Midian seven daughters *וַתִּשְׁלַח וַתִּמְלֵא* and they go and draw and fill. In the first clause the substantive verb must be supplied to complete the construction: thus illustrating

¹ See also Exod. iii. 10; iv. 23; vi. 11; vii. 19, 26; viii. 4; x. 3, 7; xxxv. 10 Num. x. 35; xiii. 30; Deut. ix. 14; x. 2, 11; 2 Sam. iii. 8, 21; Lament. ii. 13.

our theory still farther, since, where there is nothing to denote past or future time, the natural conclusion is that present time is meant. This I believe to be uniformly the case when the verb is omitted, as here.

When a sentence begins with the פָּקַד form, the participle, or the implied verb, that first verb may be followed by any number of others in the form וַיַּפְקֵד each describing an action or state future in relation to that mentioned immediately before. For the same reason וַיַּפְקֵד not unfrequently follows an infinitive, the infinitive and future being closely allied. Deut. ix. 9. בָּעֲלִיתִי הָהָרָה וַיֵּשֶׁב ... in my to ascend the mount ... and I to remain. ver. 23. וַיִּשְׁלַח יְהוָה וַיִּמְקְרוּ in Jehovah to send, then ye to murmur. The rationale of this construction is obvious.

It seems, therefore, that this difficulty in Hebrew syntax is entirely removed by the application of the principle here described. On this subject the translator of Rödiger's Gesenius' Grammar has the following curious note:—'This construction may perhaps be accounted for by supposing that what was thus put in the future was conceived of as relatively future, *i. e.* as later than and subsequent to what had been expressed by the preceding preterite. This *conjecture*,' he adds, 'will obviously hold good in the first example given above, *viz.* Gen. iv. 1.' There is an air of originality about the remark that is truly amusing, considering that the conjecture, which the author so cautiously hazards, is as old as the hills. No doubt the conjecture is well founded; and my object has been to trace this particular form of construction to a general principle, extensively pervading the structure of the language.

In the explanation here given it is implied that the פָּקַד form denotes present time: by which I do not mean that the idea of the present is very prominent and emphatic, but simply that it enters into it—a present action and an action done being, according to my view of the Hebrew mode of thinking and speaking, much the same thing. This view of the subject is confirmed by turning from the וַיַּפְקֵד to the וַיִּמְקֵד form.

2. וַיִּמְקֵד.

This form seems to have occasioned less difficulty than the other. There are in all languages analogous forms of expression; that is, the present tense is not unfrequently employed to denote an emphatic future. In such expressions as 'Adopt this measure and you are safe,' the present tense is employed to denote the necessary connection between safety and the adoption of the measure spoken of. And indeed in cases where the connection is by

no means so close, we frequently omit the continued indication of future time.

So in Hebrew. When a future series of events is described, the futurity of the series is indicated by the first verb, or some term connected with it, and in those that follow the present tense is adopted—the use of the present denoting the intimate connection between the members of the series. Gen. iii. 22. And now lest he put forth his hand (וַיִּשְׁלַח) and take also of the tree of life (וְלֶקַח) and eat (וַיֹּאכַל) and (וַיְהִי) live for ever. Deut. vii. 12, 13. If ye shall hearken (וְשָׁמַעְתֶּם) to these judgments and keep (וַיִּשְׁמְרוּם) and do them (וַיַּעֲשֶׂהוּם), the Lord shall keep (וַיִּשְׁמֶר) his covenant . . . and love thee and bless thee and multiply thee וְאָהַבְךָ וּבֵרַכְךָ וַיְהַרְבֶּךָ . . . all these being regarded as necessary and contemporaneous results of hearkening to God's commandments.

Now, whether we regard the *פָּקַד* and *יִפְקֹד* forms as denoting past and future, or perfect and imperfect, or past and present, the explanation of this construction is by no means satisfactory. But, suppose them to denote present and future, the solution of the difficulty is very simple—the first verb denoting the futurity of the series, the others the close connection of its parts.

In the examples which I have given *וַיִּפְקֹד* follows the future tense. That is the usual construction. But to this general rule there are many exceptions.

1. *וַיִּפְקֹד* sometimes follows the infinitive. This we might naturally expect, as the future seems to be simply the infinitive with the pronominal prefixes. Thus, Exod. i. 16, When ye do the office of a midwife (בְּיִלְדָּתָן) . . . and see (וַיִּרְאוּ). Exod. vii. 5, When I stretch out (בְּנִמְכָּתִי) my hand and bring forth (וְהוֹצֵאתִי) the children of Israel.

2. Still more frequently *וַיִּפְקֹד* follows the imperative, which, as has been noticed, is closely connected with the infinitive and future, and always includes the idea of futurity. Exod. vii. 26. *בֹּא וְאָמַרְתָּ* go and speak. Deut. i. 16. *שָׁמַע וַיִּשְׁמָעְתֶּם* hear and judge. Judg. iv. 6 *לֵךְ וַיִּשְׁכַּחְתָּ* go and draw. Haggai i. 8. *עֲלֵי וַיְהַבְּאתֶם* go up and bring. In such cases the imperative relates to some future action, while the present tense following it describes the object of the command or the immediate consequence of the action.*

3. When the participle is employed to denote a *certain* future action or state, regarded on account of its certainty as present, it is often followed by *וַיִּפְקֹד*. Gen. xvii. 19. Sarah thy wife beget-

* See also Exod. iii. 16; xxviii. 2; Num. iii. 6, 45; xiii. 17; Deut. x. 1; Judg. iv. 20; 1 Sam. iii. 9; vi. 7, 8; xii. 24; xiv. 34; xxii. 5; xxiii. 2, 23; xxv. 5; 2 Sam. i. 9; 2 Kings v. 10.

ting

ting (יִלָּךְ) and thou shalt call (וְקָרָאתָ). Exod xvii. 6. I shall stand (הֶנְנִי עֹמֵד) at the rock . . . and thou shalt smite (וְהִכִּיתָ). Micah i. 3. יְהוָה יָצָא וְיֵרֵד וְזָדַד. Jehovah coming and he goeth down and treadeth. In such cases* the participle is employed to indicate that the event is as certain as if actually present, and וּפָקֵד denotes the immediate consequence.

4. For the same reason וּפָקֵד sometimes follows the present tense, that tense being used, like the participle, to denote something future, yet so certain as to be accounted present. Gen. xvii. 20. הִנֵּה בִרְכָתִי אֹתוֹ וְהַפְרִיתִי אֹתוֹ וְהִרְבֵּיתִי. lo! I (shall) bless him and make him fruitful and great—that being the necessary consequence of the blessing.[†]

5. For the same reason וּפָקֵד sometimes follows a sentence where the verb must be supplied. Exod. vi. 6, אֲנִי יְהוָה וְהוֹצֵאתִי, 'I Jehovah and I bring you out, the present tense expressing the certainty of their deliverance when Jehovah was on their side. Deut. vi. 5, Jehovah our God [is] one God וְאַהֲבָתָה, therefore thou (shalt) love. . . . See also Num. iv. 5, 25; xiv. 40.

In all this variety of usage the same leading principle is predominant. The present tense is employed to denote the coincidence in time, or at least the closeness of connection, of the action described with that which precedes. In describing a past series of events, the Hebrew writers descend with the course of events and indicate the progression at every step. This they do by employing the future tense. Whereas, in describing a series yet future, they look forward on it as a whole, being more careful to set forth the intimate connection of the parts than their exact succession in time the one to the other. In such cases, therefore, they usually begin with the future tense, or at least some indication of the futurity of the series—and in the remainder the present is employed.

On the same principle it is that in Hebrew the principal word is usually placed at the beginning of the sentence—sometimes absolutely, sometimes in closer connection with the rest of the sentence.[‡] The object spoken of is by this arrangement brought prominently before the mind of the speaker; and whatever is affirmed of it is affirmed as of a present object. This is but a legitimate application of the General Principle explained, and yet

* See also Exod. vii. 17; xvi. 4; xxxiv. 11; Deut. iv. 22; 1 Sam. ii. 14, 31; xi. 3; xxiv. 5; Zech. ii. 13; iii. 9; viii. 8.

† See also 1 Sam. ix. 8; xii. 2; xxiv. 11; Num. xiv. 8; Zech. iii. 3.

‡ For examples of this arrangement, on which the following observations are founded, see Exod. ix. 30; Num. i. 50; Judg. i. 16, 30, 31, 33; ii. 21; 1 Sam. i. 2, 5, 9, 10, 13; ii. 5, 11; x. 16, 19; xvi. 7; xvii. 3, 12, 14, 15; xxviii. 11, 15; Hagg. i. 10; Zech. ii. 9.

it introduces a variety in the use of the tenses which at first appears not in exact accordance with the views which have been suggested.

It is only when the ו usually called *conversive* is immediately connected with the verb that the tenses are employed in the manner explained—the future in the narration of past events, and the present in the intimation of future events. If any other word comes between the ו with which the clause commences and the verb, immediately the tense is changed; the present is employed in history, the future in prophecy.

This apparent difficulty, however, tends strongly to confirm the preceding remarks, as will appear, if we consider it somewhat more fully.

3. פָּקַד changed into וַיִּפְקַד .

This change takes place—

1. When the idea expressed by the verb is not the most prominent, that to which the mind of the speaker is chiefly directed.

1 Sam. viii. 5, $\text{אָמַר וְנָתַתְּ יְהוָה לֹא הָלַכְוּ}$ Thou art old and *thy sons* walk not in thy steps.

1 Sam. xvii. 1, 2, $\text{וַיֵּאסְפוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים}$ And the Philistines gathered together; $\text{וַיֵּאסְפוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל וְאִישׁ אִשְׂרָאֵל}$ And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered. In this second clause the eye is directed to Saul and the men of Israel as opposed to the Philistines.*

There are, of course, cases in which it is difficult to determine which term is most emphatic, and in such cases either arrangement may be adopted.

2. When לֹא or some other adverb is connected with ו .

Judg. iii. 28, $\text{וַיִּלְכְּדוּ וְלֹא נָתְנוּ אִישׁ לְעֵבֶר}$ and they took [the fords] and did not permit, &c.

Judg. iii. 29, $\text{וַיִּכּוּ וְלֹא נָקַלַּם אִישׁ}$ and they smote. . . . and a man was not saved.

Exod. v. 1, $\text{וַאֲחֵר בָּאוּ מֹשֶׁה וְאַהֲרֹן}$ and afterwards came Moses and Aaron.

Deut. ix. 16, $\text{וַאֲרָא וְהִנֵּה חָטָאתֶם}$ and I looked and lo! ye sinned.

Gen. xi. 9 $\text{וַיִּשְׁמַר הַקִּיּוֹם מִשָּׁם}$ and from thence he scattered them.†

On the principle explained these varieties of construction present no difficulty: indeed, it is only on that principle that they

* See also Exod. xxxvi. 27, 28; xxxviii. 22; Num. i. 18, 47; ii. 33; iii. 4; xiii. 28; xiv. 44; Deut. ix. 8, 10; x. 6, 10; Judg. i. 8, 25, 29; ii. 2; iii. 24, 26; iv. 10; iii. 19, 20; 1 Sam. i. 22; vi. 14; vii. 10; ix. 2; xi. 5; xiii. 5, 11; xx. 41; xxii. 10; xxiv. 8; xxviii. 3; xxx. 1; xxxi. 1; 2 Sam. i. 1, 4; ii. 8, 13, 24, 29, 36; iii. 22; Zech. iii. 3.

† See also Deut. i. 26, 43, 45; ii. 30; iii. 26; ix. 23; Num. xiv. 22; Judg. i. 27; ii. 14, 17; 1 Sam. x. 21; xi. 11; xviii. 2; xxviii. 6; 2 Sam. ii. 19, 21.

can be satisfactorily accounted for. If the Hebrew writers descend, as I have supposed, with the stream of events, and, in order to indicate the progression in time, employ usually the future tense in close connection with the copulative ו, we easily perceive how, when an object has been already brought prominently before the mind and viewed and spoken of as a present object, the future tense is necessarily superseded by the present—the design of the writer being, in such case, not so much to indicate the progression of events as to make some affirmation with regard to this particular object.—This is still more necessary when there is no succession in time, but only in thought, as in several of the examples given above.

So also with the examples given under the second head. The use of these particles tends, as it were, to bring forward the time, and thus renders the employment of the future unnecessary. הנה brings the object at once before us. שם and קים fix our place, and that at the point spoken of. אז and אז-כך involve the idea of futurity. And לא, which always precedes the verb, and takes from it its positive character, renders the indication of time, in such cases, unnecessary.

There is so great a uniformity in this usage, that we may justly fix upon a proper and satisfactory solution of it as the best test of the various theories which have been proposed.

‘From what has been said,’ remarks Professor Lee,* ‘it must have appeared that the writer, placing both himself and his reader in times contemporary with the events of which he is treating, can supply the deficiency of tenses apparent in the Hebrew paradigm—an expedient often resorted to, indeed, by the Latin and Greek historians without the necessity which presents itself here. We must not suppose, however, from this circumstance that they never recur to the original time from which they set out. This they seem to do *optionally*, just as we find it done in the Greek and Latin historians.’ And here he refers to Gen. i. 5, Exod. xvi. 24, examples similar to those given above, in which ויפקד becomes פקד----ו.

Now, with the first sentence of this paragraph we agree entirely, believing it to be precisely the principle which the Hebrew writers adopted. But, with all deference to Dr. Lee, we object, in toto, to the latter clause, and cannot but be surprised that Dr. Lee should have written it. To say that the Hebrew writers recur to their own times, just as the Greek and Latin historians do, is certainly a most extraordinary statement. Dr. Lee has given no explanation whatever of the real facts of the

* Grammar, Lect. xvii.

not the fact of their encamping]; and when the tabernacle setteth forward, the Levites shall take it down.

2. When לֹא or some other adverb is connected with י:—

1 Sam. i. 11. If thou shalt look רָאָה-תִּרְאֶה on the affliction of thine handmaid and remember me וִיזְכֹּרְתִּי, and shalt not forget לֹא תִשְׁכַּח thine handmaid.

Mal. iii. 1. וְהָיָא וְהָיָא and suddenly shall come.

Apply the principle we have unfolded to these forms of construction, the explanation is extremely simple. Usually, when the verb is connected with י its futurity is involved in the futurity of the first verb of the series; but, when a more emphatic word is placed between the verb and the connecting particle, then the object denoted by that word is, as it were, brought prominently out before the eye; and, if some future action or state is predicated of that object, the futurity of such object or state must be distinctly marked. In the same manner, when the negative particle is connected with י, the time which had been carried along is lost, and the futurity of the action or state must again be marked. Hence, in such cases the future tense must be employed.

In order to point out the regularity of this part of the syntax of the Hebrew language, I shall set down a somewhat lengthened passage, in which we have many examples of the וַיִּפְקֶד and וַיִּפְקֶד.....י forms, and from which we may be able to discover their relation the one to the other. Exod. xxix. 1, &c., Moses receives the following injunctions: 'Take one young bullock, and two rams without blemish, and unleavened bread and cakes unleavened . . . of wheaten flour shalt thou make תַּעֲשֶׂה (1) them; and put וְנָתַתָּ (2) them into one basket, and bring them וְהֵרָבָתָּ (2) . . . And Aaron and his sons thou shalt bring וְהֵרָבָתָּ (3) unto the door of the tabernacle, and wash וְרָחַצְתָּ (2) them with water.' [In this paragraph we have the various forms of expression above described. (1) Future, because relating to future time; (2) Present, because present in relation to the verb going before; (3) וְהֵרָבָתָּ.....י, because Aaron and his sons are mentioned for the first time—therefore prominent, therefore placed between the verb and connecting particle.] 'And thou shalt take וְלָקַחְתָּ [i. e. then thou takest] the garments, and put וְהִלַּבַשְׁתָּ upon Aaron the coat . . . and gird him וְאַפְסַרְתָּ with the curious girdle of the ephod, and put וְשָׂמָתָּ the mitre on his head, and put וְנָתַתָּ the holy crown on the mitre, and take וְלָקַחְתָּ the anointing oil and pour וְיִצְקָתָּ it on his head, and anoint him

* See also Exod. ix. 4; xxiii. 24; Num. iv. 15; vi. 20; viii. 15, 19; xi. 25; xiv. 35; 1 Sam. i. 11; viii. 18; xii. 14.

וְהָלַכְתֶּם. And his sons thou shalt bring תָּקִיר וְהָלַכְתֶּם, and put coats on them וְהָלַכְתֶּם. [In this paragraph the form וּפָקֵד is used nearly throughout, because the attention is directed chiefly to the successive actions enjoined. There is, however, one exception, תָּקִיר, and the obvious reason is that 'his sons' is an emphatic expression, being contrasted with Aaron mentioned immediately before.] For the same reason, the form וּפָקֵד is used on to the twelfth verse: 'And thou shalt take וְלָקַח of the blood of the bullock and put it וְנָתַתָּה on the horns of the altar with thy finger, but all the blood thou shalt pour תִּשְׁפֹךְ beside the bottom of the altar. And thou shalt take וְלָקַח all the fat . . . and burn them תִּחַרֵּם on the altar. But the flesh of the bullock and his skin and his dung shalt thou burn תִּשְׂרֹף with fire. Then one ram thou shalt take וְהָקַח,' &c. [In this paragraph וּפָקֵד is three times used: (1) 'all the blood,' or rather the rest of the blood, is placed immediately after ו, because contrasted with the blood sprinkled on the altar: (2) 'flesh, skin, dung,' put first, because distinguished from the fat mentioned just before; (3) 'one ram' put first, because distinguished from the bullock to which the preceding verses relate. These expressions, being thus prominent and emphatic, are placed each in the beginning of the clause, and the objects denoted by them we thus regard as present—before our eyes; and, therefore, the verbs connected with them must take the future tense, as they describe something yet to be done to the objects thus regarded as present.]

This construction is followed with great exactness. I do not by any means assert that it is uniformly followed—that we never meet with וּפָקֵד when we should expect וּפָקֵד, or with וּפָקֵד when we should expect וּפָקֵד. But there is sufficient uniformity to constitute the basis of a general rule, and to induce us to search for the principle on which it is founded. I know no principle at all adequate to the explanation of it but the principle which has been applied in this paper to the explanation of many other peculiarities of the Hebrew syntax. That principle furnishes an easy and satisfactory solution in this case also. Consider the writer as going along with the series of events: if it be a past series, we see at once why the historic style should be וּפָקֵד. Consider the writer, when detailing a future series, as viewing them grouped together, we see at once why the prophetic style is וּפָקֵד. The same principle accounts for the apparent anomalies in the construction of the tenses, and furnishes an explanation of other distinguishing peculiarities of the Hebrew language.

THOUGHTS

THOUGHTS ON THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF DAVID.

BY G. M. BELL.

Six miles south from Jerusalem, on the road to Hebron, is a little city called Bethlehem, more generally, Bethlehem-Judah, celebrated as the scene of the transactions recorded in the book of Ruth and the birthplace of Christ. The number of its inhabitants is said to be about 3000, and at the time to which I shall presently allude it was probably less. Situated in the heart of a fertile country, the surrounding valleys afforded rich and abundant pasture for flocks. The most honourable and general pursuit of the neighbouring people was that of shepherds. Two thousand years before the birth of Christ one of the humble shepherds in this valley was the father of eight sons, three of whom are mentioned as soldiers in the army of Saul, the King of Israel, while the eighth and youngest tended his father's sheep in the valley of Bethlehem.

The seven eldest sons of Jesse were of goodly stature, and comely to look upon, but of David the youngest we have a particular description: 'He was ruddy, and withal of a beautiful countenance, and goodly to look to' (1 Sam. xvi. 12); 'a comely person' (ver. 18); 'ruddy and of a fair countenance' (xvii. 42). Such was his appearance when he was brought from the fields, and placed before Samuel, and anointed by that prophet. Upon his first introduction to Saul, the King of Israel, whom in the course of Providence he was destined to supplant in the kingdom, that monarch was immediately prepossessed in his favour, 'and he loved him greatly.' A still deeper and more enduring feeling of attachment was afterwards entertained for him by Jonathan, the son of Saul; for 'the soul of Jonathan was knit with the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul' (1 Sam. xviii. 1).

At the period when he is thus introduced to our notice he would probably be about the age of seventeen or eighteen. He is described as 'a youth,' 'a stripling,' contemned by Goliath of Gath on account of his juvenile appearance. Previous to this time he had been occupied solely in the simple and innocent life of a shepherd, tending the flocks of his father Jesse at Bethlehem. His youth had been spent among flocks and herds in the valleys, by the watercourses, and on the sides of the surrounding hills. The city in which his father dwelt was situated on the brow of a hill commanding an extensive view of the surrounding mountainous country, rising in parterres of vineyards, almond-groves, and fig-plantations, watered by gentle rivulets, and diversified by towers and wine-presses.

presses. No pasture could be more attractive to sheep than that which abounded in the valleys and hill-sides around Bethlehem; no scenery more calculated to inspire the soul of the shepherd with the loftiest aspirations of devotion and love than the beautifully variegated landscape, the clear skies, and the balmy atmosphere of Judah.

In these eastern countries it was the practice to keep the sheep constantly in the open air, guarded by the sons and daughters of the owners, or by hired servants. It would be the duty of David, therefore, not merely to attend the sheep by day, but also frequently by night. Thus, in addition to the beauties of nature which were presented to his study during the day, there was also the, perhaps in many cases, not less attractive and solemnly impressive grandeur of the cloudless starlight night for his lonely meditation. The beauty of the starry heavens, heightened as it always is by the clear beams of the silver moon when she shines forth in silent majesty, is in those eastern regions an agreeable interchange to the sunny glades and fruitful slopes which enchant the senses during day; while the splendour of the moonlight and starlight is even much greater in those regions than what is witnessed in our northern latitude.

The life of the shepherd in an eastern land, in the country of Syria, and around Bethlehem, where the flocks of Jesse roamed under the care of David, his youngest son, was one calculated to bring constantly under his notice the beneficence, the wisdom, and the greatness of the Creator of all things. Such a life is indeed under any circumstances one in which, more than in any other, man is brought into what may be called daily and nightly communion with his God. He has leisure for reflection, he is removed from the harassing cares of the world and the active business of life, and all the objects presented to his contemplation are immediately and necessarily calculated to excite the most devotional feelings, and to kindle the most lofty and profound admiration. When the subject of these emotions is of an ardent and affectionate temperament, as was the case with David, the effects produced upon the mind are of a correspondingly deep and permanent character. They are never effaced by the altered scenes, the prosperity or the adversity of after life, but almost invariably acquire a more fixed hold of the imagination, and are called to remembrance upon every occasion of adversity, and sometimes also of joy. They are the green spots in a man's memory upon which he loves to look back as upon a beautiful and refreshing landscape.

The life of David was chequered with joys and sorrows, with prosperity and adversity; with the loss of friends, the deceit of allies, the ingratitude of those he had favoured, the implacable
resentment

resentment of his enemies, and the opposition and rebellion of his own sons. At the same time it must not be denied that his own faults were many. He was of an ardent temper, of violent passions, gratifying his unlawful desires even by the sacrifice of innocent life, frequently revengeful, often cruel. But with all this it must be confessed he was brave. To his bravery indeed is to be ascribed his great success in life. Then again he was devoted to the fear of God. This is the grand redeeming feature in his character, and stamps with an extraordinary significance all the other events recorded in his history. In the presence of his God he was as a little child. His heart overflowed with tenderness. His soul was poured forth like the pure streams of a heavenly fountain. There can be no dispute about the depth, the sincerity, the ardour of his devotion. It is the fountain from which millions of human beings have since his day drunk the most refreshing draughts. The ardour of his love to God is the altar from which thousands upon thousands have taken a live coal to kindle and keep alive their own affection. When his piety and devotion to his God are taken into account, the exceptionable parts of his character are altogether lost and forgotten.

It were idle to speak of the genius of David. The testimony of ages has placed that in the very highest order of human talent. The beauty, the sublimity, and the sweetness of his compositions are beyond praise. They need only to be read to be admired. They, however, bear the same distinctive character which gives beauty, freshness, and vigour to all human compositions. They portray scenes, impressions, hopes, desires, and experiences which he had himself witnessed and felt; and their very individuality being eminently applicable to the various conditions of mankind in all ages, has secured for them the approbation and esteem of the whole Christian world. Wherever the Bible has been received there also have the Psalms of David been welcomed; and there are districts and countries, as in Scotland, where one can hardly enter a single dwelling the inmates of which have not some of these beautiful compositions by heart, while many is the happy fireside where they furnish the song of morning and evening praise.

David no doubt received his first and strongest impressions of the beauty, variety, and grandeur of natural scenery during the period of his youth, while he 'followed the sheep.' The ideas and emotions peculiar to the profession of a shepherd are expressed in a variety of ways throughout the Psalms; all the different objects of contemplation for which such a state afforded facilities are also frequently alluded to. After he entered upon the more active duties of life his experiences related chiefly to the camp, to war,

to

to spoil, to government, and to kingly power. Accordingly we find that all these subjects enter more or less into his compositions, but the fear and the love of God as the Supreme Ruler, his Guide, Comforter, and Protector in all his troubles, are eminently displayed throughout the Psalms, and some of those which relate chiefly to the love and the praise of God are exquisitely beautiful. The thought must not, however, for one moment be admitted that David was a natural genius merely in the sense in which the phrase is usually applied. No man is more distinctly and eminently entitled to or more universally enjoys the title of the 'inspired penman.' It is expressly stated (1 Sam. xvi. 13) that after the anointing of David by Samuel at Bethlehem 'the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward.' His poetical compositions deriving much of their sweetness from his fine perception of the beautiful and of the grand in nature, and from their portraying the peculiar feelings of his own mind in relation to the varied and often perilous situations in which he was placed, yet derive their greatest excellence from the strong devotional feeling which pervades the greater part of them, written as they undoubtedly were under the influence of that very 'spirit of the Lord' which came upon him at the anointing of the Prophet. His susceptible temperament and the devotional cast of his mind must have made him at a very early age a favourite among the prophets, from whom he would receive not only much useful knowledge, but much serious counsel as to the love and worship of God.

All the best judges,—Lowth, Herder, De Wette, Ewald, Tholuck, and others,—pronounce the poetry of the Psalms to be of a lyric order, which is not only the most varied, but the most abundant order of ancient poetical composition, and eminently adapted to music. 'They are,' says De Wette, 'lyric in the proper sense; for among the Hebrews, as among the ancients generally, poetry, singing, and music were united; and the inscriptions to most of the Psalms determine their connection with music, though in a way not always intelligible to us. Also as works of taste these compositions deserve to be called lyric. The essence of lyric poetry is the immediate expression of feeling; and feeling is the sphere in which most of the Psalms move. Pain, grief, fear, hope, joy, trust, gratitude, submission to God, everything that moves and elevates the heart, is expressed in these songs. Most of them are the lively effusions of the excited susceptible heart, the fresh offspring of inspiration and elevation of thought; while only a few are spiritless imitations and compilations, or unpoetic forms of prayer, temple hymns, and collections of proverbs.'

Although the whole collection of Psalms is usually designated the

the Psalms of David, yet it is well known that they are not all the production of his pen ; that they are in fact a collection of psalms or lyrical songs by a variety of contributors, of whom David is the chief. In addition to David the following are the names of some of the other authors :—Asaph, the sons of Korah, Heman, Ethan, Solomon, Moses ; and some of the plaintive psalms have been ascribed to Jeremiah. To David have been ascribed 73 psalms in the Hebrew text, and at least 11 others in the Septuagint.

The Hebrew psalter is the most ancient collection of poems in the world, and was composed long before those in which ancient Greece and Rome have gloried. It is a general opinion among the learned that the collection as it now stands was made long after the death of David ; and that the prophet Ezra was the collector and compiler of them. All antiquity is nearly unanimous in giving Ezra the honour of collecting the different writings of Moses and of the prophets, and reducing them into that form in which they are now found in the Bible, and of course the psalms among the rest.^a

The great peculiarity of the Psalms of David, as has been already remarked, is their individuality, and their religious and devotional character, to which, no doubt, is mainly to be attributed the fact that after the lapse of so many centuries, and the rise and fall of so many modes of thought, and forms of social life, they still enjoy the unbounded favour of the Christian world.

Josephus has stated, certainly without any apparent reason from the character of the compositions themselves, that the Psalms were composed by David in the latter part of his life :—‘ And now David being freed from wars and dangers, composed songs and hymns to God of several sorts of metre ; some of those which he made were trimeters, and some were pentameters.’—(Antiq. vii. 12, 3.)

The character and style of the Psalms themselves show, it is imagined, very clearly that they were composed at various periods of life, even from his youth upwards. Some of them relate to his pastoral life, to the beauties of nature with which he was surrounded, to the quiet stillness and loveliness of the cloudless night, to the care of his God over him in such scenes, to the peculiar features of the country where he was residing, and to those devotional feelings which they called forth. Others relate to his adventures in war, his sufferings under the treachery and cruelty of his enemies, his anxiety to be revenged upon his foes, his longings to be at peace and to enjoy the public worship of God. Others refer to the anguish of his mind for the many sins of which he was guilty, to the affliction of his soul under the chastisement

^a Dr. Adam Clarke's notes on the Psalms.

of Jehovah, to the joy he experienced in the returning smiles of his reconciled God. Some are plaintive with grief, some exuberant with gratitude and delight; and all give unquestionable evidence of being written at different periods of his history, and often under widely different emotions of mind. It is true that we occasionally find in the same Psalm so many different *states of mind* and circumstances pointed out, as to impress us with the conviction that they could not be the experience of one and the same person at the same time. This difficulty appears to be solved satisfactorily by Dr. Adam Clarke, who supposes that such Psalms were composed from memoranda or a diary of his experiences some days or short period after their occurrence.

David was thoroughly imbued with all the peculiarities of a true poet, with this paramount distinction, that he was in an especial manner the man after God's own heart. He may not have 'lisp'd in numbers,' but he must have commenced to tune his lyre at a very early age. His first themes were essentially pastoral; they were in praise of Nature and of Nature's God. Pastoral poetry is usually the first employment of the imagination—the first literary amusement of the young poet. The occasions on which purely pastoral poetry can be produced are no doubt few. They are also generally circumscribed. A youth confined to the simple pleasures of the country has so little diversity of objects, is exposed to so few vicissitudes, terrors, surprises, and alarms, that he can seldom produce what will attract curiosity or excite the passions. In the words of Dr. Johnson, his ambition is without policy and his love without intrigue. He has no complaint to make of his rival but that he is richer than himself, nor any disasters to lament but a cruel mistress or a bad harvest. The poetry of David however is infinitely removed from such criticism by its exalted tone, its divine spirit, its pure abstraction from what is low, grovelling, and sensual, and its great elevation above the ordinary level even of the best pastorals. 'The Lord is my shepherd' are the very first words of one of the sweetest lyrics in any language, and the imagery and sacredness of the subsequent parts are sustained with a beauty and simplicity which have made their way to every heart. All his other pastoral pieces are written in the same divine spirit. The delineation of nature is happily blended with the idea of the superintending care and direction of the Supreme Being.

The best poets, like the best painters, are those who are the closest observers of nature; who study the simplicity and the beauty, and the majesty of the works of God; who have an eye to discern the beauty of the modest cowslip, as well as to notice the grandeur of the towering pine. The same faculty of close observation,

observation, of correct description, and of lofty piety pervades the whole of the Psalms of David, whether they refer to the anxieties and dangers with which he was surrounded, or to the joys and consolations he experienced. Whether he deprecates the punishment of his sins—‘O Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger;’—or rejoices in the prospect of their forgiveness—‘Bless the Lord, O my soul,’—whatever be the object or occasion of the psalm, the same deep perception of the beautiful in nature, the same lofty idea of the sovereignty of his Maker pervades the whole.

It has been justly remarked that in almost all countries the most ancient poets are considered the best. Whether this arises from the circumstance that every other kind of knowledge is only gradually attained, and that poetry is a gift conferred at once; or that the first poetry so far surprised by its novelty as to retain by consent that approval which it may be supposed to have received as it were by accident; or whether, as the true province of poetry is to describe nature and passion, which are in all ages more or less the same, the first writers monopolized those ideas and beauties which subsequent authors could only imitate and rarely improve;—whether any or all of these circumstances are calculated to account for the result, the fact is beyond dispute that to the ancients is generally ascribed the possession of nature, and to their followers perfection in art.^b Now as regards the book of Psalms, its pretensions to antiquity are of the very highest order, it having been composed, as already observed, long before those collections of poems in which ancient Greece and Rome have gloried. Its claims to the veneration and love of mankind are also infinitely beyond those of any other human composition. To all the aids of mere intellectual ability there is superadded the direct inspiration of the spirit of God, and there can be no condition of life, no emotion of the mind where they are not calculated to afford consolation and delight. Their language is not the language of any one city or country, but it is the language of Christian souls in all ages of the world.

David was imbued with a love of music as well as of poetry. He was himself no mean performer upon the harp, as was shown in the influence of his strains in soothing the perturbed spirit of Saul. Many of the Psalms were expressly written and adapted for both vocal and instrumental performance:—‘Sing unto the Lord with the harp; with the harp and the voice of a psalm. With trumpets and sound of cornet, make a joyful noise before the Lord the King’ (Ps. xcvi. 4, 5). ‘Praise him with the sound of a trumpet; praise him with the psaltery and harp; praise him with the timbrel and dance; praise him with stringed

^b Johnson.

instruments and organs ; praise him upon the loud cymbals, praise him upon the high-sounding cymbals' (Ps. cl.). From our own experience of the overpowering effects and the high devotional feelings produced by the singing of the psalms by a full choir, when accompanied by the organ or other instrumental music, in our churches at the present day, it is not difficult to understand how animating must have been the influence of those services at Jerusalem in which the Poet-King himself often joined ; nor to form an opinion of the still more splendid effects of the Temple service in the days of Solomon, when the Levites in their several choirs performed their music divided into classes.

It has been truly remarked by Bishop Horne that 'the Psalms are an epitome of the Bible adapted to the purposes of devotion. They treat occasionally of the creation and formation of the world ; the dispensations of Providence, and the economy of grace ; the transactions of patriarchs ; the exodus of the children of Israel ; their journey through the wilderness, and settlement in Canaan ; their law, priesthood, and ritual ; the exploits of their great men, wrought through faith ; their sins and captivities ; their repentances and restorations ; the sufferings and victories of David ; the peaceful and happy reign of Solomon ; the advent of the Messiah, with its effects and consequences ; his incarnation, birth, life, passion, death, resurrection, ascension, kingdom, priesthood ; the effusion of the Spirit ; the conversion of the nations ; the rejection of the Jews ; the establishment, increase, and perpetuity of the Christian Church ; the end of the world ; the general judgment ; the condemnation of the wicked, and the final triumph of the righteous with their Lord and King.'^c

The literary excellencies of David are, that his ideas are clearly and consecutively expressed, his images natural and boldly drawn, his language simple and effective. His compositions speak at once to the heart and the feelings. They neither tire the attention, fatigue the understanding, nor outrage the judgment. They are less imaginative than real, less worldly than heavenly, less human than divine. They are the fountain and well-spring of true poetry, whence the young disciple of the Muses may draw the best examples and the richest instruction, and where the veteran poet may learn to chasten his style, enlarge his ideas, and elevate his thoughts.

'I know nothing,' says Dr. Adam Clarke, 'like the book of Psalms. It contains all the lengths, breadths, depths, and heights of the patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations. It is the most useful book in the Bible, and is every way worthy of the wisdom of God.'

^c Preface to *Commentary on the Book of Psalms.*

DAVIDSON'S INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

An Introduction to the New Testament, containing an examination of the most important questions relating to the Authority, Interpretation, and Integrity of the Canonical Books, with reference to the latest inquiries. By SAMUEL DAVIDSON, D.D. of the University of Halle, and LL.D. Vol. ii. *The Acts of the Apostles to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians.* London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1849.

IN this volume Dr. Davidson carries on his work from the Acts of the Apostles to the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians (inclusive). The subjects considered under the heads of the several books possess a general resemblance to those discussed in the Introduction to the Four Gospels (see this Journal, No. IV., p. 342). In treating of the Gospels, and the questions which have arisen with regard to them, Dr. Davidson had to meet a vast quantity of that scepticism which has so especially assailed the historic records of our religion. In the Epistles of the New Testament the case, however, is very different. Here we find many documents, the authenticity of which is admitted even by the greater proportion of those who have relentlessly attacked the Gospels. This circumstance necessarily impresses a *somewhat* different character on the volume now before us.

We believe that many biblical students will hail the appearance of this volume as a worthy successor of that which the learned and respected author had already published. Many will gladly learn *what* the questions are which are now discussed by scholars of various countries, and of many habits of thought, with regard to those books of the New Testament which follow the Gospels. And as to objections which have been raised to books, or parts of books, the student will be able here to learn what the objections are, and how they may be met.

We deprecate a morbid appetite for the works of opponents of revelation; a mind may become unconsciously poisoned by familiar association with rationalism—but we also deprecate that self-satisfied *ignorance* which tries to exclude all knowledge of danger, and which would substitute blindness for security. As inquiries with regard to Scripture have been so widely taken up by men of learning and research, who are really opposed to Scripture and to all revelation, and as these inquiries *are* more and more made known, it is in a manner incumbent on the friends of Scripture and Revelation to know *what* those inquiries are—to meet the cavils which might injure the uninstructed, and to obtain such a fundamental knowledge of the whole subject as shall (through God's blessing) be a safeguard against the inroads of cavillers. Of one thing we may be sure, self-satisfied blindness is no safeguard for ourselves or for others in such cases.

We therefore rejoice that in the midst of pressing avocations (and also of personal sorrow),* Dr. Davidson has completed his second volume at an earlier period than he evidently contemplated, when he wrote his Preface to the first volume. Having this Introduction we have no occasion to direct any inquirer to doubtful and rationalistic sources of information, to works in which we find a strange and melancholy union of extraordinary learning and exceptionable sentiment. Dr. Davidson tells us what the arguments are by which Scripture is assailed; he instructs how such arguments are met and refuted; he introduces to those points of investigation by which a really accurate knowledge of the Scripture may be attained. Most sincerely do we trust that his labours will be amply appreciated, and that a more extensive acquaintance with the whole range of biblical inquiry may again be found in this country. We are fully aware that *learning* by itself cannot produce this; but learning is a valuable accompaniment of that sanctification of the heart and reverence for the word of God, which those only can know who have trusted in that Saviour of whom the Scripture testifies.

In considering *the Acts of the Apostles*, the book with which this volume commences, Dr. Davidson notices the following topics:— I. The authorship and sources. II. The credibility. III. The time and place of writing. IV. Genuineness and integrity. V. The writer's leading object. VI. Plan of the work. VII. Chronology. VIII. Original language. IX. Contents.

As to the authorship, he fully meets the exceptions which some have made to its having proceeded from the pen of Luke the evangelist. The external evidence is first relied on (and this is in fact enough to settle the whole question), and then, to show the groundlessness of objections, the internal evidence is minutely investigated. Dr. Davidson has excellently shown (pp. 4-6) how the same characteristics of style and diction obtain throughout the book; he then exhibits in a clear light its internal coherence. These considerations are urged in proof that the book proceeded from *one* author and not from several.

Then the author is shown in a somewhat similar manner to be the same Luke who wrote the Gospel.

We must refer to Dr. Davidson's volume itself for the statement of the objections which some learned men have raised. To most readers we think that it will seem strange that such questions and difficulties could have been raised by any; but still the fact is that they are suggested; and if any think that the consideration of them is not forced upon our attention, we can only say that they still remain happily unconscious

* To this he makes a touching allusion in his Preface:—'He had to watch by the bed of a dying son, who gave flattering promise of pre-eminence in literature. But the rich consolations with which the Pauline epistles abound, enabled him to bear up and look onward; and though he had to resume his pen with a sorrowful heart, for the purpose of completing the volume, he trusts that the practical power of Christianity was not lost sight of amid the theoretical considerations to which his mind had to be directed. He considers it a providential circumstance that he was studying the writings of an inspired apostle, fitted, above all others, to sustain the mind amid the melancholy changes of an uncertain world.'

of what goes on around them, both on the Continent and in this country.

We are well aware that many of the objections and doubts on the subject of Scripture, which are brought forward, have no other origin than *the love of singularity*; men are found who are resolved to advance original ideas; to this end they use all their learning to illustrate some strange paradox; they are often surprised that others listen and *receive* the new assertions; they (often at first merely for the sake of argument) *defend* what they have advanced, and at last become, in some cases at least, the dupes of their own hypotheses. We have seen repeated instances of this. There are also cases in which men of but little learning, and with limited powers of mind, seek to obtain notoriety in the same sphere of things in which they see some around them gaining it; and these are yet more unrestrained in their hypotheses. Would that they would take Xenophon or Plato as the field for their minds to revel in, and not God's holy word.

But as these evils *must* be met, we can but admire the patience with which Dr. Davidson states the perverse arguments, and then shows their utter futility. He discusses the opinions of those who would consider the eye-witness in the book of Acts to be Timothy rather than Luke; the arguments by which these opinions are defended are shown rather to tell the other way. The question is then considered whether (as some have *strangely* thought) *Silas* is the writer included in the first person plural. Of this theory Dr. Davidson says:—

‘It is difficult to deal with arguments, if indeed they ought to be so called, which are advanced . . . in favour of this notion. They are hard to manage, because they are shadowy or impalpable. Critical caprice is so great as to despise all sober limits.’—(p. 17.)

The advocate of the *Silas hypothesis* is shown to act in the most arbitrary manner; the author of the book being represented as using what *Silas* had written, or not using it, just as he pleased:—

‘There is no possibility of grasping such shadowy conjectures. To call them *evidence*, or even *slight presumptions*, were to dignify them with a title to which they have no pretension.’—(p. 19.)

This is really the only way in which some *seemingly* very wise theories can be treated. And yet we thank Dr. Davidson for the patient toil with which he has unravelled and met many theories *in themselves* quite as baseless.

The opinion of some who would identify Luke with *Silas* is noticed and sufficiently met. We fully accord with Dr. Davidson's concluding remark on the subject:—‘*No impartial reader of the Acts is likely to adopt so baseless an opinion*’ (p. 21).

The question whether St. Luke made use of written documents is considered by Dr. Davidson at considerable length. We cannot go at all fully into the subject, but we must say that it does not appear to us at all plain that this was the case: we think that Dr. Davidson regards this as clear to the apprehension on insufficient grounds. That he had sources of information both in writing the Acts and the Gospel we hold as most certainly true. In the Gospel he refers to ‘eye-witnesses

an

and ministers of the word ;' he certainly did not rely on *written* documents; and so we should judge he acted in writing the book before us. He was in habits of intercourse with the Christians of his own day: there was not a fact which he has recorded, which he might not have known from those who were personally present; it is certain that he must have met with far more who were eye-witnesses of the earlier events of this book than of the occurrences which he wrote in his Gospel. A use of written documents appears to us as at least *improbable*.

We cannot consider a question such as this without reference to *inspiration*: merely as an historian we think the circumstances of the case rendered it improbable; and when inspiration be considered then we think that this improbability is greatly increased. If there be traces of different sources in the Acts, we do not think that it involves at all the idea of written documents. As to the speeches, whether abridged or not, we must remember that it was of God that Luke wrote what he did, just as when he recorded the discourses of our Lord. Of course the *letters* introduced into the book of Acts were written documents which the author used and *copied*; but this is wholly a different point from the inquiry, whether written documents were used in the general composition of the book. If the arguments which are brought forward to prove this be fully carried out, it seems to us as though we could not stop short of admitting different *authors* of different parts.

We do not wish to be misunderstood. The use of written documents does not in our view exclude inspiration; for we fully admit that a writer might be inspired to use any information which he had received (whether written or oral), that God saw fit to record for the after use of men.

We do not think it needful to refer particularly to the *number*, &c., of the documents which some have supposed. Dr. Davidson, although he thinks such documents *were* used, says of this part of the subject:—

'The point belongs to the region of speculation. Yet the region, though shadowy, has been particularly explored by a recent writer. But after perusing his book, one is inclined to wonder at the amount of time and ingenuity expended on a matter of so little utility.'—(p. 37.)

The *credibility* of the book of Acts is well discussed by Dr. Davidson. Of course, to one who admits the *authority* of the book, no question can remain on the subject of credibility; but still it is well to have the difficulties met which any have thrown in the way. There are some who might first entertain doubts on the subject of the *authority* from difficulties which had been instilled into their minds on points connected with credibility.

On the subject of the genuineness and integrity, Dr. Davidson notices the condition of the text of this book: a condition so remarkable as to be worthy of particular attention. Liberties certainly were taken with the book in early times. It appears to us as if possessors of copies must have written in the margin whatever they had heard relative to the Apostles and their discourses: from this followed the natural consequences:

sequences: transcribers inserted in the text everything which the margins of copies presented to their attention. Manuscripts thus differ considerably, especially as to additions.^b Our common text may be considered as occupying an intermediate place between the more and less pure. Dr. Davidson says:—

‘No interpolations of any length or consequence are found in the text as we now have it. The most considerable are viii. 37, and ix. 5, 6, from *σκληρὸν* to *αὐτὸν* inclusive; xxiv. 6, 7, 8, from *καὶ κατὰ* to *ἐπὶ σέ* inclusive, which the best editors and critics uniformly expunge from the text. Probably the twenty-ninth verse of the twenty-eighth chapter should be added, though there is less certainty about it.’—(p. 57.)

The other topics which Dr. Davidson discusses respecting the book of Acts we must pass by without notice.

Before entering on the subject of the *Epistles*, Dr. Davidson devotes a considerable space to an account of the Apostle Paul: the writer not only of far the greater number of the Epistles, but of a far larger portion of the New Testament than any other whether Apostle or Evangelist.

Although the general facts of the life of the Apostle are unquestioned, yet there are certain points which give rise to much discussion. These are the chronology of his life, and the connection of particular events narrated in his epistles with the book of Acts, and especially whether he were more than once imprisoned at Rome.

It is well that no doctrinal or practical truth is affected by any of the opinions on these points; for so little probability is there of unity of judgment with regard to them, that had any important result been based on them, we fear that such result would also be looked on as doubtful and questionable.

How far Dr. Davidson will carry his readers in general with him as to these points, it is not for us to say: to those who are but little acquainted with the inquiry, the difficulties on the subject of the chronology will be found surprising. The fact is, that *much* depends on the feeling of each investigator with regard to *probabilities*; and as there is but one date in the book of Acts which is agreed on as *certain* (namely the death of Herod Agrippa), it is evident how much must depend on whether more or fewer years are assigned on grounds of probability to particular events, whether before or after.

The late Dr. Burton endeavoured to show that the recall of Felix was considerably *earlier* than many modern writers have been inclined to place it; in this he recurred to a very old opinion, and one which ought not, we think, to be set aside on light grounds.

Dr. Davidson's view of the subject is very much opposed to this opinion; and he connects with it another, to which we have already referred: he does not consider that there is evidence to warrant our believing that the Apostle was liberated from the Roman imprison-

^b The text of the book of Acts, with the *greatest* alterations and additions, has recently been published by Bornemann as the genuine text which proceeded from St. Luke!

ment mentioned at the end of the book of Acts, but that in the early part of the year 64 he suffered in the persecution under Nero.

We cannot enter into a full discussion of either of these questions; we cannot, in the compass of a review, enter on the whole chronological inquiry; unless, indeed, the whole article were devoted to the subject; and *here*, we think, it would be out of place, since Dr. Davidson says:—

‘We do not propose to discuss the subject fundamentally. It were foreign to our purpose to institute an inquiry absolutely new into all the minutæ which require to be scrutinized.’—(p. 108.)

We must, however, say that he has presented a connected view of the opinions of others in an exceedingly convenient table, which appears to have been drawn up with great care.

The other question—whether St. Paul were liberated from the Roman imprisonment mentioned in the Acts—will not be *fully* considered by Dr. Davidson until he speaks of the second Epistle to Timothy. We do not, however, think that the ground is really narrowed to that Epistle *only*, as showing a liberation and a second imprisonment. The book of Acts does not conclude as though the issue of the two years imprisonment had been the martyrdom of the Apostle. And the belief in a liberation is certainly older than Eusebius; for we cannot think the fragment in Muratori is to be otherwise understood than implying that the writer believed that the Apostle actually took a journey into Spain. This will show such an opinion to have had some currency before the end of the second century.

However we do not wish to express any *decided* opinion on this whole question until we have before us *all* Dr. Davidson's arguments, &c. We wish to suspend our judgment.

After other points relative to the Apostle have been considered, Dr. Davidson proceeds to the more important part of the subject of his epistles themselves. With regard to these *in general*, it is to a certain degree an advantage that they are less controverted as to their genuineness than other parts of the New Testament. The absolute demonstration of their genuineness is such that even ordinary scepticism is compelled to abstain from the attack.

In considering the Epistles of St. Paul in general, one subject of inquiry which Dr. Davidson brings forward is that of ‘St. Paul's Lost Epistles.’ The very title will, we doubt not, surprise some and raise uncomfortable feelings in their minds, as to the integrity of the canon of the New Testament. But let us hear Dr. Davidson himself:—

‘In thus concluding that some of Paul's Epistles have been lost, a class of Christians may suppose that *the perfection* of Scripture is impaired; for the notions which once prevailed respecting *the nature* of inspiration and of the canon are not obsolete. In combating the Roman Catholic Church, it was formerly usual among Protestants to abide firmly by the idea, that nothing inspired has been lost, but that the canon of Scripture has descended to our times entire and uncorrupted. Hence their aversion to an idea apparently sanctioned by a few passages, that some of Paul's Epistles are not in our present canon.

‘We hold as firmly as our opponents that no part of the New Testament is lost; that the canon is still entire. But it is surely a mere assumption that everything which an Apostle or Evangelist may have written *was intended* to be a constituent part of the

the collection commonly called the New Testament, or, in other words, of the canon. The completeness of the canon cannot be discovered by *à priori* notions, but by *matter of fact*. Divine Providence has preserved certain books, and from these we conclude that none others were designed to be a part of the New Testament. The perfection of the canon is properly judged of by what we have, rather than by our ideas of that which, on a certain supposition, we ought to have. Hence we feel no difficulty in adopting the conclusion, on grounds apparently tenable, that some inspired epistles have been lost. That they were equally inspired with such as are extant is highly probable, since inspiration was an influence essentially and perpetually belonging to an apostle—not a thing laid aside at times, and again assumed or given. *Oral* as well as *written* discourses were inspired. If, therefore, many of the former have perished unrecorded in writing, why should it be counted improbable that some of the latter also have passed into oblivion? Let us be grateful for what we have, and not attempt to limit the operations of the Apostles, or of their Divine Master, by assuming that the former wrote no more than what we possess. The books given are sufficient for salvation; and who shall be so niggardly in his apprehensions as to assert that the world never saw more?—(pp. 143, 144.)

These paragraphs clearly exhibit Dr. Davidson's thoughts on the subject: and with the general sentiment we may profess our accordance. How far 'notions which once prevailed respecting the nature of inspiration' may be involved in the question is not evident, as the learned writer does not state to *what* notions on the subject he particularly alludes. We may, however, say, that let any ideas on this point be as *high* as possible, let inspiration be looked on in its most plenary aspect, still the *general thought* on the subject of lost writings may be just what Dr. Davidson has here laid down.

It may fairly be discussed *whether* there be *proofs* that Apostolic epistles have been lost; and although (as we shall show presently) we differ from Dr. Davidson as to the alleged *proofs* of this point, yet in doing this we fully agree with him, that the integrity of Scripture remains unimpaired. God has intended that the Scripture of the New Testament should be, during this dispensation, the expression of His holy will, and the guide of our conduct. Those writings which He *intended* should be for perpetual and general use, have been transmitted to us; and we may well ask (with Dr. Davidson), What should hinder other epistles besides these from having been written? May there not have been local and temporary subjects worthy of direct instructions in writing from inspired Apostles? The reference to inspired oral teaching illustrates the subject well. No doubt the long continued discourse of Paul at Troas was replete with the precious truths of inspired Apostolic teaching, and yet in the inspired book of Acts the whole is passed by. It was not intended for perpetual preservation in the Church. So too, 'the wonderful works of God,' declared in many languages on the day of Pentecost; then the Holy Ghost put forth His own divine and wondrous power with *manifest* miracle, such as is not found in written Scripture; and yet, What has become of all that was then spoken? Or who shall say that the words of the Lord Jesus, from His earliest infancy, all through His earthly ministry, His instructions to His Apostles were not *all* replete with the highest authority? And yet how small a comparative portion of them do we possess? What stores of truth were there not comprised in his discourse to the two on the road to Emmaus, when He began at Moses and all the Prophets, and expounded

expounded those things which relate to Himself? But God has seen fit to record but a portion of His Divine teaching, that we may 'believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing we may have life through His name.'

With regard to the thoughts which Dr. D. has expressed as to Apostolic authority, we believe that we should be in *substantial* accordance with him.

We wish it thus to be understood how fully we agree with the sentiment, that the question as to whether any Epistles written by Apostles be lost or not, does not in the least affect that of the completeness of the New Testament. Such an occurrence *may* have taken place.

But with respect to the passages which have been alleged as proofs that this *has* taken place, we are by no means satisfied with Dr. Davidson's view: we do not think that they prove incontestably that Paul wrote certain Epistles, of which we must say that they are undoubtedly lost. Two such epistles are *supposed* to be referred to or mentioned in other writings of the Apostle: we think, however, that the reference to such Epistles is not certain: one of these supposed Epistles is an Epistle addressed to the Corinthians prior to either of those which we possess, and the other an Epistle to the Laodicean Church.

An earlier Epistle to the Corinthians has been grounded on 1 Cor. v. 9, 'I wrote to you in an Epistle not to company with fornicators.' This, in the opinion of Dr. Davidson, and others, proves that such a command had been contained in an Epistle now lost. We fully own that *ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* is definite, 'in the epistle;' and we have long been accustomed to compare this with Rom. xvi. 22—'I, Tertius, who wrote *τὴν ἐπιστολὴν* the epistle, salute you in the Lord.' Nor do we see that the cases are essentially different in which the two expressions are used. In the Romans, Dr. D. remarks that it is in the *conclusion* of an epistle, whereas here in the Corinthians it is not; still we believe that an epistle which is actually in course of being written may be properly called *ἡ ἐπιστολὴ*—the epistle. We do not think that this would *prove* a reference to some previous epistle, unless it could be shown on *independent* grounds that such an Epistle existed, or that this was *independently* probable.

The aorist *ἔγραψα* need create no difficulty; this tense of *γράφω* is used of anything which an author writes even at the very commencement; thus the history of Thucydides begins with the words—*Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος ἐυνέγραψε*: and it cannot be said that this introduction was prefixed by Thucydides to his work when finished (like a preface to a book in modern times), because he never finished his history. We do not therefore find anything in the expression *ἔγραψα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ* which demands the supposition of something having been written at a previous time in a former epistle.

But Dr. D. says, 'Those who think that the Apostle refers to the letter he was then writing, are puzzled to find the part of it to which he alludes.' There may be differences of opinion on that subject; but even if there were difficulty, we need not be driven to suppose a prior epistle, *unless the words compel us* to understand them in that sense.

But

But has not the Apostle in the second and fifth verses of the same chapter plainly told the Corinthians that it was their duty to put out from amongst themselves the person who had thus sinned? And in the words which follow the verse which leads to this discussion (verses 10—13), he shows that the persons with whom they were not to associate were not mere worldly men who might be sunk in moral evil, but 'if any one be called a brother'—if any one professes to be a Christian, and yet is sunk in pollution of sin, such an one is not to be associated with even to the extent of eating together.

Even if what the Apostle had to say on that subject followed the expression ἔγραψα ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, we think that it is going too far to pronounce 'the position is however utterly untenable.' In fact such expressions are used *anticipatively*: in Philemon ver. 19, Paul says, 'I, Paul, ἔγραψα, have written with my own hand, I will repay it.' Here, then, is the *aorist* ἔγραψα, relating to what *follows* immediately. Dr. Bloomfield's note on the passage in Philemon is this: 'For greater certainty take my engagement: I Paul [do hereby] write with my own hand, I will repay it.' The past tense of γράφω is used just in the same way as that in which we use a past tense when speaking in any attestation or document of a similar nature: 'We, the undersigned, have set our hands,' &c.; the past tense is actually used *before* the document is signed; the fact (from the nature of the case) is declared to be done before it is actually accomplished. Thus no difficulty need be raised, even if the reference be anticipative; and we may say, farther, that from the nature of the expression, no reference is of *necessity* implied; the phrase may mean, 'I do hereby declare to you in writing in this epistle, not to company with fornicators.' Still, however, we think that there was the thought of vers. 2 and 5 in the Apostle's mind, a thought which he yet further enforces and explains.

Had St. Paul intended a reference to a prior epistle, the allusion would, we think, have certainly been more definite. If he had said, 'I commanded you in the epistle which I previously wrote you not to company with fornicators,' we cannot resist the conclusion that he would have applied this command to the case before him. He would have referred to the solemn precept which he had given as evincing the want of right acting on the part of the Corinthians:—'You had this commandment, and you have transgressed it.' So far from this, the Apostle in the following verses seems in a manner to *soften* the precept which he now gives.

We fail to see a definite and intelligible reference to a former epistle; we cannot observe that unquestionable allusion to a former epistle, such as is met with in 2 Cor.; and thus we do not think that there is a *prima facie* case for the supposition of such an epistle ever having existed. And when, farther, the words of the passage not only do not of necessity imply such to be the case, when they can be understood philologically and grammatically of the epistle itself in which they are contained, we are obliged to conclude that we see *no proof* of the supposed former epistle.

The

The other epistle which Dr. Davidson considers to have been lost, is 'the epistle from Laodicea,' mentioned in Col. iv. 16. Now in the midst of the conflicting opinions to which this verse has given rise, we do not feel that we are under a necessity of adopting the hypothesis that St. Paul wrote such an epistle. We need not carry this subject farther in this place; however, with regard to Laodicea, there is a strong antecedent improbability against an epistle addressed to a *Church* by an *Apostle* having been lost by such a church itself: this consideration will apply with even more force to the Corinthians, who preserved and transmitted two epistles which they had received from the Apostle, and that, too, in spite of the stern reprehension which they contained: it is to us extremely improbable that if they had possessed another epistle (whatever had been its tenor) that also would not have been transmitted.

Thus while we feel that the *proof* that some of St. Paul's epistles had been *lost*, would in no way affect our confidence in Scripture, we think that it is *not* demonstrated that such was the fact in the two cases alleged. That many inspired writings *may* have had a temporary and local object we *fully* admit, and that such may be no longer extant; but whether the Apostles really wrote any such, we must own that we do not know.

The Epistles of St. Paul are then successively examined with the definite object which Dr. Davidson proposed to himself, *i. e.*, 'with reference to the latest inquiries.' Such subjects as are likely to attract the attention of a reader are placed in a due degree of prominence, and questionings which *too* busy minds have raised are discussed so as to remove difficulties which might arise with regard to some students.

As a specimen of *what* the subjects are to which Dr. Davidson draws attention in considering the different epistles, we will give the heads under which his remarks on that to the Romans are distributed:—
'I. Origin of the Church of Rome. II. Persons of whom the Church was composed. III. Time and place of writing. IV. The Apostle's object. V. The Language. VI. Integrity. VII. Authenticity. VIII. Contents.'

The other epistles are treated of under somewhat similar headings; the individual circumstances of each church and epistle determining what subjects require to be noticed.

A considerable portion of the remarks on the Epistles are necessarily *doctrinal*; otherwise it would have been impossible to exhibit any view of their contents. We do not intend to examine here what Dr. Davidson has advanced on these subjects, as this would in some respects be rather out of place. There are many things in which all Evangelical expositors of the New Testament *must* agree; there are points of arrangement, and as to the bearing and connection of particular passages, &c., and links of argumentation, on which unity of mind is hardly possible. We give, however, a passage from the conclusion of what Dr. Davidson says on the Epistle to the Galatians, after

after he had referred to the points of resemblance in which it connects itself with that to the Romans:—

‘Both Epistles set forth the relation of the law to the Gospel: the Epistle to the Romans *objectively*, without a polemic reference to Judaizing errors; that to the Galatians expressly in opposition to the Judaizing tendency. Taken together, they exhibit a complete view of the essential principles of the Gospel. The language of the law is imperative. It makes demands on every individual—demands which the weakness of humanity is unable to fulfil. It cannot make sinners holy. It convinces them of their want of holiness. On the other hand, the Gospel promises and confers pardon, regeneration, and sanctification. It supplies what the law cannot give. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that the expression *law*, or *law of Moses*, as used in the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, is taken in its most comprehensive sense. It is wrong to restrict it to the *ceremonial law* of the Jews. It embraces the *moral* as well as the *ceremonial law*. Both are inseparably united. The ceremonial is merely *one aspect* of law, or, if we may be permitted the phrase, a *grosser form* of it. The *moral* is a *finer form* of the same. Sometimes the one is made prominent, sometimes the other, just according to the writer’s purpose in a particular place. It is to the ceremonial law to which there is a primary reference in the Epistle before us. But in demonstrating its inability to save or the impossibility of obtaining salvation by means of it, *every* form of law is virtually excluded from the same inherent efficacy. All law, whether in the form of ceremonial observances, or deeds of Catholic sanctity, or cultivated morality, is declared to be a false ground of hope. Christ, the great representative of a humanity incapable of *perfect* obedience to law, has fulfilled it on behalf of all. By faith, his work becomes ours. The works of the law and the righteousness of faith are incompatible as means of salvation. Salvation is *wholly* of faith.’—(pp. 326, 327.)

On this passage we only wish to remark on the expression a *grosser form* of law applied to the *ceremonial* part of the law of Moses. This, in one sense, is undoubtedly true; and yet in the very ceremonies of ritual worship, in the sacrifices and the imperfect expiations by the blood of victims, there were ‘the shadows of good things to come,’ by which the Holy Ghost directed onward to Him whose precious blood, and one offering, and perfect righteousness, avail completely for him that believeth. All law is indeed inefficacious in bestowing a ground of salvation; and yet law could in its ceremonial commands *indicate* the peace with God which it could not bestow, and thus prefigure the Gospel of Him who is Emmanuel—‘God with us.’

We may specify the inquiry as to who the persons were to whom that Epistle is addressed which is entitled ‘To the Ephesians,’ as an able investigation of the point at issue. Dr. Davidson well shows how slight are the grounds on which any one would omit the words *ἐν Ἐφέσῳ* in the address of the Epistle, and also how little reason there is for the supposition of some learned men, that this Epistle ought to be entitled ‘To the Laodiceans.’ It is, however, quite a different question whether Marcion did not in his collection of St. Paul’s Epistles style this ‘To the Laodiceans’ from his having received or obtained his copy of it from that place. If Marcion were guided by any dogmatic reasons in his nomenclature, it might perhaps be thought that he would not acknowledge that any Epistle in his collection had been received from *Ephesus*, a church which had so long enjoyed the Apostolic training of St. John: this might have clashed not a little with his ultra Paulinism.

The

The Epistle to the Ephesians is one of the few of St. Paul's Epistles addressed to *churches*, the authenticity of which any have in modern times controverted. The doubts which have been expressed are excellently met by Dr. Davidson, and that, too, in the way which is often the most convincing. He does not canvass the arguments step by step, but he gives them 'as a fair specimen of German subjectivity.' He says—

'It is sometimes instructive to look at the sort of evidence by means of which men can persuade themselves that a writing is supposititious. What minute learning and laborious diligence do they squander away in trying to show something that cannot be proved. In the present instance, it is obvious to the practical common sense of any calm inquirer, that *testimony* and the *degree of weight* attaching to it are very imperfectly apprehended by the learned critic [the late Dr. De Wette]. Of the value of testimony he seems to be an incompetent judge. The authenticity of the Epistle is unshaken, if this is all that can be brought against it. The attack, indeed, is directed by a minute and microscopic skill which nothing seems to have escaped; but after all it is utterly ineffective and impotent. So convinced are we of this, that it will not be accompanied with a refutation of each successive particular, though it has been drawn out almost in the entire length in which the writer himself exhibits it.'

A few points which really require notice are then considered :—

'It is only needful to present a few observations, leaving sound sense to dispose of any separate point that may create difficulty, by assigning it *its proper worth* in the scale of evidence.'—(p. 356.)

It will, however, be in considering the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus that Dr. Davidson will have a more extensive task; for those three Epistles have received just the same rough treatment as the Gospels from the hands of the Rationalists of Germany. In the remark which we have already made, that the Epistles of St. Paul in general are so authenticated by evidence that even scepticism can hardly raise an argument against them, we did not mean to include those whose *principles* (if such they can be called) accord with the Tübingen school. Those who seek to introduce Pyrrhonism everywhere—who doubt for the sake of doubting—might as well *question* the *existence* of the Bible at this present time, as many of those things about it, which they choose to treat as dubitable.

The remarks of Dr. Davidson on the advent of our Lord and on the manifestation of the Man of Sin, as spoken of in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, will be read, we believe, with interest by many. We quite agree with him that the expression, '*we* which are alive, &c., remain,' in 1 Thess. iv. 17, is parallel to '*we* shall be changed,' in 1 Cor. xv. 52. The Church is one body, and a collective pronoun in the first person may rightly be used in speaking of it.

A remark of Dr. Davidson in the conclusion of his Analysis of the

* One whose name the writer of this review cannot mention without expressing the deep sorrow which his death has occasioned him. Dr. De Wette was one whose personal kindness and urbanity were as remarkable as his extensive learning:—it is indeed *deeply* to be lamented that his learning and abilities were so applied. It may be questioned how far the greater divergences of others (e.g. the Tübingen school) may not have caused a reaction in Dr. De Wette's mind towards sounder apprehensions of Scripture.

Epistle to the Romans, might perhaps occasion misconception. He says—

‘Every sequence and turn of thought, every mode of expression or connecting particle need not be regarded as the result of studied purpose or of direct suggestion by the Spirit.’—(p. 206.)

If this means, that such connecting particles, &c., are not to be treated as though they were intended to have a too absolutely emphatic force—then we assent; and this we believe to be what Dr. Davidson intends. We are not going in this place to discuss various theories of inspiration; but if inspiration be admitted at all (and all who acknowledge the divine authority of Scripture *do* admit it), then it necessarily follows that the sense of the expressions used is just that which the Holy Ghost *intended*. Any other thought than this would charge imperfection and possible error on the Scripture, as it proceeded from apostolic hands.

We believe that there is just the same degree of ‘studied purpose’ in the expressions of the New Testament as are found in other Greek writings. With all the linguistic peculiarities of the Sacred volume, the common philological principles are preserved intact, and this it is that gives certainty to the understanding of connected words, phrases, and arguments. Mr. Green, in his ‘Treatise on the Grammar of the New Testament dialect,’ has shown in a clear and convincing manner that the severest rules which we should apply to Greek authors in general, *must* be brought in a similar manner to bear on the Sacred volume. This is the distinctive excellence of his book, and in this respect it possesses a value such as does not attach to any work (however elaborate) of the German school. We repeat that we do not believe that Dr. Davidson intended the above sentence to mean what some (we fear) will choose to assert that it does mean.

If the *object* of Dr. Davidson’s ‘Introduction’ be borne in mind, we believe that all *competent* judges will admit that it does present the actual state of questions, ‘with reference to the latest inquiries;’ if so, then it must be granted that his object has been attained. We think, however, that he has done much more than *merely* this; and we shall mistake greatly if the value of this book be not recognised by *competent* scholars for its learning, laboriousness, and general importance, as the first actual attempt (and that, too, accomplished *successfully*) to lead Biblical students in this country to a place at least as advanced as those in Germany; and that without the poison too often in that country combined with Biblical learning.

We now take our leave of Dr. Davidson, hoping that we may soon greet his third volume. May we be allowed to suggest to him that even the *most brief* account of the foreign scholars whom he quotes, *and their works*, would be a most valuable appendix. *Schwanbeck*, *Schneckenburger*, and many others, are names known to but few in this country. Dr. Davidson has already shown in his ‘Sacred Hermeneutics,’ with what clear conciseness he can give a luminous idea of authors and their works.

THE

THE PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH.

The Prophecies of Isaiah, Earlier and Later. By JOSEPH ADDISON ALEXANDER, Professor in the Theological Seminary, Princeton, New Jersey. Reprinted under the Editorial superintendence of JOHN EADIE, LL.D., Professor of Biblical Literature in the United Presbyterian Church. Collins, Glasgow, 1848.

IF we wished to indicate in the most emphatic manner our perception of the strong impulse which has of late years been given to the study of Scripture criticism and interpretation, we should at once point to the various translations of and commentaries on Isaiah, which have been produced in the English language since 1830. The translation and commentary of Lowth was published in 1778, and for more than fifty years this work was spoken of and described among ourselves, as leaving nothing further to be desired or hoped for on the prophecies of Isaiah. At length the versions of Jones, in 1830, and of Jenour, in 1831, followed by that of the American professor, Noyes, in 1833, gave sign that something more was wanted; and the intimation was not unheeded by men who were well fitted for the labour by familiar acquaintance with the stores of erudition which the continental writers had accumulated upon this book. Dr. Henderson in England, and the Rev. Albert Barnes in America, at once seized their pens, and the same year (1840) gave to the world *The Book of the Prophet Isaiah*, by the former, and the *Notes on Isaiah*, by the latter—works occupying altogether independent ground, and therefore both necessary, and both essential to the library of the theological student and the minister, who are bound to possess themselves with the meaning and full purport of the prophecies which Isaiah uttered. To this use, for which it was specially destined, the admirable work of Dr. Henderson will, from the multifarious learning and philological discrimination which it embodies, be for the most part confined; whereas the work of Barnes, although a book of much learned research, has its erudition relieved by so vast a body of exegetical and illustrative matter, that the common reader is not deterred from examining it by the dense array of Hebrew and other strange type—frightful to all but real students—which a more concise work with the same amount of learned matter must have exhibited. Hence this book, although far from a perfect example of a commentary, has been found the most *generally* acceptable of any of the works on Isaiah which have yet been produced. This is remarkable considering its great bulk and consequent expense. But there have been at least three rival reprints of it in this country, and we learn that the author has lately issued a new edition at home.

Both these writers felt themselves bound to say something of Lowth, who had so long reigned without a rival in this realm of sacred literature. Henderson says:

‘The

‘The pre-eminent position which Bishop Lowth has occupied for more than half a century in this department of sacred literature, may by some be thought sufficient to justify the charge of presumption against any attempt to improve upon the elegant production of his superior mind. Yet, who that has examined the serious discrepancies which exist between the renderings of his translation and those of our common version, or that adverts to the opinion, which has been delivered by the best judges, that these discrepancies are principally to be ascribed to the fondness for conjectural emendation in which the learned prelate so freely indulged, but must admit, that the study of the subject cannot justly be regarded as foreclosed, and that further efforts are required to satisfy the claims of a numerous class of readers, on whose minds it must press with no ordinary degree of interest.’—p. iii.

Barnes, on his part, intimates that when he commenced his undertaking, he designed nothing further than an *enlargement* of Lowth on Isaiah. It occurred to him that it might be useful to retain Lowth’s notes as a *basis*, with some additional illustrations, somewhat in his manner. But this plan was soon abandoned; for ‘valuable as are his notes, and beautiful as is his version, it was soon perceived, or thought to be perceived, that greater usefulness might be secured by enlarging the plan, and making a work entirely new.’

Scarcely five years had passed after the public appetite would seem to have been abundantly satisfied with these productions, when Professor Alexander came forth (in 1845) with his work on *The Earlier Prophecies of Isaiah*, which has lately been completed by the publication of *The Later Prophecies of Isaiah*. There are obvious distinctions between this work and those first noticed. In the first place, the Commentary, as a whole, is three times as large as that of Henderson, and about the same in extent as that of Barnes. But the intrinsic resemblances are much less to the book by Barnes than to that by Henderson. In fact, Alexander’s work appears, when closely examined, to be an extension of the plan of Henderson. The same parts are all here, but expanded into larger proportions, and tinted with different colours. The philological illustration is indeed less various and extensive than in Henderson’s Isaiah, but the grammatical investigations are more extensive, and the learned writer is justly not without hope that, by the course he has taken, ‘some light may be thrown upon the darker parts of Hebrew grammar, and especially the doctrine of the tenses, which can never be completely solved, except by a laborious induction of particulars.’ The writer also enters at greater length than Henderson into the reasonings and statements necessary to bring out the sense of the text, and the signification of the prophecy; and the opinions of recent continental writers are more numerous produced, and stated in more detail. It is by these various extensions that the work is to the eye so different from that which it most resembles. Yet the resemblance is more in the lines of investigation taken, than in the results, which, in many respects, are as different in these two works as in any other two Commentaries on Isaiah that exist. Professor Alexander has not therefore performed a needless labour, nor is his work unrequired. The book is every way welcome and valuable; and although he who possesses Henderson and Barnes may felicitate himself upon his wealth in Isaian literature, as compared with the poverty of his earlier days, he will be much richer if he places this work between

them—and, indeed, we do not know what more he has then to hope for or desire.

The Glasgow reprint, in one closely printed volume, of the two portions of Dr. Alexander's work, has had the advantage of the able superintendence of Professor Eadie, from the rare combination in whom of the finest taste and the most eloquent expression, with high learning and laborious and patient research, Biblical scholarship is entitled to expect still higher services than he has yet rendered to it. The edition owes to him a short but well written and cordial preface; and it owes still more in the correction of very many errors, both in the Hebrew and English text of the American original. This is, for the most part, but a thankless labour; and none but those who are accustomed to it themselves can estimate it at its true value. We have compared this edition in parts with the original, and bear willing testimony to the pains which have been taken to give to the reprint that accuracy which is very essential in a work of this description.

It would be a great service to literature were authors generally to state with the distinctness of Dr. Alexander, the objects at which they aim, and the class of readers for which their works are intended. He informs us that his specific object is that of making the results of philological and critical research available for purposes of practical utility.

'In attempting to accomplish this important purpose, it was found indispensable to fix upon some definite portion of the reading public, whose capacities, acquirements, and wants might be consulted in determining the form and method of the exposition. Some learned and ingenious works in this department have been rendered to a great extent practically useless, by the want of a determinate fitness for any considerable class of readers, being at once too pedantic for the ignorant, and too elementary for the instructed. In the present case there seemed to be some latitude of choice, and yet but one course on the whole advisable. Works exclusively adapted to the use of learned Orientalists and Biblical scholars are almost prohibited among ourselves at present by the paucity of competent writers and congenial readers: works designed for the immediate use of the unlearned must of necessity be superficial and imperfect, and are found by experience to be not the most effectual means of influencing even those for whom they are expressly written. The obscurer parts of Scripture, or at least of the Old Testament, can be most effectually brought to bear upon the popular mind by employing the intermediate agency of an intelligent and educated ministry. The people may be best taught in such cases through their teachers, by furnishing a solid scientific basis for their popular instructions. Under the influence of these considerations an attempt has here been made to concentrate and economise the labours of the ministry in this field, by affording them a partial succedaneum for many costly books, and enabling them to profit by the latest philological improvements and discoveries, without the inconvenience and even dangers which attend a direct resort to the original authorities.'

We transcribe this for the information of our readers, and not in token of our entire approbation. The process of instruction proposed is somewhat too roundabout for our taste. The original authorities are to instruct Professor Alexander; Professor Alexander is to instruct the ministers; and the ministers are to instruct the people. The chain is too long; and perhaps some of its links might be dispensed with. Knowledge, at this remote distance from its source, is likely to reach the people in a very diluted shape indeed.

Having

Having thus introduced the work as a whole to the notice of our readers, we shall confine our attention to the statement of our author's views on a very interesting subject—the interpretation of the *later* prophecies of Isaiah. As already intimated, this portion was published in America separately, and is furnished with a separate introduction, in which the writer's views are clearly and fully developed. It is to the views set forth respecting this portion, and particularly respecting the last six chapters of the Prophet, that our attention will be chiefly turned. This is a portion of Scripture regarding which there has been a large amount of discussion and much diversity of interpretation. It will therefore consist with the objects of the 'Journal of Sacred Literature' to put its readers in possession of the well considered views of a learned and able man who has given much thought to the subject, with the advantage of being fully acquainted with all that has previously been written on this important and interesting portion of the Sacred volume.

In the interpretation of these chapters of Isaiah, the views of Henderson and Alexander not only diverge considerably, but are entirely opposed.

Dr. Henderson says, in his Preface,—

'On one point it is necessary specially to bespeak the indulgent consideration of my readers,—the position which I have taken respecting the future restoration of the Jews to Palestine. That such a restoration is taught in Scripture, I had been accustomed to regard as more than questionable, how firmly soever I believed in their future conversion to the faith of Jesus. On examining, however, the different prophecies of the Old Testament, which treat of a return of that people, I have had the conviction forced upon my mind, that while the greater number decidedly apply to the restoration which took place on the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, there are others which cannot, without violence, be thus applied; but which, being, upon any just principle of interpretation, equally incapable of application to the affairs of the Gentile church, must be referred to events yet future in Jewish history. In this class I particularly include the last six chapters of Isaiah, which immediately follow the remarkable prediction respecting the future conversion of the Jews, at the close of the fifty-ninth. Not the most distant allusion is made throughout these chapters to any circumstances connected with the deliverance from Babylon; while, on other hand, they contain a distinct recognition of various things belonging to the new Dispensation,—such as the Divine Mission of the Messiah, the abolition of the Jewish worship, the calling of the Gentiles, the rejection of the Jews, and certain features of their present dispersion. At the same time there is such a marked distinction uniformly kept up between the persons spoken of and the Gentiles; such an appropriation to their condition of language elsewhere only used of the natural posterity of Abraham; such an obvious description of the desolation of Palestine; and such express mention of a restored land, mountains, vineyards, fields, houses, flocks, &c., which cannot be figuratively understood, that, with no hermeneutical propriety, can the scene be placed in the Gentile world, or regarded as exhibiting the state of Gentile Christianity.

'That the Jews shall cease to exist as a distinct race on their incorporation into the Christian church, the Bible nowhere teaches; nor is such an event probable in the nature of things. But, if they shall exist as believing Jews, on what principle can it be maintained that they may not live in Palestine, just as believing Britons do in Britain, believing Americans in America, &c.? Christianity does not destroy nationality, nor require an amalgamation of the different races of mankind, however it may insist that, in a spiritual point of view, all its subjects constitute but one nation, and one people, holy and peculiar—the sons and daughters of the Lord God Almighty. If the Jews had received the Messiah, when preached to them by the

Apostles, there is no reason to suppose that they would have been expelled from their own land; so that whatever admissions of Gentiles there might have been into their community, it would still, in the main, have been made up of Jews, as in fact "the churches of God" were, "which in Judea were in Christ Jesus."

'Nor is there anything in what I conceive to be the doctrine of Scripture on this subject, at all at variance with its representations respecting the spiritual nature of the kingdom of Christ. The Jews, when converted, will be required to conform, in every point, to the laws of that kingdom, precisely as the Gentiles are on their becoming subject to its Head and Lord. Not the slightest hint is given that any forms of ecclesiastical polity or any modes of worship will obtain among the restored Jewish converts, different from those instituted by the Apostles.

'As to the degree of temporal prosperity promised to them, it appears to have special respect to the long-continued circumstances of adversity in which they have lived; and may perhaps, after all, differ but little from that which shall be enjoyed by the members of the Divine Kingdom generally, during the happy period of the Millennium.'

The conclusions reached by Professor Alexander are very different. He says, in his preface:—

'In the exposition of the last seven chapters too polemical an attitude, perhaps, has been assumed with respect to a distinguished living writer, Dr. Henderson, to whose abilities and learning I have elsewhere endeavoured to do justice. The prominence here given to his book has arisen from his happening to be not only the best but the sole representative of certain views among the professed expounders of Isaiah. As to the question in dispute, the ground which I have taken and endeavoured to maintain is the negative position, that the truth of these "exceeding great and precious promises" is not suspended on the future restoration of the Jews to Palestine, without denying such a restoration to be possible or promised elsewhere.

The substance of our author's views on this particular matter are stated concisely enough in a few pages of his copious and interesting Introduction to the *Later Prophecies*. But the force of his arguments depends so much upon his large preliminary survey of the essential distinction between Israel as a church and Israel as a nation, that we shall more satisfactorily perform our duty by *reporting* the substantial contents of this portion of the work, than by discussing the views which it embodies.

It is to be understood that the *Later Prophecies* to which this Introduction is prefixed, comprise the last twenty-seven chapters of Isaiah: and we wish it to be clearly apprehended that what follows is an abstract of the positions maintained by this writer, exhibited mainly in his own words.

One of the most important functions of the prophetic office was the exposition of the Law, that is to say, of the Mosaic institutions, the peculiar form in which the church was organised until the advent of Messiah. This inspired exposition was of absolute necessity, in order to prevent, or to correct mistakes which were constantly arising, not only from the blindness and perverseness of the people, but from the very nature of the system under which they lived. That system, being temporary and symbolical, was necessarily material, ceremonial, and restrictive in its forms; as nothing purely spiritual could be symbolical or typical of other spiritual things, nor could a catholic or free constitution have secured the necessary segregation of the people from all others for a temporary purpose.

The

The evils incident to such a state of things were the same that have occurred in many other like cases, and may all be derived from the superior influence of sensible objects on the mass of men, and from the consequent propensity to lose sight of the end in the use of the means, and to confound the sign with the thing signified. The precise form and degree of this perversion, no doubt varied with the change of times and circumstances, and a corresponding difference must have existed in the action of the prophets who were called to exert a corrective influence on these abuses.

In the days of Hezekiah, the national corruption had already passed through several phases, each of which might be traced in its effects, and none of which had wholly vanished. Sometimes the prevailing tendency had been to make the ceremonial form of the Mosaic worship, and its consequent coincidence in certain points with the religions of surrounding nations, an occasion or a pretext for adopting heathen rites and usages, at first as a mere extension and enlargement of the ritual itself, then more boldly as an arbitrary mixture of heterogeneous elements, and, lastly, as an open and entire substitution of the false for the true, and of Baal, Ashtoreth, or Moloch, for Jehovah.

At other times, the same corruption had assumed a less revolting form, and been contented with perverting the Mosaic institutions, while externally and zealously adhering to them. The two points from which the insidious process of perversion set out were, the nature and design of the ceremonial law, and the relation of the chosen people to the rest of men. As to the first, it soon became a current, and at last a fixed opinion, with the mass of irreligious Jews, that the ritual acts of the Mosaic service had an intrinsic efficacy, or a kind of magical effect upon the moral and spiritual state of the worshipper. Against this error the Law itself had partially provided, by occasional violations and suspensions of its own most rigorous demands, plainly implying that the rites were not intrinsically efficacious, but significant of something else.

On the other great point, the relation of the Jews to the surrounding nations, their opinions seem to have become at an early period equally erroneous. In this, as in the other case, they went wrong by a superficial judgment, founded on appearances, by looking simply at the means before them, and neither forwards to their end nor backwards to their origin. From the indisputable facts of Israel's divine election as the people of Jehovah, his extraordinary preservation as such, and his undisturbed, exclusive possession of the written word and the accompanying rites, they had drawn the natural but false conclusion, that this national pre-eminence was founded on intrinsic causes, or at least in some original and perpetual distinction in their favour. This led them to repudiate or forget the fundamental truth of their whole history; to wit, that they were set apart and kept apart, not for the ruin and disgrace, but for the ultimate benefit and honour of the whole world, or rather the whole church, which was to be gathered from all nations, and of which the ancient Israel was designed to be the symbol and the representative. As it had pleased God to elect a certain portion of mankind
to

to everlasting life through Christ, so it pleased him that until Christ came, this body of elect ones, scattered through all climes and ages, should be represented by a single nation, and that this representative body should be the sole depository of divine truth, and a divinely instituted worship; while the ultimate design of this arrangement was kept constantly in view, by the free access which in all ages was afforded to the Gentiles who consented to embrace the true religion.

If the Jews could have been made to understand or to remember that their national pre-eminence was representative, not original; symbolical, not real; provisional, not perpetual; it could never have betrayed them into hatred or contempt of other nations, but would rather have cherished an enlarged and catholic spirit, as it did in the most enlightened—an effect which may be clearly traced in the writings of Moses, David, and Isaiah. That view of the Mosaic dispensation which regards this Jewish bigotry as its genuine spirit, is demonstrably a false one. The true spirit of the old economy was not, indeed, a latitudinarian indifference to its institutions, or a premature anticipation of a state of things still future. It was scrupulously faithful, even to the temporary institutions of the ancient church; but while it looked upon them as obligatory, it did not look upon them as perpetual. It obeyed the present requisitions of Jehovah, but still looked forward to something better. Hence the failure to account, on any other supposition, for the seeming contradictions of the Old Testament, in reference to the ceremonies of the Law. If worthless, why were they so conscientiously observed by the wisest and best men? If intrinsically valuable, why are they disparaged and almost repudiated by the same men? Simply because they were neither worthless nor intrinsically valuable, but appointed, temporary signs of something to be otherwise revealed thereafter: so that it was equally impious and foolish to reject them altogether with the sceptic, and to rest in them for ever with the formalist.

It is no less true, and for exactly the same reason, that the genuine spirit of the old economy was equally adverse to all religious mixture with the heathen, or renunciation of the Jewish privileges, on one hand, and to all contracted national conceit and hatred of the Gentiles, on the other. Yet both these forms of error had become fixed in the Jewish creed and character long before the days of Hezekiah. That they were not universal, even then, we have abundant proof in the Old Testament. Even in the worst of times, there is reason to believe that a portion of the people held fast to the true doctrine, and the true spirit of the extraordinary system under which they lived. How large this more enlightened party was at any time, and to how small a remnant it was ever reduced, we have not the means of ascertaining; but we know that it was always in existence, and that it constituted the true Israel, and was the church of the Old Testament.

To this class, the corruption of the general body must have been a cause not only of sorrow, but of apprehension; and, if express prophetic threatenings had been wanting, they could scarcely fail to anticipate the punishment and even the rejection of their nation. But in this anticipation

ticipation they were themselves liable to error. Their associations were so intimately blended with the institutions under which they lived, that they must have found it hard to separate the idea of Israel as a church from that of Israel as a nation—a difficulty similar in kind however different in degree, from that which we experience in forming a conception of the continued existence of the soul without the body. And as all men, in the latter case, however fully they may be persuaded of the separate existence of the spirit, and of its future disembodied state, habitually speak of it in terms strictly applicable only to its present state, so the ancient saints, however strong their faith, were under the necessity of framing their conceptions, as to future things, upon the model of those present; and the imperceptible extension of this process beyond the limits of necessity, would naturally tend to generate errors, not of form merely, but of substance. Among these we may readily suppose to have had place the idea that, as Israel had been unfaithful to its trust, and was to be rejected, the church or people of God must as a body share the same fate: or, in other words, that if the national Israel perished, the spiritual Israel must perish with it, at least so far as to be disorganised and resolved into its elements.

Here, then, there are several distinct but cognate forms of error, which appear to have gained currency before the time of Hezekiah, in relation to the two great distinctive features of their national condition, the ceremonial law and their seclusion from the Gentiles. Upon each of these points there were two shades of opinion entertained by very different classes. The Mosaic ceremonies were with some a pretext for idolatrous observances; while others rested in them, not as types or symbols, but as efficacious means of expiation. The pre-eminence of Israel was by some regarded as perpetual; while others apprehended in its termination the extinction of the church itself. These various forms of error might be variously combined and modified in different cases, and their general result must, of course, have contributed largely to determine the character of the church and nation.

It was not, perhaps, until these errors had begun to take a definite and settled form among the people, that the prophets, who had hitherto confined themselves to oral instruction or historical composition, were directed to utter, and record for constant use, discourses meant to be corrective or condemnatory of these dangerous perversions. This may at least be regarded as a plausible solution of the fact, that prophetic writing, in the strict sense, became so much more abundant in the latter days of the Old Testament history. Of these prophetic writings, still preserved in our canon, there is scarcely any part which has not a perceptible and direct bearing on the state of feeling and opinion which has been described.

But although this purpose may be traced, to some extent, in all the prophecies, it is natural to suppose that some part of the canon would be occupied with a direct, extensive, and continuous exhibition of the truth upon a subject so momentous; and the date of such a prophecy could scarcely be assigned to any other period so naturally as that to which has been specified, the reign of Hezekiah, when all
the

the various forms of error and corruption which had successively prevailed were co-existent ; when idolatry, although suppressed by law, was still openly or secretly practised, and in many cases superseded only by a hypocritical formality and ritual religion, attended by an overweening sense of the national pre-eminence of Israel, from which even the most godly seem to have found refuge in despondent fears and sceptical misgivings. At such a time, when the theocracy had long since reached and passed its zenith, and a series of providential shocks, with intervals of brief repose, had already begun to loosen the foundations of the old economy, in preparation for its ultimate removal, such a discourse as that supposed must have been eminently seasonable, if not absolutely needed, to rebuke sin, correct error, and sustain the hopes of true believers. It was equally important, nay, essential to the great end of the temporary system, that the way for its final abrogation should be gradually prepared, and that in the meantime it should be maintained in constant operation.

If the circumstances of the times which have been stated are enough to make it probable that such a revelation would be given, they will also aid us in determining beforehand, not in detail, but in the general, its form and character. The historical occasion and the end proposed would naturally lead us to expect in such a book the simultaneous or alternate presentation of a few great leading truths, perhaps with accompanying refutation of the adverse errors, and with such reproofs, remonstrances and exhortations, promises and threatenings, as the condition of the people springing from these errors might require, not only at the date of the prediction, but in later times. In executing this design, the prophet might have been expected to pursue a method more rhetorical than logical, and to enforce his doctrine not so much by dry didactic statements, as by animated argument, combined with earnest exhortation, passionate appeals, poetical apostrophes, impressive repetitions and illustrations drawn both from the ancient and the later history of Israel. In fine, from what has been already said, it follows that the doctrines which would naturally constitute the staple of the prophecy in such a case, are those relating to the true design of Israel's vocation and seclusion from the Gentiles, and of the ceremonial institutions under which he was in honourable bondage. The sins and errors which find their condemnation in the statement of these truths are those of actual idolatry, a ritual formality, a blinded nationality, and a despondent apprehension of the failure of Jehovah's promise. Such might even *à priori* be regarded as the probable structure and complexion of a prophecy, or series of prophecies, intended to secure the end in question. If the person called to this important service had already been the organ of divine communications upon other subjects, or with more direct reference to other objects, it would be reasonable to expect a marked diversity between these former prophecies and that uttered under a new impulse. Besides the very great and striking difference which must always be perceptible between a series of detached compositions, varying, and possibly remote from one another as to date, and a continuous discourse on one great theme, there

there would be other unavoidable distinctions springing directly from the new and wide scope of prophetic vision, and from the concentration in one vision of the elements diffused through many others. This diversity would be enhanced, of course, by any striking difference of outward circumstances—such as the advanced age of the writer, his matured experience, his seclusion from the world and from active life, or any other changes which might have the same effect; but even in the absence of these outward causes, the diversity would still be very great and unavoidable.

From these probabilities, let us now turn to realities. Precisely such a book as that described is extant, having formed a part of the collection of Isaiah's Prophecies, as far back as the history of the canon can be traced, without the slightest vestige of a different tradition among Jews or Christians as to the author. The tone and spirit of these chapters are precisely such as might have been expected from the change in the circumstances themselves.

A cursory inspection of these later prophecies is enough to satisfy the reader that he has before him neither a concatenated argument nor a mass of fragments, but a continuous discourse, in which the same great topics are continually following each other, somewhat modified in form and combination, but essentially the same from the beginning to the end. If required to designate a single theme as that of the whole series, we might safely give the preference to Israel, the Peculiar People, the Church of the Old Testament, its origin, vocation, mission, sins and sufferings, former experience, and final destiny. The doctrine inculcated as to this great subject may be summarily stated thus:—The race of Israel was chosen from among the other nations, and maintained in the possession of peculiar privileges, not for the sake of any original or acquired merit, but by a sovereign act of the divine will; not for their own exclusive benefit and aggrandizement, but for the ultimate salvation of the world. The ceremonies of the law were of no intrinsic efficacy, and when so regarded and relied on became hateful in the sight of God. Still more absurd and impious was the practice of analogous ceremonies, not in obedience to Jehovah's will, but in the worship of imaginary deities or idols. The Levitical rites, besides immediate uses of a lower kind, were symbols of God's holiness and man's corruption, the necessity of expiation by vicarious suffering in particular. Among them there were also types, prophetic symbols, of the very form in which the great work of atonement was to be accomplished, and of Him by whom it was to be performed. Until this work was finished, and this Saviour come, the promise of both was exclusively intrusted to the chosen people, who were bound to preserve it both in its written and its ritual form. To this momentous trust a large part of the nation had been unfaithful; some avowedly forsaking it as open idolaters, some practically betraying it as formal hypocrites. For these and other consequent offences, Israel as a nation was to be rejected and deprived of its pre-eminence. But in so doing, God would not cast off his people. The promises to Israel, considered as the people of Jehovah, should ensue to the body
of

of believers, the remnant according to the election of grace. These were, in fact, from the beginning, the true Israel—the true seed of Abraham—the Jews who were Jews inwardly. In these the continued existence of the Church should be secured and perpetuated; first, within the limits of the outward Israel, and then by the accession of believing Gentiles to the spiritual Israel. When the fulness of time should come for the removal of the temporary and restrictive institutions of the old economy, that change should be so ordered as not only to effect the emancipation of the Church from ceremonial bondage, but at the same time to attest the divine disapprobation of the sins committed by the carnal Israel throughout their history. While these had everything to fear from the approaching change, the spiritual Israel had everything to hope—not only the continued existence of the Church, but its existence under a more spiritual, free, and glorious dispensation, to be ushered in by the appearance of that great Deliverer towards whom the ceremonies of the law all pointed.

From this succinct statement of the Prophet's doctrine, it is easy to account for some peculiarities of form and phraseology, particularly for the constant alternation of encouragement and threatening, and for the twofold sense, or rather application, of the national name—Israel. This latter usage is explained by Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans (ch. ii. 17-29; ix. 6-9; xi. 1-7), where the very same doctrine is propounded in relation to the ancient Church that we have just obtained by a fair induction from Isaiah's later prophecies. There is, in fact, no part of the Old Testament to which the New affords a more decisive key in the shape of an authoritative and inspired interpretation.

Another peculiarity of form, highly important in the exposition of these Prophecies, is the frequent introduction of allusions to particular events in the history of Israel, as examples of the general truths so constantly repeated. The events thus cited are not numerous, but of the greatest magnitude—such as the calling of Abraham, the exodus from Egypt, the destruction of Babylon, the return from exile, and the advent of Messiah. These events have sometimes been confounded by interpreters, and even so far misconceived as to put a new and false face on the whole prediction.

After devoting considerable space to the history of the criticism on these *Later Prophecies*, proving that they are from the hand of one writer, and that writer Isaiah, Dr. Alexander turns to look at the history of their interpretation, which he does, not through the medium of minute bibliographical and chronological details, but by exhibiting the several theories or schools of exegesis, which, at different times or at the same time, have exerted an important influence upon the interpretation of these chapters.

He notices the opinion generally entertained by the Fathers, and by some modern writers, that these prophecies have reference throughout to the New Dispensation and the Christian Church, including its whole history, with more or less distinctness, from the advent of Christ to the end of the world. The extravagant conclusions often reached under this view, and the general uncertainty thus imparted to the

the work of interpretation, eventually led many to reject this theory in favour of its opposite—namely, that the main subject of these chapters must be sought as far as possible before the Advent; and, as a necessary consequence, either in the period of the Babylonian exile, or in that of the Syrian domination, with the periods of re-action that succeeded them respectively, since it was only these that furnished events of sufficient magnitude to be the subjects of such grand predictions.

After both these systems had been pushed to an extreme, it was at length found necessary to devise some method of conciliating and combining them. The first and rudest means employed for this end was to assume arbitrarily a change of subject when it appeared necessary, and to make the prophet skip from Babylon to Rome, and from the Maccabees to Doomsday, as he found convenient.

A more artificial method of combining both hypotheses is that of Grotius, whose interpretation of these prophecies appears to be governed by two maxims: first, that they all relate to subjects and events before the time of Christ; and, secondly, that these are often types of something afterwards developed.

A third mode of reconciling these two theories of interpretation is the one pursued by Lowth, and still more successfully by Hengstenberg. It rests upon the supposition that the nearer and the more remote realization of the same prophetic picture might be presented to the prophet simultaneously or in immediate succession; so that, for example, the deliverance from Babylon by Cyrus insensibly merges into a greater deliverance from sin and ruin by Christ. The principle assumed in this ingenious doctrine is esteemed by our author to be as just as it is beautiful, and of the highest practical importance in interpretation. The only objection he finds to its general application in the case before us is, that it concedes the constant reference to Babylon throughout this book, and only seeks to reconcile this fundamental fact with the wider application of the prophecies. It still remains to be considered, therefore, whether any general hypothesis or scheme can be constructed, which, without giving undue prominence to any of the topics introduced, without restricting general expressions to specific objects, without assuming harsh transitions, needless double senses, or imaginary typical relations, shall do justice to the unity and homogeneity of the composition, and satisfactorily reconcile the largeness and variety of its design with the particular allusions and predictions which can only be eliminated from it by a forced and artificial exegesis. Such an hypothesis, as our author thinks, is that of which, as propounded by him, we have already given an account, and which is assumed as the basis of his exposition. It supposes the main subject of these prophecies, or rather of this prophecy, to be the Church or people of God, considered in its members and in its head, in its design, its origin, its progress, its vicissitudes, its consummation, in its various relations to God and to the world, both as a field of battle and a field of labour—an enemy's country to be conquered, and an inheritance to be secured.

After strongly enforcing this view, and anticipating the objections to which it may seem open, Professor Alexander reverts with marked disapprobation

disapprobation to the hypothesis assumed by Cocceius and others, who appear to recognise in these later prophecies specific periods and events in the history of the Christian Church. This hypothesis is now very generally exploded, having been brought into discredit by the practical refutation afforded by the view of such writers as Cocceius, and, less frequently, Vitringa, seeking the fulfilment of grand prophecies in the petty squabbles of the Dutch church and republic.

A very different fate has been experienced by the ancient and still current doctrine, that the main subject of these prophecies throughout is the restoration from the Babylonish exile. While this hypothesis has been assumed as undeniable by many Christian writers, it affords the whole foundation of the modern neological criticism and exegesis. It is worth while, therefore, to examine somewhat closely the pretensions of this theory to general reception.

In the first place, let it be observed how seldom, after all, the book mentions Babylon, the Exile, or the Restoration. This remark is made in reference to those cases only where these subjects are expressly mentioned, *i. e.*, either named *totidem verbis*, or described in terms which will apply to nothing else. An exact enumeration of such cases, made for the first time, might surprise one whose previous impressions had been all derived from the sweeping declarations of interpreters and critics. It is true the cases may be vastly multiplied by taking into the account all the indirect allusions which these writers are accustomed to assume, *i. e.*, by applying to the Exile all the places and particular expressions which admit by possibility of such an application. Having first inferred from the explicit prophecies respecting Babylon, that this is the great subject of the book, it is perfectly easy to apply to this same subject hundreds of phrases in themselves indefinite, and wholly dependent for specific meaning upon some hypothesis like that in question.

The necessary tendency of such a method to excess, is illustrated by the gradual advances of the later German writers in the specific explanation of these chapters. Where Rosenmüller and Gesenius were contented to find general poetical descriptions of the Exile and the Restoration, Hitzig detects precise chronological allusions to particular campaigns and battles in the progress of Cyrus; and this again is pushed so far by Hendewerk and Knobel, that they sometimes find more striking and minute coincidences between this Hebrew writer and Herodotus or Xenophon, than any of the old-fashioned orthodox writers ever dreamed of finding between him and the New Testament. To hear these writers talk of the battle of Pasargada, the defeat of Neriglassar, the first and second attack on Babylonia, the taking of Sardis, &c. &c., we might fancy ourselves listening to Eusebius or Cocceius, with a simple substitution of profane for sacred history.

The fallacy of this mode of interpretation lies in the fact that the indefinite expressions thus applied to one event or series of events, might just as naturally be applied to others, if these others were first fixed upon as being the main subject of the whole composition. Thus, all admit that there are frequent allusions in these later chapters to
the

the exodus from Egypt. Now if any interpreter should be intrepid and absurd enough to argue that they must have been composed by Moses, and that the great deliverance then wrought must be the subject of the whole book, whatever difficulties, and however insurmountable, this doctrine might encounter in a different direction, it could find none in adapting what is said of crossing seas and rivers, opening fountains, journeys through the desert, subjugation of enemies, rest in the promised land, &c. &c., to the original exodus, with far less violence than to the restoration from captivity. It is equally true, but in a less degree, that Grotius, who refers some portions of this book to the period of the Maccabees, is perfectly successful, after having once assumed this as the subject, in accommodating to it many of the very same expressions which another class of writers no less confidently claim as clear allusions to the Babylonian exile.

The fallacy of such exegetical reasoning may be further exposed by applying the same process to a distinct but analogous case. In the Epistle to the Romans Paul is now almost universally regarded as foretelling the restoration of the Jews to the favour of God. Assuming this to be the theme, not only of those passages in which it is expressly mentioned, but of the whole Epistle, an interpreter of no great ingenuity might go completely through it, putting upon every general expression a specific sense in strict agreement with his foregone conclusion. All that relates to justification might be limited to the Jews of some future day : the glorious truth that there is no condemnation to believers in Christ Jesus, made a specific and conclusive promise to converted Jews ; and the precious promise that all things shall work together for good to them that love God, made to mean that all events shall be so ordered as to bring about the future restoration of the Jews. The very absurdity of such conclusions makes them better illustrations of the erroneous principles involved in similar interpretations of the more obscure and less familiar parts of Scripture.

Setting aside the cases which admit of one application as well as another, or of this application only because of a foregone conclusion, the truth of which cannot be determined by expressions deriving their specific meaning from itself, let the reader now enumerate the instances in which the reference to Babylon, the exile, and the restoration, is not only possible, but necessary. He must not be surprised if he discovers as the fruit of his researches, that the Prophet speaks of Babylon less frequently than Egypt ; that the ruins, desolations, and oppressions which he mentions in a multitude of places, are no more Babylonian than Egyptian or Roman in the text itself, and only made so by the interest or fancy of some writers, the authority of others, and the easy faith of the remainder.

In opposition to these strained conclusions, it is enough to propound the obvious supposition that the downfall of Babylon is repeatedly mentioned, like the exodus from Egypt, as a great event in the history of Israel, but that the subject of the prophecy is neither the Egyptian nor the Babylonian bondage, nor deliverance from either,
but

but the whole condition, character, and destiny of Israel as the chosen people, and the church of the Old Testament.

We have thus endeavoured to set forth, as clearly and concisely as possible, the view taken by Dr. Alexander of a subject of no common interest and importance. We are not ourselves wedded to any theory of interpretation that has special reference to these chapters; and without entering into the question more largely than the present occasion allows, we cannot investigate the difficulties which seem to us to be presented not less by the view taken by our author than by those suggested by some of the writers whose opinions he opposes. The test must lie in the *application*, and is not to be found in any general statement, however able and consistent; but in the interpretation of particular passages of the prophecy. Before any theory is pronounced perfect, it must be seen that all the texts will fall naturally into it without violence or distortion. That interpretation is likely to be the best which is most congruous. A theory which cannot consistently make out *the whole* of any one passage to be literal, or symbolical, or representative, but which requires one part to be literal, another to be symbolical, another representative, cannot be received with undoubting confidence. If this latitude be allowed, a prophecy may be made to mean almost anything that the interpreter desires. Professor Alexander sees this clearly in respect to other plans of interpretation, but does not seem to be aware that even his own lies, in many parts, dangerously naked to the same objection. It seems to us that in many cases this might have been obviated under his plan, had the necessity for congruity of interpretation been more constantly present to his mind. If an interpreter takes one set of terms in his text to be literal and another symbolical, to suit the exigencies of exposition—he may be right, but he lacks that evidence of congruity, which would have been greatly in his favour; and he cannot speak from authority, but only from the balance of probabilities, as to the superiority of his theory of interpretation over that of another, who in like manner vibrates between the symbolical and the real—although, it may be, the symbolical of the one is the real, and the real the symbolical, of the other.

MISCELLANEA.

AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN THE WORDS OF St. PAUL,

'For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ,' &c. (Rom. ix. 3).

By the Rev. ALEXANDER GORDON, M.A.

CONSIDERABLE ambiguity rests on this passage in our version of the New Testament. The superficial reader is apt to regard the Apostle as giving utterance to a sentiment, from which every Christian mind must recoil, and which is only calculated to fill it with horror,—that for the sake of the salvation of his people he would be content to be separated from Christ, and consigned to eternal reprobation. With regard to such a sentiment, we do not say too much when we affirm, that even supposing we could find no principle of criticism which would give the words a different sense, we should be justified in rejecting it as being alien to every holy emotion in the Christian heart, and opposed to the entire spirit of the Christian religion.

The original words are, *Ἠύχόμην γὰρ αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*. It is not my purpose to examine the different opinions regarding the sense of this passage, but it may not be improper to glance briefly at one or two of them. The view of those who would translate the word *Ἠύχόμην*, 'I did wish,' has no foundation in sound exegesis. It is manifest the Apostle speaks of his immediate feelings. Besides, there are other insuperable objections to this rendering.

Nor is the view of Dr. Waterland, as quoted by Doddridge, much more tenable, who would give to the words the following rendering,—*Made an anathema after the example of Christ*. The sense put upon *ἀπὸ* in this rendering is supported by a reference to *ἀπὸ τῶν προγόνων* (2 Tim. i. 3). But this solitary reference is not sufficient to establish the rendering, as the expression in Timothy might be translated with equal propriety, *according to the religion or system of my forefathers*.

Grotius understands the word *Χριστοῦ* as meaning the Church of Christ. According to his view, the expression *ἀνάθεμα ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* has the sense of being excommunicated or separated from the fellowship of the Christian church. This view, however, does not seem to agree well with the drift of the Apostle's argument; for we cannot perceive any connection between his zeal for the salvation of the house of Israel and separation from the church of Christ. The train of thought in his mind would not naturally have

have suggested such a declaration. Besides, the philological ground is not sufficient to support such an interpretation. The only instance, so far as I know, of the word *Χριστός* being used in the sense of the Church of Christ is that in 1 Cor. xii. 12; but this is not sufficient authority to ground an interpretation upon, especially when the words are capable of a sense more in harmony with the argument of the writer. The whole ambiguity turns upon the sense we put upon the words *ἀνάθεμα* and *ἀπὸ*. That the word *ἀνάθεμα* means 'accursed,' in a spiritual sense, cannot be questioned; but it has a secondary meaning no less certain,—that of being *devoted to destruction or death*. This is the sense given in certain passages to the Hebrew word *קִרְיָה* by the LXX. See Lev. xxvii. 28, Job vi. 17, 18, Josh. vii. 1, where the word *קִרְיָה* is rendered by the word *ἀνάθεμα*. The term is not of frequent occurrence in the New Testament, and in the few instances in which it does occur it has a modification of meaning determined by the connection, somewhat different from that given above; but its usage in the Septuagint is sufficient ground for our taking it, in the passage under consideration, in the sense referred to.

I am aware that the authority of Chrysostom has been cited as against this interpretation: *Εἰ τοῦτο ἔλεγε, πῶς ἀνάθεμα ἑαυτὸν πύχεται εἶναι ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ; ὁ γὰρ τοιοῦτος θάνατος μᾶλλον τῷ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνῆπτε χωρῶ, καὶ τῆς δόξης ἀπολαύειν ἐκείνης ἐποιεῖ.*—*If he meant so (to be devoted to death or martyrdom), how could he wish himself to be separated (ἀνάθεμα) from Christ? for such a death would rather have brought him into more intimate fellowship with Christ, and to the enjoyment of the felicity belonging to such a state.* Much weight, it is true, is due to the authority of this ancient writer; but the force of the above passage rests on a misconception of the meaning of the expression *ἀπὸ Χριστοῦ*, an expression which I hope to be able to show is capable of a very different sense from that in the mind of Chrysostom.

The connection seems also to confirm the view, that by the expression *ἀνάθεμα* the Apostle had in his mind the idea of temporal destruction, more especially that which appears in the form of persecution and martyrdom. He had just spoken of the trials to which the primitive preachers of the Gospel were exposed, 'tribulation, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, or sword;' and it was exceedingly natural for him, in expressing his ardent affection for his 'kinsmen according to the flesh,' harmonising with the train of thought in his mind, and arising naturally out of it, to express how willing he should be to submit to all the calamities he had referred to, could he in any way promote the salvation of his people. The sense of the expression *ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* remains still

still to be determined. There are not wanting, I am well aware, in the New Testament many passages in which the preposition *ἀπὸ* denotes the *efficient cause* (see Matt. xi. 19, xvi. 21 ; Mark viii. 31 ; Luke xvii. 25, and in many other instances). According to this view, the Apostle affirms that he could wish himself to be made an *ἀνάθεμα* by Christ for his kinsmen according to the flesh. But there is something harsh in the idea of Christ as the direct author of the sufferings of his servants. I cannot but think the words capable, therefore, of a meaning more in accordance with the general views presented in Scripture of the benevolent character of the author of Christianity, and equally accordant with the genius of the language. The words *ἀπὸ τοῦ Χριστοῦ* I would translate as meaning separation from the work of Christ, removed from his service. This would retain the original conception belonging to the particle *ἀπὸ*, which is that of *from* (e. g. Xen. *Anab.* i. 2. 5), *Κῦρος ὡρμᾶτο ἈΠΟ Σάρδεων*. This view is strengthened by the words of the Apostle (Phil. i. 2), 'For to me to live is Christ,' that is, to live would bring him the happiness of serving Christ, and promoting his cause. We may, therefore, suppose the Apostle as declaring in the passage in question, that, in order to promote the salvation of his people, he was willing to undergo any amount of suffering, involving even death itself, and consequently the suspension of his labours, his entire removal from the service of his master, in which he so much delighted. Thus the sacrifice he was ready to make was twofold,—the sacrifice of his life and the sacrifice of the enjoyment connected with the service of his Divine Master. If this view be taken of the passage, it greatly enhances the intensity and force of the language.

The writer of these remarks is not aware that the view he has taken of the latter part of the Apostle's words has ever been propounded before. He presents it with great diffidence, his main object being to elicit inquiry. Should he be the means of stirring up any of his brethren in Christ to resolve more successfully this or any other Scripture difficulty, he shall rejoice in the thought that his labour has not been in vain in the Lord.*

* Since the above was written, I have seen an article in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* by the Rev. Wm. Milligan on the same subject. That writer proposes to render the word *ευχόμεαι* by the English expression, 'I boast.' Such a rendering, he remarks, would give a very interesting meaning to the whole passage, but thinks more evidence is needed to confirm such a translation of the word before it could be generally adopted. Several philological objections present themselves to such a rendering, but the connection seems to my mind quite fatal to it. The Apostle announces with a solemn avowal his state of mind; he had great heaviness and continual sorrow in his heart. As arising out of this, he refers to the state of mind indicated by the term *ευχόμεαι*. The particle *γὰρ* plainly connects the sentiments expressed in the second and third verses. The emotions of which he was the subject were in both cases present and prevailing states of mind.

A PARALLEL BETWEEN DAVID AND TITUS MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

By the Rev. EDWARD WILTON, B.A., Oxon.

[The writer submits the following points of resemblance between a well-known event in Roman history and a still more familiar passage of Holy Writ, without claiming for the subject any other interest than may arise from a *remarkable coincidence*, not only in the *general circumstances*, but even in the *language and details*. At the same time he would respectfully suggest, as neither impossible nor improbable, that *Livy might* have seen and read the Hebrew Scriptures, which could not in his day have been altogether unknown at Rome; and so might have (intentionally or even unconsciously) *imitated* the Jewish narrative, while amplifying and embellishing the popular legend of Torquatus.]

I. David was descended from an illustrious family. 'Abraham . . . Isaac . . . Jacob . . . Judah . . . Naasson ("Prince of Judah," 1 Chron. ii. 10) . . . Boaz ("a mighty man of wealth," Ruth ii. 1).—Matt. i. 2, 3, 4.

II. His early youth was passed in obscurity and pastoral occupations. 'There remaineth yet the youngest, and, behold, he keepeth the sheep,' 1 Sam. xvi. 11. 'David thy son, which is with the sheep,' xvi. 19. 'David . . . returned . . . to feed his father's sheep,' xvii. 15. 'With whom hast thou left those few sheep in the wilderness?' ver. 28. See also 2 Sam. vii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 70.

III. The Israelites and Philistines were drawn up in hostile array against each other, separated only by a valley with a stream running through it. 'And the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side: *and there was a valley* (or brook, ver. 40; the Hebrew *nachal*, like *wady*, signifies a valley with a stream running through it) *between*.'—1 Sam. xvii. 3.

IV. A gigantic champion from the invading army challenged any one to decide the contest by en-

I. Manlius was descended from an illustrious family. '*Summo loco natus, dictatorius juvenis*.'—Liv., vii. 4.

II. His early youth was passed in obscurity and pastoral occupations. 'Juvenem . . . extorrem urbe, domo . . . foro . . . in opus servile . . . vitâ agresti et rustico cultu inter pecudes,' vii. 4. 'Rure et procul cœtu hominum juventam egisset.'—Ch. v.

III. The Romans and Gauls were drawn up in hostile array against each other, separated only by a valley with a stream running through it. 'Galli *trans* pontem Anienis castra habuere. Dictator . . . in *citeriore* ripâ Anienis castra posuit. *Pons in medio erat*.'—Ch. ix.

IV. A gigantic champion from the invading army challenged any one to decide the contest by en-

gaging

gaging with him in single combat. 'And *there went out* a champion out of the camp of the Philistines, named Goliath of Gath, *whose height was six cubits and a span* . . . and he stood, and *cried* unto the armies of Israel, and said unto them . . . "Choose you a man for you, and *let him come down to me*. If he be able to *fight* with me, and to kill me, then will we be your servants; but if I prevail against him and kill him, then shall ye be our servants and serve us." And the Philistine said, "I defy the armies of Israel this day: *give me a man, that we may fight together*.'"—Ver. 4, 8-10.

V. No one dared for a long time to accept the challenge. 'When Saul and all Israel heard those words . . . they were *dismayed and greatly afraid*. And the Philistine drew near morning and evening, and presented himself *forty days*.'—Ver. 11, 16.

VI. David requests the king's permission to accept the challenge, and urges his qualifications for the combat. 'And David said to Saul, "Thy servant will go and fight with this Philistine . . . Thy servant kept his father's sheep, and there came a lion and a bear, and took a lamb out of the flock . . . Thy servant slew both the lion and the bear; and *this uncircumcised Philistine shall be as one of them, seeing that he hath defied the armies of the living God*.'"—Ver. 32, 34, 36.

VII. David confidently expected success. 'The Lord . . . *will deliver me out of the hand of this Philistine*.'—Ver. 37.

VIII. Saul's permission and benediction. 'And Saul said unto David, "*Go, and the Lord be with thee*.'"—Ver. 37.

IX.

gaging with him in single combat. 'Tum *eximiâ corporis magnitudine* in vacuum pontem Gallus (velut moles superne imminens, ch. x.) *processit*; et *quantum maximâ voce potuit*, "Quem nunc," inquit, "Roma virum fortissimum habet, *procedat, agedum, ad pugnam*, ut noster duorum eventus ostendat, *utra gens bello sit melior*.'"—Ch. ix.

V. No one dared for a long time to accept the challenge. '*Diu* inter primores juvenum Romanorum *silentium* fuit, quum et abnuere certamen vererentur, et *præcipuam sortem periculi petere nollent*.'—Ch. x.

VI. Manlius requests the dictator's permission to accept the challenge, and urges his qualifications for the combat. 'Tum Titus Manlius . . . ad dictatorem pergit. . . . "Si tu permittis," inquit, "*volo ego illi belluæ ostendere, quando adeo ferox præsulat hostium signis*, me ex eâ familiâ ortum, quæ Gallorum agmen ex rupe Tarpeîâ dejecit.'"—Ch. x.

VII. Manlius confidently expected success. 'Nunquam pugnaverim, non si *certain* victoriam videam.'—Ch. x.

VIII. The dictator's permission and benediction. 'Tum dictator . . . "*Perge*," inquit, "et nomen Romanum invictum, *juvantibus diis, præsta*.'"—Ch. x.

2 c 2

IX.

IX. David is armed for the fight. 'And Saul armed David with his armour, and he put a *helmet* of brass upon his head: also he armed him with a *coat of mail*. And David girded his *sword* upon his armour.'—Ver. 38, 39.

X. David *apparently* inferior to Goliath. 'Thou art but a youth, and he a man of war from his youth.'—Ver. 33. See also ch. xvi. 7.

XI. Goliath's splendid armour. 'And he had a helmet of *brass*, and he was armed with a *coat of mail*, and the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of *brass*. And he had greaves of *brass*, and a gorget of *brass* between his shoulders.'—Ver. 5, 6.

XII. David consulted *use* rather than show in his choice of weapons. 'And David said unto Saul, "I cannot go with these, for I *have not proved* them." And David put them off him. And he took his staff . . . and five smooth stones . . . and his sling was in his hand.'—Ver. 39, 40.

XIII. David is regarded with the utmost *contempt* by Goliath. 'And when the Philistine looked about and saw David, he *disdained* him, for he was but a youth.'—Ver. 42. See also Ps. xxii. 7.

XIV. David obtains an easy victory by his superior *agility*. 'David *hasted*, and *ran* . . . to meet the Philistine. And David took a stone and slang it, and smote the Philistine in his forehead, that the stone sunk into his forehead.'—Ver. 48, 49.

XV. The giant falls prostrate. 'And he fell upon his face to the earth.'—Ver. 49.

XVI. David spoils his fallen enemy. 'David ran, and *stood upon*

IX. Manlius is armed for the fight. 'Armant inde juvenem æquales. Pedestre *scutum* capit, Hispano cingitur *gladio* ad propiorem habili pugnam.'—Ch. x.

X. Manlius *apparently* inferior to the Gaul. 'Nequaquam *visu ac specie æstimantibus* pares.'—Ch. x.

XI. The Gaul's splendid armour. ' . . . *versicolori veste* pictisque et *auro cælati* refulgens armis.'—Ch. x.

XII. Manlius consulted *use* rather than show in his choice of weapons. ' . . . *modica* in armis *habilibus* magis quam decoris *species*.'—Ch. x.

XIII. Manlius is regarded with the utmost *contempt* by the Gaul. 'Adversus Gallum stolidè lætum et . . . *linguam* etiam ab inrisu *exserentem*.'—Ch. x.

XIV. Manlius obtains an easy victory by his superior *agility*. 'Romanus, mucrone subrecto, quum scuto scutum inum percussisset, totoque corpore interior periculo vulneris factus, insinuasset se inter corpus armaque, uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem et inguina hausit.'—Ch. x.

XV. The giant falls prostrate. 'Et in spatium ingens ruentem porrexit hostem.'—Ch. x.

XVI. Manlius spoils his fallen enemy. '*Jacentis* inde corpus . . . *torque*

upon the Philistine . . . and cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem, but he put his armour in his tent.'—Ver. 51, 54. 'David returned with the head of the Philistine in his hand.'—Ver. 57.

XVII. Consternation and flight of the Philistines on the death of their champion. 'And when the Philistines saw their champion was dead, they fled. And the men of Israel arose and shouted, and pursued the Philistines . . . to . . . Ekron. And the children of Israel returned from chasing after the Philistines, and spoiled their tents.'—Ver. 51-53.

XVIII. David, after his victory, is brought to Saul and Jonathan, who reward him. 'And as David returned from the slaughter of the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him before Saul.'—Ch. xvii. 57. 'And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his garments, even to his sword, and to his bow, and to his girdle.'—Ch. xviii. 4. 'And Saul took him that day, and would let him go no more home to his father's house.'—Ver. 2. 'And Saul set him over the men of war.'—Ver. 5.

XIX. Triumphal songs in his honour. 'And it came to pass . . . that the women came . . . singing and dancing . . . with tabrets, and joy, and instruments of music. And the women answered one another, as they played, and said, "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands."—Ver. 6, 7.

XX. David's heroic act on this occasion served afterwards to distinguish him. 'Is not this David? . . . did they not sing one to another of him in dances, saying, "Saul

torque spoliavit: quem respersum cruore collo circumdedit suo.'—Ch. x.

XVII. Consternation and flight of the Gauls on the death of their champion. 'Defixerat pavor cum admiratione Gallos. Et, Hercule, tanti ea ad universi belli eventum momenti dimicatio fuit, ut Gallorum exercitus . . . relictis trepide castris, in Tiburtem agrum . . . transierit.'—Ch. x. xi.

XVIII. Manlius, after his victory, is brought to the dictator, who rewards him. 'Ad dictatorem perducunt . . . Dictator coronam auream addidit donum, mirisque pro concione eam pugnam laudibus tulit.'—Ch. x.

XIX. Triumphal songs in his honour. 'Romani . . . gratulantes, laudantesque . . . inter carminum propemodum incondita quædam militariter,' &c. [The Roman soldiers were in the habit of expressing their joy, &c., by rude extempore songs chanted in alternate couplets. See Livy, iv. 53: 'Alternis inconditi versus jactati.']

XX. Manlius, from an incident in this battle, received a surname which served afterwards to distinguish him. 'Torquati cognomen . . . celebratum deinde posteris etiam

"Saul hath slain," &c.—Ch. xxi. 11; ch. xxix. 5.

XXI. David subsequently rose to the highest honours of the state. (He married the king's daughter, and at length ascended the throne of Israel.)

XXII. His domestic happiness was embittered by the death of a beloved son under most painful circumstances (killed in the act of rebelling against his own father).

etiam familiæque honori fuit.—Ch. x.

XXI. Manlius subsequently rose to the highest honours of the state. (He was chosen consul three times, and dictator twice.)

XXII. His domestic happiness was embittered by the death of a beloved son under most painful circumstances (put to death by order of his own father, for a breach of military discipline).

THE TRUE VINE.

(JOHN XV. 1-6.)

By GEORGE J. WALKER.

'*Ἀληθινός* is often used in contrast with something antecedent of an inferior and typical nature. 'My Father giveth you the *true* bread from heaven' (John vi. 32), which contrasts with the manna. The heavenly tabernacle is called 'the *true* tabernacle,' as opposed to the earthly one (Heb. viii. 2). Spiritual worshippers are called '*true*,' as distinguished from those who used carnal ordinances (John iv. 23). The frequent use of this word, and its cognates, *ἀληθεια*, *ἀληθής*, *ἀληθώς*, in John's writings is characteristic of the Apostle, who pre-eminently sets forth the *person* of Christ, around which he makes in a peculiar manner every doctrine, discourse, and action to cluster, embracing every opportunity of placing Him as it were in the focus, where the converging rays of the revelations and types of the former ages all meet.

Thus in the Gospel of John we have Jesus presented as the *Lamb* of God, the taker away* (*ὁ αἵρων*) of the sin of the world (i. 29); in ch. ii. 19 He takes the place of the *temple*; in ch. vi. of the *manna*. He is the antitype of the *mystic ladder* of *Jacob* (i. 51); of the *brazen serpent* (iii. 14), and of the *paschal lamb* (xix. 36). Although John the Baptist was 'the burning and shining lamp' (*ὁ λύχνος ὁ καίόμενος καὶ φαίνων*), v. 35, yet he only came to bear witness of the '*true* light which coming into the world lighteth every man' (i. 9). Only in John have we the record of the flowing of the blood and water from the Saviour's pierced side; silently but beautifully proclaiming the fulfilment of the types of cleansing and atonement in his sacred person.

* With abstract reference to the universal *aspect* of his sacrifice, not to the actual *extent* of its resulting blessings.

There

There had been a vineyard planted by the Lord in the earth before Isaiah v., but wild grapes had been alone its produce. The vine proved to be of the vine of Sodom, and of the fields of Gomorrah. The grapes were grapes of gall, their clusters were bitter; the wine was the poison of dragons, and the cruel venom of asps (Deut. xxxii. 32, 33): God brake down its hedges, so that all who passed by the way plucked it. It was wasted by the boar out of the wood, and devoured by the wild beast of the field, Ps. lxxx. (compare also Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xv. xix.). But by and by this vine will be visited by the Lord (Ps. lxxx. 14); they will sing of her 'A vineyard of red wine,' and Israel will blossom and bud, and fill the face of the world with fruit (Isa. xxvii. 2—6).

When our Lord said 'I am the *true* vine,' he doubtless spoke with reference to the former degenerate and temporarily rejected plant. In the preceding chapter he had spoken of his approaching departure to the Father; nevertheless he here unfolds a new relationship in which he was to stand towards his people, a relationship irrespective of his bodily presence, yet still a distinctively *earthly* relationship, for he reveals himself as the mystic vine planted in the earth, and of which his people are the branches.

It is important moreover to notice that he says, '*my Father*' is the husbandman, for it still further distinguishes the present from the former Jewish vine planted and watched over by *Jehovah*; and enables us also to estimate the love and tenderness of the culture of which we are the present objects.

Verse 2 describes the actual dealings of the Father. The taking away^b of the fruitless as well as the cleansing or pruning of the fruit-bearing branches, are confined to our present state. The unity and consistency of the figure appears violated, and the natural meaning of the passage set aside, when, as is often done, the branches taken away are explained as mere *professors*, for on that supposition the fruitless branches would be left untouched till the judgment, as the express statement of many scriptures (for example, the parable of the wheat and tares) is, that the separation between the good and the bad, between real and only nominal Christians, is reserved for the end of the age, and the coming of the Lord: neither does observation show that an unreal profession is ordinarily, much less universally, subjected to present divine judgment.

But could mere professors belong to the *true* vine? Could they be said to come under the dealings of the *Father* as the husbandman? and is not the notion derived from the passage that

^b There is a paronomasia, but nothing more, in *αἵρει* and *καθαίρει*, *καθαίρω* being a primitive word, and as well as *καθαρός*, etc., having no affinity with *αἶρω*.

of continuous and successive excisions on the one hand, as of continuous cleansings on the other? Is the idea of a final act of cumulative judgment on those represented by the fruitless branches fairly suggested either by the comparison itself or by the language? The former presents a plant both perfect in its original state, and *preserved by culture in that perfection* during a certain protracted earthly period. The latter equally confines our thoughts to certain actings of the husbandman, in either case, whether of taking away or of cleansing, *within*, not without that earthly period. Not to say that if the figure of the vine and the branches be suited to our earthly state, and is not properly descriptive of a *heavenly* relationship, it would be difficult to see how the *final* excision of the branches involved any penalty at all.

By the branches that are cut off must, it is conceived, be meant real Christians, but who through worldliness or sin, or carelessness, have forfeited their interest in the peculiar relationship to Christ set forth in this Scripture. Divine life is not extinct in them, but it is more like embers smouldering under ashes than a clear bright flame. Their final safety is indeed ensured, but it will be unaccompanied by the special honours destined for those whose *works* as well as whose *persons* are accepted. In this view the excision of a branch may often be unattended by any marked outward manifestation in the circumstances of the individual whom it represented. Silently may the connection be severed on which depends the believer's fruitfulness, though not his salvation. He may lose some of the special rewards of heaven while its gates are still open to admit him. An outwardly respectable position in the (so called) religious world, and in the communion he happens to belong to, may still be his; the external mechanism, as it were, of piety may not be sensibly decayed; the very same actions may perhaps be performed as before, but without unction, without fervour, without vitality.

If it be borne in mind that the subject of the whole context is *fruitbearing*, not *salvation*, we shall be able to estimate its powerful bearing on the conscience of the believer, and we shall find little difficulty in the interpretation of the several verses.

The fruitfulness of the believer cannot be measured merely by what is open to the observation of others. Nay, he may even be unconscious himself of the real value of many a godly exercise of soul, appreciable nevertheless to Him who "seeth not as man seeth," nor looketh, like man, "on the outward appearance," but "*on the heart*" (1 Sam. xvi. 7). Moreover the beautiful figure of the vine and its branches excludes the idea of fitful, impulsive actings, or of constrained and violent effort. Fruit-bearing in nature is the reverse of these: it is the necessary result of the
uninterrupted

uninterrupted flow of the juices of the parent stem: *πλεῖον* may perhaps refer to *quality* as well as *quantity*, although the latter is the principal thought.

Verse 3 (see ch. xiii. 10). Judas had now departed, and this verse affords a corroboration of the view that true believers *only* are contemplated throughout the passage,—those who as to their *standing* are *clean*, and who for that very reason come under special cleansing as *branches*.

The instruction of verses 4 and 5 is perfectly consistent with the view here taken of the passage. A real Christian may often not have on the armour of God (Eph. vi. 11, &c.); his work may be burned, and he may suffer loss, yet he himself may be saved, yet so as by fire (1 Cor. iii. 15); he may not be in this world a 'vessel unto honour, sanctified and *meet for the master's use, and prepared unto every good work*' (2 Tim. ii. 21). So also he may not abide in Christ, in the sense of this passage, and thereby he is rendered unfruitful, for 'apart (or separate, *χωρίς*) from me ye can do nothing.'

Verse 6: 'If any one abide not in me, he is cast forth^c as the branch, and is withered; and they gather them, and cast (them) into the fire, and they are burned.'

The strength of expression in this verse has probably, more than anything else, led some to regard it as descriptive of the judgment on such as were never really Christ's people. But just as the context of Matt. iii. 10, vii. 19, leads us rightly to apply similar language in those places to such persons, here on the contrary it seems to require another application, and to signify the utter destruction of the *branch relationship*, not wrath and judgment on the *person*, the gathering and the burning being but an expansion of the first part of the second verse, as it were exegetical of *αἵρεσι*.

Ezek. xv. is probably the groundwork of this passage in John: 'What is the vine tree more than any tree, the branch which is among the trees of the forest?' (ver. 2); *i. e.* such a vine as grows wild in the woods. This was Israel's degenerate condition. Other trees are useful in their way for timber, &c., but the vine, when not fruitful and uncultivated, is utterly worthless (ver. 3): and as the useless vine is only fit to be burned, so divine judgments are threatened on Israel (ver. 6-8); and *desolation* was to be the penalty of their unfruitfulness and unprofitable state. But there is this difference between the two Scriptures, that in Ezekiel the burning is a distinct act of temporal judgment, being expressly so interpreted: whereas in John it is the full and necessary *result* of

^c The use of the indicative of the aorist in this verse is to express a general truth, irrespective of any particular time. See Green's *Gram. of the N. Test. Dialect*, p. 16.

unfruitfulness,

unfruitfulness, without involving the idea of a new and special penalty. One who being in Christ (in the peculiar sense of this passage) ceases to *abide* in him, is rendered unfruitful; he is consequently cast forth as a branch and is withered. When it is added, 'and they gather *them*,' &c., we have, it would seem, merely the extension of the general metaphor rather than a new feature with some special significancy attached to it. The *taking away* in ver. 2 really includes the whole; *withering* is the natural consequence of being cast forth, but the latter part of ver. 6 puts the climax or finish on the comparison; *q. d.* 'and withered branches are only fit to be collected as fuel,' the force of which is sufficiently obvious, without its being necessary to interpret the burning even of temporal, much less eternal punishment.

By some who regard the expression 'in me' as signifying union with Christ of a fundamental and perpetual nature, such, that is, as is possessed by every true believer, the excision is understood as *hypothetically* put, and as having the weight of a solemn warning for the purpose of preserving the believer in his faithfulness. The *general* wording of verses 2 and 6, as contrasted with the direct address in 3 and 5, has been thought to confirm this view. It is true that Scripture does often thus address true disciples, warning them what the consequence must be *if* they draw back, &c., yet not implying thereby that any one either has fallen or ever will fall away finally. Acts xxvii. furnishes an apt illustration of the principle. God had expressly and absolutely insured the safety of all who were sailing with Paul (ver. 24). Yet after this we find the Apostle as distinctly declaring, '*except these abide in the ship ye cannot be saved*' (ver. 31). But it is difficult to set aside the impression produced by the entire passage that excision is an actual not a hypothetical case; just as it is not a mere hypothesis that he that lacketh certain things necessary to prevent his being *barren* or *unfruitful* in the knowledge of the Lord, 'is blind and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins' (2 Pet. i. 5-11). And if some (as observation as well as Scripture proves) are actually in this state, if some are saved only as by fire, whilst to others an entrance will be ministered *abundantly* into the kingdom, the former cannot be said to 'bring forth much fruit,' which would be the case if they were *abiding* in Christ (John xv. 5). Thus even if it were admitted that *taking away* is hypothetically put, unless it were granted also that *fruitlessness* is equally an ideal case (which is impossible), the above view founded on the expression 'in me' would appear to be untenable. Besides that, as already remarked, the nature of the figure indicates an earthly and temporal rather than a heavenly and eternal relationship.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CORRESPONDENCE.

PROFESSOR VON EWALD'S REPLY TO PROFESSOR
LEE'S LAST LETTER.

[Communicated by Dr. NICHOLSON.]

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

MY DEAR SIR,—The last Number of your Journal contains a letter from Professor Lee, in which he adduces the testimony of a correspondent, who asserts that ‘Dr. Ewald saw Professor Lee’s Grammar in my possession in the year 1832, and I believe, at his request, I left it with him a short time for his inspection.’ The name of this correspondent is, I know not for what reason, withheld; but Professor Lee humanely avails himself of this reticence to feather the shaft of an imputation of wilful lying; for he adds, ‘I need not inform Dr. Ewald who this Englishman is, for he well knows it.’ Further, Professor Lee has not only, curiously enough, no hesitation in identifying his correspondent as ‘*the very Englishman*’ whom Von Ewald had mentioned as showing him that book, for the first time, in 1835, but also, as a matter of course, treats this ‘mystery’ as a fresh proof of the plagiarism, and as a loud impeachment of his adversary’s honour. Now, I will not stop to inquire what grammatical sense is to be attached to the anonymous correspondent’s testimony,—whether he merely believes he lent Von E. the book, although he certainly requested the loan of it; or whether he is positive he did lend it him, and merely believes it was at his own request,—but I must assure you that I am myself the Englishman to whom Von E. referred; and that as I was then engaged in translating his Hebrew Grammar, I very naturally showed him Professor Lee’s work, which I had brought with me. I mention this here, in order to explain my friend’s subsequent allusion to this occurrence; and I take this occasion to declare my perfect memory of the incident to which he refers.

As for the accusation itself, I lost no time in making Von Ewald acquainted with it; and I am enabled to cite from his letter to me the following passage in reply to it:—‘I do not know what Englishman Professor Lee means, who lent me his book for a short time in 1832. So many Englishmen, besides yourself, were at Göttingen between the years 1827 and 1837, and generally on transient visits, that I must have an extraordinary memory if I were still able to remember them all. Let it then, for my part, be granted to be quite possible that some Englishman showed me Professor Lee’s book in 1832;—whether such a thing actually occurred, or not, I am utterly unable to recollect—but the fact is also of no importance: because, if you were not the first person to show it to me in 1835, but if it really
was

was shown to me in 1832, it is quite certain that I must have thrown the work aside after a few minutes' inspection, without thinking it worthy of anything like perusal,—just as I quickly returned it to you in 1835 (and you will hardly have forgotten the circumstance), and remarked to you that I could not read it through. But in 1835, on account of the undertaking in which you were then engaged, I certainly did look at it with somewhat closer attention than I did in 1832 (assuming always that I did get a sight of it then). It was not, however, until 1845 that I had any occasion to recollect *when* I first saw the book; if I was then no longer able to recall the circumstance of having seen it in 1832, that is surely very excusable. This matter is of the least possible moment; the real point is, that the charge of plagiarism is *in itself* utterly ludicrous, or, I should rather say, atrocious; because any intelligent person can discern that my grammatical views are entirely different from those of Professor Lee, and most of all so in the very points which are supposed to prove the plagiarism.*

Von Ewald thus abides by his original defence (as contained in 'The Churchman's Review' for May, 1847), namely, that the immense discrepancy between his theory of the Hebrew tenses and accentuation, and those of Professor Lee, renders it *impossible* he can have 'purloined' them from him. Every sound scholar, therefore, will, after due comparison of the two Grammars, be quite competent to decide how justly Von Ewald would incur the suspicion of plagiarism, even if it could be proved that he had learnt Hebrew out of Professor Lee's Grammar as a boy.*

It is, however, a striking fact that the merits of this controversy have not, as far as I am aware, been honoured with even a trivial notice in any English periodical. This indifference—which is, perhaps, to be ascribed to the general torpor which has seized Hebrew philology among us, and the consequently limited number of persons competent to appreciate the real gist of such discussions; to the delusion that the interests of orthodoxy are in any way involved in the victory of such a champion as Professor Lee; and to a mistaken patriotism, which sets a higher value on the triumph of our countryman than on that of science and truth—renders it impossible to estimate the effect of my friend's former vindication, and difficult to judge how far the addition of a seasonable word might now conduce to evince the unimpeachable

* It is desirable to mention that Von Ewald's *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache*, 1844, contains by far the fullest as well as the maturest representation of his views—particularly on the accentuation. It is no insignificant evidence of the acceptance which his theory of the Hebrew Tenses has found in the home of all philology—his own country—that Professor Roediger has adopted it in the last two editions of *Gesenius's Grammar*. Some of your readers may be glad to have their attention called to an excellent essay on the 'Hebrew Imperfect,' by Prof. Dietrich, which occupies from pp. 95 to 194 in his *Abhandlungen zur Hebr. Gram.*, 1846. Prof. Herling has written an essay, *Von der Dichotomie der Tempusformen*, &c. (in Welcker's *Rheinisches Museum* for 1837, pp. 522-572), in which he designates the Imperfect as the *Present*—without any mention of Prof. Lee's name. I hope I shall not hereby expose him to a charge of plagiarism.

strength

strength of his defence. I will, however, venture a few remarks, to indicate the motives which induce him to decline all further controversy with his accuser, and to account for the tone of undissembled indignation which pervades his last reply. I must then remind your readers that this charge of plagiarism was not only preposterous in itself, but that it was expressed in terms of the most offensive coarseness, and that it was repeated after a long interval—all *before* a line appeared in reply. My friend's short vindication (in *The Churchman's Review*) contained the most emphatic denial both of the commission of the 'pillage' imputed, and even of the opportunity to commit it, and further offered some irrefragable *arguments* to show that, on the precise points in dispute, Professor Lee's views were utterly erroneous, and therefore irreconcilable with his own. Now I should like to ask whether—even in a case in which there was sufficient resemblance between two competing systems to give a colourable pretext for the charge of plagiarism—any Christian gentleman has the privilege of treating the solemn asseveration of the accused party with nothing but insulting unbelief. However great the coincidence of two theories may be, the actual fact of plagiarism can generally be only known to the accused. Should not his strenuous denial (even unsupported by *argument*) be enough, in civilised society, to bar all direct re-assertion of the charge? Is not such forbearance as much due to the self-respect of the person making the charge, as it is, by courtesy, due to the position of the accused? The exercise of this reasonable forbearance as to the once denied accusation of plagiarism would, nevertheless, leave it open to the accuser to follow up the most searching inquiry as to the degree of identity between the respective views, or as to the priority of their discovery; and the successful settlement of these two questions—which, as being mainly matters of mere science and date, could surely be discussed without violating the commonest decencies of life—would afford ample satisfaction to the vanity of even a jealous author. Now Professor Lee was so far from paying this respect to the solemn denial of so eminent a man as Von Ewald, that he published a large pamphlet in reply, and perpetually reiterated the charge of 'purloining' in every shape of vulgar insolence; and, by so doing, gave him *the lie direct* in every page! Therefore, if any man wonder why my friend declines any further dealing with such an opponent, I must ask him whether he himself (assuming him to be a man of honour) could condescend to prolong even the intercourse of controversy with a man who had repeatedly and directly given him the lie. But even this is not all: my friend is indignant at the painfully *immoral* tone of Professor Lee's pamphlet. He considers it as a tissue of disingenuous evasions, a repertory of the low artifices of a controversialist by trade, who will rather resort to any subterfuge than once admit he was in error, and who will not scruple at any device (even down to the cry of *heresy*) which may ensure a temporary triumph among the ignorant. As he has formed this estimate of his accuser's conduct—and how justly, any scholar, with a sense of honour, may judge for himself—it would certainly be demeaning himself were he to consent to

to any further personal controversy. Nothing will now tempt him to that. But if any *other* person (of reputable character, and of competent learning) will come forward as the champion of Professor Lee's accusation of plagiarism, of his gentlemanly deportment in this controversy, and of his attainments as a philologist, Von Ewald is ready to stand to everything he has asserted in disproof of the first, and in disparagement of the last two, and to show, by detailed proofs, that his indignation, fervent as it has been, has *not* led him to retort any charge against his accuser which he is not able, in his coolest moments, to maintain to the uttermost.

JOHN NICHOLSON.

P.S.—Von Ewald has noticed this controversy in the first number of his new periodical, *Jahrbücher der Biblischen Wissenschaft*, Göttingen, 1848 (pp. 35, 36); and he purposes, in the next number of the same, to reprint his Vindication from 'The Churchman's Review,' and to append some new notes to it.

HEINFETTER'S TRANSLATION OF JOHN'S GOSPEL.*

SIR,—There are some publications which in themselves deserve no notice, and which only call for remark because of the mischief which their empty pretensions might do to the unwary. If it were not for this, I should not have directed the attention of any one to Mr. Heinfetter's (so-called) literal translation.

He gives the first verse of St. John's Gospel thus: 'In beginning, *i. e. in commencing this Dispensation*, the word *spoken* was, and the word *spoken*, it was with the God to fulfil, and a God, the word *spoken* was, *i. e. became*.' A mere perusal of this medley of words is sufficient for the Christian scholar; the pretension to '*definite rules of translation*' is shown (if the term have *any meaning*) to be a claim to have a right to depart from all grammar, construction, and Christian verity.

We are informed in a note—'Italics mark an addition to, or a substitution I would propose for, the translation in the text; each of which appears to me to make the sense clearer.' Certainly this one verse is turned by the words in italics into something very different in sense from what St. John wrote; I may leave it to every one to say whether this new sense is *clearer* or not.

The translator has added *notes* to illustrate and defend his version and his additions to the text. I will now consider these *seriatim*.

'*In beginning*. Had the sense here been *In the beginning of all things*, the article must have been expressed. See Rev. xxi. 6; also John ii. 11. Its omission, therefore, determines that some other sense

* *A Literal Translation of the Gospel according to St. John, on definite rules of Translation*.—By HERMAN HEINFETTER.—This letter has been forwarded to us by the gentleman to whom it was addressed, and who judged its contents well suited for publication in the Journal of Sacred Literature.—EDITOR.

is intended to be conveyed, which, from the context, I judge to be that expressed in the paraphrase. (See viii. 44.)'

Indeed! We are authoritatively told that the article *must* have been expressed if the beginning of all things were intended. Let us, however, look at this assertion, for we must not allow boldness of statement to pass instead of *evidence*. The first words of the LXX. version are 'ἐν ἀρχῇ, In the beginning God made the heaven and the earth.' There is no article before ἀρχῇ, and yet, according to this translator 'on definite rules,' the article *must* have been expressed if the beginning of all things were spoken of. But who has authorized such an addition to the Holy Scripture as is contained in the interpolated words 'in commencing this dispensation?' Let the passage in St. John be carefully read and compared with Gen. i., and then I am sure that the parallelism of the statements will be manifest. The texts to which reference is made in the note have no bearing on the matter in hand at all. Rev. xxi. 6, applies the term 'the Beginning and the End' to Him that sitteth on the throne; and the same term is in Rev. xxii. 13, applied to the Lord Jesus, declaring Him to be, equally with the Father, very and eternal God. In John ii. 11, it is expressly said what beginning is there intended: 'this beginning of miracles did Jesus.' But why does Mr. Heinfetter tell us to look at John viii. 44? — 'The devil was a murderer from the beginning.' Does he really intend that we should understand by this 'the commencement of this dispensation?' Now, if the translator had *really* sought 'from the context' what *beginning* is spoken of in John i. 1, he would have learned that it was a beginning in relation to Creation, and in relation to 'all things.' (As to the omission of the Article, see any good Greek grammar.)

'*The word spoken, &c.* In vindication to my translation of this verse, I would inquire, 1st. What rule, usage, or customary *form of expression*, does it transgress? 2nd. What better form of Greek could be employed to express the sense I have given, than that which is in the original? 3rd. In relation to the sense this verse is commonly regarded to afford, I would inquire, Where is there any authority for a word preceded by the Article in the commencement of record without any explicit definition, being regarded as an appellation of an individual, when such word is not only not previously well known as an acknowledged appellation of the individual, but is on no other occasion ever applied as an appellation of the individual? To admit such to be the case, is to admit the Article is a nullity. Rev. xix. 13, is not the same appellation. It is not *And his name is called the word*, but *And his name is called the word of the God*. To say nothing of its having been written 28 years afterwards.'

To transcribe or even to read such a note is wearisome.

I reply that Mr. Heinfetter has not attempted to justify his addition of *spoken* to the term 'word,' nor yet the insertion of 'to fulfil,' which he gives afterwards. As to the personal appellation, *THE WORD*, I ask, Is the ignorance real or affected in which Mr. Heinfetter appears to know nothing of such an appellation having been used to designate a person?

a person? Whichever it be, it shows how utterly disqualified he is for instructing others on the subject. It is simply a matter of common knowledge that *the Word* was used as a *personal name* long before St. John wrote this Gospel. Against this Mr. Heinfetter's *assertions* are merely futile. I might ask, What *sense* does he attach to these words on his 'definite rules?' What *meaning* is there if a *person* be not spoken of?

'*A God*. Was this used as an appellation of Almighty God, the Article would certainly have been expressed before it; its omission, therefore, determines that it must be used as an appellation of some other, and this other I judge from the context to be what I have expressed in the paraphrase. I judge my view to be somewhat strengthened by the second verse, which would otherwise be a mere repetition of the third clause of the first verse.'

He translates ver. 2: 'This *God* was in beginning, *i. e.*, in commencing this dispensation, with the God.'

In answer to all this tissue of profane *polytheism*, I say, 1st, That *θεός* in this place being the predicate, the article is, in accordance with common usage, *omitted*. 2nd. That there is no such thing as a distinction drawn in Scripture between God in a supreme sense, and God in some other sense: and that the presence or absence of the article proves nothing of the kind. I know full well that some have used a passage in Origen as though he thought such a distinction were found in this verse; but Origen is not an *authority*; and further, the passage itself has been misunderstood.

Much mischief has been done by Arians having boldly asserted that *θεός* has the article when applied to the Father, and that when applied to the Son it is without the article. This *assertion* has been supposed by some to be *true*; and it has at least confused their minds. But the fact is that *θεός*, with or without the article, alike indicates the living and true God. I give the following as occurrences in which the article is not inserted:—Rom. i. 4, 'determined to be the Son of God with power;' i. 18, 'the wrath of God is revealed;' i. 21, 'they honoured him not as God;' viii. 7, 'the carnal mind is enmity against God;' viii. 17, 'heirs of God;' viii. 33, 'It is God that justifieth.' 1 John iv. 12, 'no man hath seen God at any time.' Would any one dare to introduce the heathenish idea and expression 'a God' into any of these passages?

Further, it is not *true* that *θεός*, when it relates to the Lord Jesus Christ, does not take the article. It has it, or has it not, *according to the common rules of Greek*. Thus, *the very first time θεός occurs in the New Testament it relates to the Lord Jesus, and it has the article*. Matt. i. 23, 'They shall call his name Emmanuel, which being interpreted, is God with us.' So also in John xx. 28, 'My Lord and my God.' 1 John v. 20, 'This is the true God, and eternal life.' Heb. i. 8, 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever.' These are enough examples to show the utter incorrectness of the assertion; so that if there had been (which there is not) such a distinction as some have imagined between *θεός* and *ὁ θεός*, there would still remain the incontestable

testable fact that our blessed Lord is *God* in its true and full sense, and that He is so described by the Holy Ghost.

Mr. Heinfetter translates ver. 3 thus: 'all things in this dispensation, by means of him, he did,' &c.; he gives no note to defend or explain this rendering—a rendering in which *ἐγένετο* is taken for an active verb, governing *πάντα* in the accusative, and apparently with God as the nominative! Thus, and by the means of interpolated words, does the translator avoid the statement—'All things were made (or came into existence) by Him.' He will not admit THE WORD to be a person or the Creator of all things. And this is the result of his 'definite rules!' We might suppose that he would find some difficulty in this verse, as he shows (p. 16) that he is ignorant of the general rule that a neuter plural nominative in Greek takes a singular verb (which he supposes to imply a *metaphor*); but even this amount of ignorance hardly prepared me for the *still greater* which is evinced in rendering *ἐγένετο* by 'he did!'

In the preface Mr. Heinfetter informs us (p. iv.) that he has implicitly endeavoured to follow ('as far as he comprehends the subject') Donnegan's Lexicon and Valpy's Greek Grammar. A *very moderate* acquaintance with these works would have sufficed to preserve him from *such* mistakes. He may well say of his work, 'I do not claim attention to it on the ground of my possessing learning and research;' if he possesses *either* of these qualifications, he has at least avoided all use of them. But he does claim something:—'Neither do I claim attention to my work on the ground of esteeming myself to possess greater powers of mind than those that have preceded me; but I rest my claim *exclusively* on my conviction *that I possess information of which they were ignorant*; and *that* indeed of a nature that appears to me of vital consequence to the attainment of the required end.' How valuable Mr. Heinfetter's *exclusive information* is, may be fairly judged from what I have quoted. The text and the notes are *all through* of the same kind.

As to his 'definite rules,' it will suffice to say that what is true is not new; what is new is not true.

Mr. Heinfetter's *real* object appears to have been to use a parade of *superior information* and reckless assertion in opposition to the God-head of the Lord Jesus Christ, His creative power, work of atonement, &c., and also in opposition to the Personality of the Holy Ghost.

As one more specimen of his rendering, I give part of ver. 10; he translates instead of 'the world was made by Him,'—'the world by means of it came to be regarded!'

Every imaginable liberty has been taken with the text. In vers. 17, 18, he disjoins *θεὸν* from its connection, and translates, 'the grace and truth referred to by means of Jesus Christ, became God's grace and truth, no one hath perceived truth yet,' &c. He adds a note on the expression 'became God's,' in which he says that he cannot connect God as in the received translation, until 'an explanation of its position in the arrangement be found out;' and thus, to avoid some *imagined* difficulty, he joins it to a sentence where it *can* have no grammatical

construction, and to translate it at all, he turns the *accusative case* (tacitly) into the *genitive*. If he really thought in this place (as in ver. 3) that *ἐγένετο* governs an accusative, he would, I suppose, have translated 'became *God*,' or 'became *a God*.' Oh that men would be learners before they try to be teachers!

It is grievous to see the word of God thus treated; if men will show their folly, at least let them leave holy subjects alone. Mere ignorance is venial when compared with the presumption here displayed. May God hinder this attack on His Scripture from injuring any of those who are uninstructed!

An open avowal of Arian or Socinian doctrine—an acknowledged attack on the foundation truths of Christianity—would be sufficiently evil; how much more so is such an attack when made covertly and under false pretences! Would that this writer may see the sin of thus using God's holy Word against God and against His truth!

S. P. T.

August 25, 1849.

THE PROPER SUBJECTS OF FAITH AND PRAYER.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

SIR,—Might I be allowed space in your useful Journal for the following suggestive remarks?

I have often been struck with the variance existing between what I may call the *popular theology* of the churches, and the (probably) more correct deductions of Christians of a higher grade of intellect or of closer thought than the majority of their brethren. I know of no subject exhibiting this variance more decidedly than that named at the head of this article: a subject to which you have yourself made a passing allusion in your interesting paper on 'The Youth of David.' (vol. ii. p. 71.)

The difference in question divides itself as follows—the former class of opinion being held, perhaps, by much the greater proportion of believers:—

1. We have warranty from Scripture to offer prayer and exercise faith with reference to temporal calamities, &c., just as in affairs purely spiritual. God will, in reply to the prayer of a *believer*, relieve our bodily afflictions, prevent starvation when in extreme poverty, and otherwise honour faith as of old in taking the superintendence of our temporal and physical concerns, *as a direct result of that faith*. The experience of many good men is to be taken as confirmatory of this. Have they not been raised from the verge of the grave when medicine has failed them, through the intercession of praying friends? Do we not find in memoirs of pious persons remarkable instances of even the elements having appeared obedient to the power of Christian faith? And are we not taught in the Bible to look for the result of intercession in reference to bodily and temporal things, in the same way as in spiritual?

2. The

2. The exclusive domain of faith is the spiritual world. The only right subjects of prayer are those relating to the spiritual interests of the race. It is mere enthusiasm to expect God to regard prayer, or to hold that He has given warranty for the employment of faith, in regard to influences connected with the physical world merely. We look upon such abortive efforts of faith under this dispensation as akin to Bunyan's imputed early trial of his belief, when he commanded a puddle of water to turn dry, and waited in expectation of the 'sign following.' As temporal blessings are not now, as under the Jewish dispensation, *directly* or necessarily connected with piety, so we deem ourselves unauthorised to pray for them as if they were, or to believe that, *as answers to prayer*, they will be given. *Indirectly*, in the general, piety even here may ensure its own reward—because fostering those prudential habits which in the nature of things are calculated to bring prosperity. But more special intervention we should term miraculous; and cannot look upon the records of many wondrous things in pious memoirs as other than the vague dreamings of enthusiasm, finding special answers to supplication in every unusual phenomenon or coincidence.

I have tried to represent these opposing views clearly; and although they may appear somewhat confused, yet I doubt not the leading idea of each will be readily discerned. If any of your able contributors would favour the religious world with an article on the subject, would point out the limitations of the subjective province of prayer, I think great service would be rendered to the Church, as, by the discussion likely to arise, the points of connection between the spiritual and material worlds involved in this dispute might be indicated, and many a cloud of uncertainty which hangs painfully over innumerable minds be happily dispersed.

Possibly, many may be found among the more philosophical of your readers who will think such discussion unnecessary, and consider the first example of opinion prevalent only amongst the quite uneducated and unthinking. I have met with persons who would so object. But is it not true, on the other hand, that there are thousands of the well-taught, clerical as well as lay, who deem the holders of the second opinion to be so far guilty of a culpable degree of scepticism? And, with regard to public intercessions in times of national calamity, is it not the popular notion of *teachers* as well as congregations, that the Divine intervention supplicated is *immediate*, as bearing at once on the removal of the calamity in question; and not rather, as more philosophising minds would have it, as referring to that moral and spiritual improvement of ourselves which *in the nature of things* would ultimately lead to temporal improvement also? And I have no doubt many besides myself, wishing to feel their way with certainty in such momentous matters, feel their minds harassed by internal argumentations on the question when called upon to minister comfort to, or to pray for, persons groaning under bodily suffering. One may feel in such a case no authority to do more than hold out hope and to employ prayer strictly in reference to the sanctifying influence of such afflictions

tions on the soul of the sufferer ; while bolder spirits, and, in their own esteem, more faithful to Divine promise, practically maintain the proper domain of prayer to be in bodily as well as spiritual things. Others there are who, under a painful sense of hesitancy, exhibit a confusedness of idea on the point, which completely mars the efficacy both of prayer to the Divine and of solace to the human being. The subject, therefore, is not only interesting as a speculative matter, but has a direct bearing on much of the practice and on many of the hopes of the whole Church militant.

I trust, Sir, in following out your hint that suggestions of subjects would be welcome, I have not trespassed too much on your valuable pages.

Hastings, Aug. 14, 1849.

WM. RANSOM, Jun.

ON THE SERPENT THAT BEGUILED EVE.

SIR,—Most persons who are accustomed to think over what they read are conscious of that dissatisfaction with the commonly received interpretation of the first five verses of the third chapter of the book of Genesis which was expressed by the Rev. A. Gordon in the last number of this Journal. Some of the many reasons which make that interpretation inadmissible are well stated by Mr. Gordon in his paper. But is his solution ‘a *middle* course between the literal interpretation of our own pious commentators and the more lax views of the German school?’ Is it not much nearer the ‘lax’ than it is to the ‘literal’ of the two styles, which, it appears, he equally condemns? And, if the common view of the event in question is undignified, unintelligible, we might add absurd, surely, on the other hand, to ‘understand the entire narrative as a highly figurative representation adapted to popular apprehension’ is inconsistent with the *historical* character of the documents in which the narrative appears, and can only be justified on principles which will convert large portions of the Scripture history into symbolical or mystical delineations adapted ‘to suit the popular mind’ in the earlier periods of its development. Or, at least, if the first five verses of the chapter are figurative, why may not the remaining nineteen be figurative also ; and, in that case, where shall we look for an historical basis of the whole revealed economy beneath which we are living? Such a basis may be found in a form consummate and satisfactory, if the wonderful disclosures of the chapter are wisely interpreted. A wise interpretation, however, we must fear has not yet been given of the nineteen verses that explain the change in the terms of human probation, which was introduced by God, in correspondence with the change of human position consequent upon the fall. But of the narrative which recites the circumstances of the fall, we have a most satisfactory explanation given us in the following passage extracted from Bishop Patrick’s Commentary. Free from all the objections which may justly be alleged against the explanation commonly received,

received, it perfectly maintains the historical character of the document wherein the narrative is found; while, at the same time, it presents us with a dignified, complete, intelligible account of the most momentous circumstance in the history of our race.

‘There were (and still are in the eastern and southern parts of the world) serpents having wings, and shining very brightly, like to fire. So we read (Isa. xiv. 29) of a “flying fiery serpent,” which *fiery serpents* are called *seraphims* in Numbers xxi. 6, 8, and termed *fiery*, not merely with respect to their venom, which made sore inflammations in the bodies of those who were bitten by them, but because they appeared shining like fire when they flew in the air.

‘Whence *Seraphim* is the name also of the highest sort of angels (called the “angels of the presence,” Isa. vi. 2, 6), who appeared, I suppose, in some such form with flaming wings. For otherwise, I cannot think serpents would have been honoured as sacred things in so many countries, as we find they anciently were, unless they had been the symbols of angels. The devil, therefore, I conceive, made use of some such serpent (but of a more surpassing brightness than any now extant) that he might resemble one of the most illustrious angels who appeared sometimes in the like shape, which moved Eve the more readily to hearken unto the voice of the serpent; taking it to be one of the heavenly seraphims, which she had seen sometime in such a splendid form attend upon the Divine Glory or Majesty: for the angels always made a part of the shechinah. And thus, one would think, Tertullian understood this matter when he said (in his book *De Præscript. Hæret.*, cap. xlvii.) “Istum fuisse serpentem cui Eva, ut filio Dei, crediderat.” Which if any one take to be the words of the heretics he is there speaking of, yet those are not which we find in his book against the Valentinians (cap. ii.), where he saith the serpent was “à primordio Divinæ imaginis prædo.” (see Dr. Tenison of Idolatry, p. 356.) To which that passage in Epiphanius may be added, who mentions some heretics (who might have some truth among them) that said the woman listened to the serpent, καὶ ἐπίσθη ὡς υἱοῦ Θεοῦ. (Hæres. xxxvii. n. 25.) And one would think Rabbi Bechai had this notion in his mind when he said (upon the 14th verse of this chap.) “This is the secret (or mystery of the holy language), that a serpent is called Saraph, as an angel is called Saraph.” For which he quotes the forenamed place (Numb. xxi. 6), and then adds, “The Scripture calls serpents seraphim, because they were the offspring of this old serpent: understand this as a matter of great concernment;” which can have no other meaning, I think, but this; that the devil (whom St. John also calls the old serpent, Rev. xii. 9), in this serpent here spoken of, counterfeited a glorious seraphim, and thereby seduced Eve to give credit to him.

‘However this be, it is most reasonable to suppose it was some beautiful creature, by whom Eve thought that an angel, who wished them well, discoursed with her; for she was not so simple as to think that beasts could speak; much less that they knew more of God’s mind than herself. Nor doth it seem at all credible to me that she could
have

have been otherways deceived, but by some creature which appeared so gloriously that she took it for a heavenly minister, who, she thought, came to explain to them the meaning of the Divine command.'—Patrick's Comm. on Genesis iii. vers. 1-5.

Does not St. Paul's language (2 Cor. xi. 14), 'for Satan himself is transformed (*μετασχηματίζεται*) into an angel of light,' imply that this was his view of the transaction?

G. S. D.

London, August 15, 1849.

BURIED WITH CHRIST BY BAPTISM.

To the Editor of the Journal of Sacred Literature.

DEAR SIR,—Perhaps it is intruding too much upon you to ask to be allowed to make a few remarks upon the above subject, in connection with the critical examination of Col. ii. 12, by the Rev. P. Mearns, which appeared in No. VI. In that examination Mr. M. shows most satisfactorily that this passage of Scripture does not, and cannot refer to the mode of baptism, as is sometimes maintained. Indeed, it is surprising that any one should think of going to such a text for support to such a point; but having adopted a system, we are very apt to lay hold of anything which seems to support it; and not unfrequently texts are pressed into such service which have not the most distant reference to the point attempted to be proved. Nothing seems more clear than the Apostle has not the most distant reference to the mode of baptism in this text.

While Mr. M. in his examination shows this most satisfactorily, still there appears considerable obscurity in his remarks, which tends to throw much obscurity also over the text in question. I know not whether this may appear to others of your readers, or, if it be only my dulness in not fully comprehending his meaning. If the latter, I should be very sorry to trouble you, and if you think so, you can throw this paper aside.

The obscurity to which I refer is in regard to two points.

The first is as follows:—Mr. M. says (page 350) 'The expression *ἐν ᾧ βαπτίσματα*, by baptism, is here employed to signify the means,' that is, the means of something previously stated. Now, of what is baptism the means? Means is something employed with the view of gaining a particular end; and if the ordinance of baptism be so employed, then there must be some particular end gained by it, and the question is, What is that end? I feel at a loss to ascertain what the particular end is, supposed to be gained by baptism. Immediately preceding the above quotation Mr. M. says, '*Συνταφέντες* literally signifies *having been buried with*, and here refers, we apprehend, to the just and instructive analogy between the burial of Christ and the spiritual burial of Christians.' Now, is the ordinance of baptism the means of the *spiritual burial of Christians*; or is it the means of the
supposed

supposed *analogy between the burial of Christ and this spiritual burial*? Which is the end supposed to be gained, the actual spiritual burial of the baptized person, or the analogy between the burials? The first of these does not seem to be the meaning of Mr. M., as he more than once speaks of the spiritual burial of Christians taking place, by means of their union with Christ, which union is effected through the instrumentality of faith. This being the case, this burial takes place apart from and altogether independently of the ordinance of baptism, and, consequently, it cannot be the means of effecting the burial. I have no doubt that Mr. M. has not the slightest sympathy with the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, and cannot mean that the ordinance of baptism secures this spiritual burial.

Are we to understand, then, that the end gained by this ordinance is the analogy between the burial of Christ and this spiritual burial of believers? Neither can I see that this is the idea intended to be conveyed, because, if this spiritual burial takes place apart from and independently of the ordinance; if there is an analogy between this burial and the burial of Christ, it too must exist apart from and independently of the ordinance. Should this analogy exist, the administration of this ordinance cannot affect it, but it must remain the same, though the ordinance were never administered; therefore the ordinance cannot be the means of effecting it. Now, if the end supposed to be gained be neither the spiritual burial of the person baptized nor the analogy between this burial and the burial of Jesus, what is it? Mr. M. gives an explanation of the phrase, regarding baptism being the means, in the following words: 'that is, the Apostle asserts that by the ordinance of baptism the Colossian believers had given expression to the fact that they were united to Christ by faith, and, consequently, they might be said to be buried and risen with him.' This explanation leaves me as much in the mist as ever as to the end supposed to be gained by the ordinance. It shows, however, that it cannot be the spiritual burial of the person baptized, inasmuch as, if it be the expression given to the fact, the fact must be in existence before expression can be given to it; and the expression of a fact cannot be the means of gaining that fact. If the ordinance of baptism be the expression given to a fact already existing, it cannot be the means of giving it existence. This explanation shows farther, that the end supposed to be gained is not the analogy between the burials mentioned, as, if the ordinance be merely an expression given to certain facts, the facts of the one burial having taken place, and taken place along with the other, it cannot be the means of creating any analogy that may exist between the two burials.

Are we then to understand that the ordinance of baptism is the means of securing an *expression*, either of the fact that the baptized person is buried with Christ, or the fact of an analogy existing between his spiritual burial and the burial of Jesus? Are we to view it as a picture drawn—something exhibiting this fact, or this analogy in an external form? So far as I can see, this is the only thing that can be drawn from the language employed, and then the end gained is either
an

an expression to the fact that the baptized person is spiritually buried, or to the fact that there exists an analogy between his spiritual burial and the burial of Jesus. Still, which are we to view as expressed in the ordinance, and how does either of them agree with the facts of the case as they really stand? 1. Expression given to a fact does not necessarily involve the showing of an analogy between that fact and another fact, nor can the expression be the means by which it has been brought about. Now, if the ordinance of baptism merely gives expression to the fact of the burial and resurrection of believers with Jesus, as consequent upon their being united to Him by faith, then the end gained is merely this expression; and, supposing there should be an analogy between their burial and the burial of Jesus, still expression may be given to the fact of their burial with him without anything of this analogy being seen. 2. Συμβάφντες, literally expressed in English by *having been buried with*, conveys nothing of an analogy between the burial of the two persons supposed. It does no more than express the fact that two such persons were buried together, the one along with the other; it expresses nothing as to the manner of the burials. The same words might be used in reference to the burial of the bodies of two men, and yet there be a great dissimilarity between their burials. In regard to Christ and Christians, the word clearly expresses the fact that they were buried with him, and no more. There may be, or there may not be a similarity between the burials; of this the Apostle gives us nothing in this word. His design in it seems to be to fix our mind upon the fact, and nothing more. 3. In what way does the ordinance of baptism express, either the fact of the baptized person's burial with Jesus, or the analogy between the burials? If it does give such an expression, how or where does it give it? View the ordinance as we may, get it moulded into what form we please, let us turn it and twist it as we choose, I cannot see how any person will ever be able to squeeze such an expression out of it, just because there is no such expression in it. If the ordinance of baptism gives expression to the fact that the person baptized is buried with Christ, then it must be the case that every baptized person is thus buried with Christ, if such an expression have any meaning. Now, we know that both Scripture and observation go directly against such an idea. If it be possible for a person to profess Christianity without such a burial, it is possible to be baptized without such a burial, and the baptism of such a person cannot express his spiritual burial when it has not taken place. Besides, suppose such an expression were given, is it the baptized person who gives to God, or God who gives it to the baptized person, or both who give it to the world, or what? I have never been able to see the slightest warrant from the word of God for concluding that any such expression is given. It is just as impossible to see how there is in this ordinance an expression given to the analogy between the burial of Jesus and the spiritual burial of believers. It would require first to be proved that such an analogy exists, a task I doubt which would be rather difficult. But, even supposing it did exist, where shall we look for the expression given to it in the ordinance

nance of baptism? I cannot conceive, if others can, how the baptizing of a person with water shows that there is any analogy whatever between the spiritual burial of that person and the burial of Jesus. It does not appear that there is any reference at all to the burial of Jesus in this ordinance, nor yet to the spiritual burial of the baptized person. There is an analogy between Jesus and the believer, but I apprehend it is in reference to the state into which both are brought, having been buried, and not in reference to the burial itself, and the ordinance of baptism can have nothing to do with this.

4. Does not the sentence *ἐν ᾧ βαπτίσματα* contain more than a mere expression of facts? Does it not contain the means, the very means by which the afore-mentioned fact took place, namely, the burial of the Colossian believers with Christ? Does it not clearly point out that this burial was effected in such a way and by such means? The preposition *ἐν* cannot mean, buried in such a manner as is *expressed in*, as if it were the burial that is in the baptism. It is the persons who are in the baptism; and being in the baptism, they are so buried with Christ. Now, if it be the persons who are in the baptism, it must mean one of two things: either that they are *in a baptized state*, that is, *being in a baptized state*, they are buried with Christ; or, *in the way of being baptized*, they were buried with Christ; that is, *by means of baptism*, they were so buried. We cannot suppose the former of these to be the meaning of the Apostle, as it would lead to the conclusion that the baptism always takes place prior to the burial, which, in reference to the ordinance, is not and cannot be the case in many instances. We are thus shut up to the latter, that baptism is the means by which this burial is effected; and if so, then there is much more than an expression of the fact.

Do not these difficulties all vanish if we suppose that the Apostle has no reference to the outward ordinance of baptism by water, but to some other baptism? Nay, are we not forced to the conclusion that this must be the case—that there is much more than supposition in the case—that there is an actual certainty that he must mean some other baptism than baptism by water? If baptism be the means by which the burial of believers with Christ is effected, and if the ordinance of baptism by water cannot, in the very nature of things, be that means, then it is plain that some other baptism must be meant.

All will at once agree that there are two kinds of baptism mentioned in the word of God: an external and an internal baptism; the sign and the thing signified; the baptism by water and the baptism by the Holy Spirit.

In Heb. vi. 2, we find the word occurring in the plural, ‘the doctrine of *baptisms*.’ This is in connection with the Christian dispensation, and clearly shows that there is a plurality of baptisms. From other parts of Scripture we learn that these are, one by water, and the other by the Holy Spirit. We are not informed of any other kind of baptism in connection with the Christian dispensation, and must conclude that the Apostle here refers to these two baptisms. Nor does the word thus occurring in the plural in the least contradict what

what Paul says in Eph. iv. 5, 'one baptism.' Properly speaking, there is only one baptism; the baptism by water being only the sign of the true baptism; yet the sign is also called baptism which makes two baptisms—just as the other Christian ordinance is called 'The Lord's Supper,' not because it is really a supper, but because it is symbolical of that spiritual feast which the believing soul enjoys in fellowship with Jesus.

Again, in Matt. iii. 11, we find John the Baptist saying, 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance: but He that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear; He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire.' Here we have two baptisms distinctly mentioned, one by water, and another by the Holy Ghost. The latter John mentions as the baptism of Jesus, and as distinguished from his own, showing that the one baptism of Jesus is this baptism of the Holy Spirit, the one by water being merely symbolical of it. Nor can this baptism be confined to the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, such as inspiration and the working of miracles. It is plain that John uses the words with a much more extensive and general application. He is speaking to the people generally who came to his baptism, and says, 'He shall baptize *you* with the Holy Ghost:' that is, all of you who choose to go to Him as you are coming to me. It is true that the miraculous operation of the Spirit formed part of this baptism, but it flowed out far beyond this. It is a blessing common to all Christians, and all who have gone to Jesus by faith have had it bestowed upon them.

Again, it is said in 1 Cor. xii. 13, 'For by one Spirit are we all baptised into one body,' *καὶ γὰρ ἓν ἐν Πνεύματι ἡμεῖς πάντες εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν*. In the preceding verses the Apostle is showing the various qualifications and offices of believers in the Church. Some of the gifts and qualifications mentioned were confined to the Apostolic age; but others are of a more general and extensive character, and are applicable to the Church in all ages. These different gifts and qualifications fitted for different offices, but all had been given by One Spirit; and believers, though thus differing in gift and office, are still one. To show this more clearly, the Apostle brings forward the figure of a body and says, 'For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.' The Apostle thus views believers as in one body; and what is the body here referred to, in which believers are said to be? The Apostle answers this in the words, *οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός*. This one body into which believers are brought is Christ. They are united to Christ and make one with him, so as to be viewed as the members of his body. The Apostle does not say *οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ* but *οὕτω καὶ ὁ Χριστός*, showing that it is Christ himself that is referred to; that there is a union as close and intimate between Christ and Christians as there is between the body and its members. And how was this union effected? The Apostle answers, *εἰς ἓν σῶμα ἐβαπτίσθημεν*. And what is this baptism here mentioned? The Apostle answers, *ἐν ἓν Πνεύματι*. Here we have the baptism of the

the Holy Spirit clearly brought out, as the means by which believers are united to Jesus.

Once more, we have this baptism mentioned in 1 Peter iii. 21, 'The like figure whereunto even baptism doth also now save us,' *ὅ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀντίτυπον νῦν σώζει βάπτισμα*. Here we have a baptism that saves, a baptism that brings the baptized person into a state of salvation. Now what baptism is it that saves? Evidently not the baptism by water, but the baptism that is the antitype (*ἀντίτυπον*) of water. This seems clearly to be the meaning of the Apostle. Having mentioned the fact of Noah and his family being saved by water or rather saved through water (*διεσώθησαν*), not by means of it, but though in the midst of it, saved through it and out of it: he adds, that baptism which is the antitype, namely the antitype of water, now saves us. And to put it beyond a doubt that he means some other baptism than the baptism of water, he adds, in a parenthetic clause by way of explanation, cautioning against mistake (*οὐ σαρκὸς ἀποθέσις ῥύπου, ἀλλὰ συνειδήσεως ἀγαθῆς ἐπερώτημα εἰς θεόν*), 'Not the putting away of the filth of the flesh,' which is the most that water can do, either as it regards bodily pollution, or ceremonial uncleanness; but 'the answer of a good conscience towards God'—a conscience at peace with God, and void of offence towards God and man. This can be none other than the baptism of the Holy Spirit; as no other baptism can produce such effects.

From these and various other texts of Scripture it is plain that all who are united to Christ have been so united by this baptism; may we not conclude, therefore, with all safety, that this is the baptism of which the Apostle is speaking in the text in question; and that it is by means of this baptism that believers are made one with Jesus, so as to be in the same state with him: dead to the law, that is free from its condemning power; and as burial is a proof of death, so buried with him; and being buried, also risen with him.

The language used by the Apostle in the context bears out this view of the matter. He is showing that believers are complete in Jesus; and in him they are circumcised with a circumcision made without hands, in the putting away of the body of the flesh. This spiritual circumcision had taken place, because they had been buried with Christ by baptism. Now as it is a spiritual circumcision, having been brought about in connection with a spiritual burial, surely it must be also by means of a spiritual baptism. I do not see what other conclusion we can come to; and thus of believers it can be truly said *Συνγραφέντες αὐτῷ καὶ συνηγέρθητε*, and this burial and resurrection is effected, *ἐν ᾧ βαπτίσματι*; which baptizing takes place, *διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ*.

The second point on which I feel a difficulty in the examination of Mr. M., is the connecting link between the *faith of believers* and the *operation or powerful working of God*. Mr. M. gives an explanation of this as follows, 'that is, this faith receives its efficacy from the operation of God.' Are we to understand by this, that faith being already in existence within the soul as the operating cause of something to be produced by it, it only becomes effectual in producing this something by

by the powerful working of God? Or, are we to understand that faith is the effect produced by this powerful working of God? I feel at a loss to understand which is intended by the language quoted. So far as I can comprehend it, the language conveys the former idea; and I would at once have supposed such to be the meaning were it not for another remark, in the summary of doctrines drawn from the passage, where Mr. M. says, 'That the effectual operation of God is necessary in order that this faith may be produced.' It appears from this that the view taken is, that the mighty working of God must be put in operation by God, so as to produce this faith in the sinner's mind. In order that faith may receive efficacy from the operation of God, it must surely be in existence; it cannot be said to receive efficacy if it be not there to receive it. Now suppose it is meant, that a person in possession of this faith possesses it as the cause of producing some effect, that it requires power or efficacy to produce this effect, and that it receives this power or efficacy to produce this effect from the active and efficient working of God, ere we could understand the meaning, a few questions would require to be answered regarding matters which we are left ignorant of in the examination of the text. 1. What is the object of the faith here mentioned? 2. What is the effect to be produced by this faith? 3. What operation or active and efficient working of God is it, which gives efficacy to this faith? 4. In what way does this working of God impart efficacy to this faith? Is it in the way of the faith fixing upon this efficient working of God as its object; in other words, the person's believing in this efficient working of God; or, is it in the way of the efficient working of God making the faith of the person the object upon which it expends its energy?

Again, if we look at the other view of the matter, that faith does not and cannot exist in the mind of any person unless the effectual operation of God produce it, we are led to ask once more, How is it that this effectual operation of God is brought to bear upon the mind of the person so as to produce faith? We must keep in mind that faith is just the belief of certain truths, and while no one will deny, I suppose, that the mighty power of God is required in order that the truths, which save the soul of the sinner, may be believed, still it is important to know how and why such power is needed. No doubt the faith mentioned in this text is the belief of soul-saving truth; and the efficient working of God was needed in order that this faith might be produced; and as this must be the same in every other case it is important to know how and why such power or working is needed. Faith being the belief of certain truths, the power of God producing it, must be employed in some other way than that power is needed in producing many other things. It must be in accordance with the nature of the thing operated upon, and the thing to be produced. It cannot be by some direct effort on the part of God, that he produces this faith in the mind of the sinner, as he creates any material object: the sinner must be convinced of the truth. I apprehend that τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ θεοῦ is the object of the faith, and that this working or operation of God was put in exercise in τοῦ ἐγγέλματος αὐτὸν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν.

νεκρῶν. Thus the operation of God was required to raise Jesus from the dead, that the sinner might have something to believe. The raising of Jesus from the dead may be viewed as *the great doctrine* of the Gospel: inasmuch as it involves his death, the perfection and efficacy of the Atonement, the full magnifying of the law and the satisfaction of the Father as the representative of the Godhead, with the whole of the work of Jesus. This raising of Jesus required this active and efficient working of God, and this working was employed in effecting this great and glorious achievement. This power or working is required therefore in order to the sinner's faith, because without it there could have been no object for his faith, there could have been nothing for him to believe. The same *ἐνεργεία τοῦ θεοῦ* that raised up Jesus from the dead has revealed the glorious and soul-saving truths of the Gospel, and is employed in a variety of ways in drawing the attention of sinners to these truths. God has placed the facts of the Gospel before the minds of a world of sinners, and continues to work with them, showing them the truth and importance of what he has revealed, and beseeching them to believe them and be saved, and when they believe, actually saves them. God must work in the preaching of the Gospel and in his providence; and in many ways the Spirit is employed to lead men to repentance and faith, and consequent salvation. If the Spirit were to let men alone, they would never have this saving faith; and this active and efficient working of God was needed not only to produce the facts to be believed, but is needed to draw attention to them, and persuade them of their truth, and save them through believing these facts.

D. DRUMMOND.

Wick.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Memoir of the Rev. Henry Duncan, D.D., Minister of Ruthwell, Founder of Savings' Banks, Author of 'Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons,' &c. &c. By his Son, the Rev. GEORGE JOHN C. DUNCAN, North Shields. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant and Sons 1848. Pp. xi. 379.

DR. Duncan was a clergyman of the Church of Scotland, having been minister of the parish of Ruthwell, near Dumfries, from 1799 till the Disruption in 1843. It is justly remarked of him, in the volume on our table, that he will 'be gratefully remembered as a philanthropist—his people are not likely soon to forget him as a pastor—science will not disown his merit as a discoverer, nor the antiquary fail to record the services he has rendered to his favourite subject—literature will recognise his hand in the works of which he was the author; and patriotism

patriotism will acknowledge his far-seeing benevolence and public spirit.'—(Pp. 350, 351.)

He early entered the field of authorship, having published anonymously a remarkable tract on the Socinian controversy when he was under twenty years of age. The tract was eagerly purchased, the reasonings being new and striking; but it was afterwards found that they were derived chiefly from his father's letters to him.

In 1797 he became a member of the Speculative Society of the University of Edinburgh, and he there formed an acquaintance with several young men who have since risen to eminence. Among these was Henry Brougham, with whom he occasionally corresponded till within a few years of his death.

At so early a period of his ministry as 1806 he made an effort to initiate the minds of his people in science. For this purpose he instituted Sabbath meetings for conversational lectures on the works of God. In his efforts of this nature he was encouraged by one of his earliest friends, Sir David Brewster, who about that time was an occasional visitor at Ruthwell. His labours, however, in this department were unsuccessful, and he soon abandoned them. Many foolishly deemed his views opposed to Scripture and common sense. His establishment of a parish library immediately thereafter was attended with better results.

In 1808 he commenced a series of tracts under the title of the 'Scotch Cheap Repository.' In this he was assisted by several of his clerical friends, and one of the series was written by Miss Hamilton, author of the 'Cottagers of Glenburnie.' His letter, requesting her co-operation in this scheme, led to a correspondence which was continued during the remainder of that excellent lady's life. The most valuable tract of the series was 'The Cottage Fireside,' written by himself. It was afterwards published separately as a small volume, and has gone through several editions.

In the end of 1809, with the pecuniary aid of his brothers in Liverpool, he started the 'Dumfries and Galloway Courier'—a weekly newspaper, which was edited by himself during the first seven years of its existence. There was only one newspaper previously in Dumfries, and it was very inefficient. Among the contributors to the 'Courier' was Thomas Carlyle, who has since become so distinguished in the world of letters.

About this time Dr. Brewster commenced 'The Edinburgh Encyclopædia,' and the Rev. Andrew Thomson 'The Christian Instructor;' and both these distinguished men requested and obtained contributions from him. The articles 'Blair' and 'Blacklock' in the former are from his pen.

The education of his family (along with the sons of his brothers in Liverpool, and a few others) was conducted, at Ruthwell Manse, by an able tutor, stimulated and encouraged by himself.

'Among the guests at the manse,' to quote from the memoir, 'some eminent names in religion, literature, and science may be mentioned. Sir David Brewster, and James Grahame the Sabbath bard, one of his most valued friends, had very early

early been his guests. Dr. Chalmers was a somewhat later, and not unfrequent visitor. Dr. Andrew Thomson once and again brought his joyous greeting to the manse door; and Dr. Welsh, in early life, used now and then to come among us. The eccentric Robert Owen, before his infidelity was flagrant, and when known only as an amiable enthusiast in the walks of philanthropy; Dr. Spurzheim, then attracting general notice as the ardent advocate of the new science of phrenology; Mr. Carlyle, since so remarkable among authors; Robert M'Cheyne, both in his interesting boyhood and fervent maturity; Dr. Buckland and Mr. Sedgwick, of geological fame; with many others whose converse fanned the flames of intellect, or feeling, or Christian benevolence, found their way to the remote parish and manse of Ruthwell.—(pp. 93, 94.)

The chapters of the 'Memoir' which detail his arduous and prolonged labours in originating savings' banks, and carrying forward and perfecting his scheme, possess a high degree of interest. His claim to be regarded as the projector of these useful institutions has been disputed, but is here most triumphantly vindicated.

In November, 1823, he received his degree of D.D. from the University of St. Andrews. A short time before this he published his 'Young Weaver,' a small political work; and in 1826 he published anonymously a tale of greater pretension, in three volumes, entitled 'William Douglas, or the Scottish Exiles.' In 1826, H. Brougham, M.P., requested him to write one or more of the treatises about to be published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. He at once agreed to furnish papers, as requested, on Savings' Banks, adding a willing offer to write also a treatise on Friendly Societies.

Dr. Duncan devoted the occasional labours of thirty years to restoring to their original form the fragments of a remarkable Runic cross, and in deciphering the inscriptions on it. It now stands in the Manse garden of Ruthwell. The whole length of the pillar is '17 feet 6 inches, being four-sided, and covered from top to bottom with sculptured figures and allegorical designs, accompanied by inscriptions, partly in Roman and partly in Runic characters. Whatever may have been its origin or early history, there can be no doubt that it is one of the very few unequivocal vestiges of Anglo-Saxon sculpture in Britain—that it was an object of worship in Popish times; and that accordingly, in 1642, an order was given by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for its demolition.' He prepared a model of the monument, and presented it, accompanied by a masterly paper, to the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, as a corresponding member, in 1832, for which he received the special thanks of the Society.

In the summer of 1827 he visited a quarry at Corncocklemuir, about fifteen miles from Ruthwell, where it was reported that strange footmarks were to be seen on the new red-sandstone. 'He returned home convinced that, whatever surprise the announcement might occasion, the fact could not be questioned, that at the remote period when the new red-sandstone was in the act of forming, four-footed animals of several species had imprinted indelible footmarks on the surface of its strata' (p. 179). Anticipating the strong opposition which geologists would in all probability make to his hypothesis, he armed himself, by careful examination on the spot, with a series of particulars; and opened a private correspondence with Dr. Buckland, of Oxford, on the subject.

subject. The learned professor at once gave his opinion ‘*against even the remote probability of the marks being the impressions of feet.*’ When specimens were sent, however, the professor, with philosophic candour, admitted their entirely conclusive character, and became the earnest advocate of an hypothesis which is now universally received by geologists. Writing to Dr. Duncan, some years after this, Dr. Buckland says, ‘I look upon your discovery as *one of the most curious and most important that has been ever made in geology* ;’ and he adds, ‘it is a discovery that will for ever connect your name with the progress of this science.’

In 1830 Dr. Duncan published a series of admirable ‘Letters on the West India Question,’ in the *Dumfries Courier*. By request they were republished, and attracted the notice of members of Parliament when the Slave Emancipation Bill was in progress.

In October, 1836, he published the first volume of a work on which principally his literary fame must rest, *The Sacred Philosophy of the Seasons*. It consists of four volumes, one on each of the four seasons of the year, beginning with Winter. It is a delightful work, and well deserves the popularity which has carried it so soon through five large impressions. It is intended to illustrate the perfections of God in the phenomena of the year, and is full of the lessons of science and religion. It is a great storehouse, whence every clergyman who possesses it may draw abundant illustrations to enrich his pulpit discourses. It has already found a place in many congregational and town libraries, and should be wanting in none.

Dr. Duncan left the Scottish Establishment at the disruption, in May, 1843; but a Free Church was formed in the parish, and he continued to labour among the people who adhered to his ministry, till November, 1845, when, on account of increased infirmities, he removed to Edinburgh, leaving the entire work to Mr. Brown, who had, a short time previously, been ordained as his colleague. He died suddenly. On Tuesday, Feb. 12, 1846, he was preaching in the parish of Ruthwell, being on a visit to the people of his charge; and he had spoken scarcely ten minutes on Zech. iii. 9, when his voice faltered, his whole frame trembled, and all the symptoms of paralysis became apparent. He would have fallen, but was supported to a chair. He was conveyed to the house of his brother-in-law, and died on the evening of the Thursday following.

The circumstances connected with the origin and progress of the Free Church are very fully detailed—rather fully, we think, for a book designed and well fitted for circulation among the religious public of all denominations. We have confined our brief notice to his more public labours in the department of science and literature.

From the outline we have given of some of the leading topics discussed in this Memoir, our readers will perceive that it is one of unusual interest. It is written with great discrimination and good sense. The attention of the reader is admirably sustained, and he feels an attraction of increasing power as he is led on from page to page till it reaches its culminating point in the record of the labours and privations of this amiable

amiable and venerable clergyman in the formation of a Free Church in his parish. P. M.

Annotations on the Apostolical Epistles. Designed chiefly for the use of Students of the Greek Text. By T. W. PEILE, D.D. Rivington, 1849.

This is the second volume, extending from Galatians to Colossians. We do not recollect to have met with the first volume; but the plan of the author is sufficiently clear from the one before us. It appears from this, that the object is not merely, as the title might seem to indicate, to elucidate the Greek text philologically, but to develop the meaning of the sacred writer. This is done partly in original notes, and partly in extracted notes, given in the original language of the authors. These are mostly Latin; and the name of Calvin is that which most frequently occurs, affording additional evidence of the fact, to which we lately had occasion to advert (vol. iii. p. 223), of the greatly increased attention which is now given to the exegetical works of the great reformer. The task the author has proposed to himself has been executed with considerable judgment, and with undoubted learning; and the work cannot fail to be of great service to the class of students for whom it is designed. Some of Dr. Peile's renderings of the Greek text are, however, considerably influenced by one of the grammatical views he has adopted, and which he has developed at some length in an Appendix.

‘Every schoolboy knows that from the 3rd pers. sing. of the Perf. Pass. of Greek verbs is formed the Aor. I. Pass., and from this the Fut. I. Pass. *e. g.* κατακρίνω—κρίνεται—ἐκρίθη—κριθήσεται: σώζω—σέσωσται—ἐσώθη—σωθήσεται: δικαιώω—δικαιώσται—δικαιώθη—δικαιωθήσεται—but it is not, perhaps, every practised scholar that has made use of the key which he has here, to unlock a secret drawer, as it were, in that ancient cabinet—the Greek Testament of Scripture, to which, as the ark of His New Covenant, it has pleased God to commit the custody of the yet untold riches of His CHRIST.

‘The Grecian mind, which saw the end in the means, as ἐπίσταμαι, *I set myself to* a thing, *I know* it; and which loved to contemplate things present and in *esse* as τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, *i. e.*, as so many new points of departure, so many undeveloped seeds of existence or of action in *posse*—had ever present to it that new series of tenses derived from the Perf. Pass. of the Greek verb, which to our duller apprehension convey but a general and ill-defined notion of Past or of Future time. Let this then be laid down as a principle of interpretation—that in the strict sense of the Fut. I. Pass. we are to see *continued existence* in some *position* or *state*, *into which* the subject of the verb *has been brought* by the completed action expressed by the 3rd pers. sing. Perf. Pass., and in *which* the 3rd sing. Aor. I. Pass. simply proclaims the subject at any time to *be*—and what shall we have gained as students of the Greek Testament!’—pp. 237, 238.

How this rule acts the reader may see by two examples; in which, as usual with him, the author brings out the sense by a paraphrase.

‘That apparently “hard saying” of the ministry of reconciliation, which (as it now stands in our English Bibles) who can read without shuddering—[He that believeth and is baptised shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned,] ὁ πιστεύσας καὶ βαπτισθεὶς σωθήσεται ὁ δὲ ἀπιστήσας κατακριθήσεται, Mark xvi. 16—will be found when interpreted on this principle to assert no more than this—“He who, on having the terms of the Gospel-covenant proposed to his acceptance, shall have faith in God (that he is able and willing to save all that truly

turn to him), and in that faith shall submit his body to be baptised, *he shall* be held to *have been saved in Christ*" (Tit. iii. 4, 5); and so in the sight of God our Saviour his soul shall be held as though it had been sprinkled with the blood of Jesus (Heb. x. 22; xii. 24; 1 Pet. i. 12), and the New Covenant relation into which (as by a new birth) he is thereby brought in respect of the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, shall be the relation of a son. . . . On the other hand, he who in an evil heart of unbelief rejects the gracious offer of salvation through Christ, *he shall* be held to *have been condemned in Adam* (Rom. v. 12, 15-19; 1 Cor. xv. 22); and because not saved through Christ, because *he hath not*, neither *believeth in* the Son, nor in the express testimony concerning him which God hath, *he shall not see Life*; but *the wrath of God*—subject to which he was born (Eph. ii. 3), as a child of Adam, and from which only as a child of God's grace in Christ may any one be delivered—the *wrath of God abideth on him* (John iii. 36: 1 John v. 10, 12).'

Again:—

'1 Cor. xv. 22.—Even as, in the natural state that now is, it is in **THE ADAM** (i.e. as partakers of one corrupted, debased, and condemned humanity, that all pay the debt of nature; so, in the spiritual state that shall be after death, it is in **THE CHRIST**, i.e., as partakers of One Redeemed, Regenerated, and Glorified Humanity) that all shall be found to *have been* quickened with the free gift of the Spirit of Life.'

The reader may from these two examples, furnished by the author himself in his Appendix, be able to estimate the power of the key which he has picked up to 'unlock a secret drawer in that ancient cabinet, the Greek text of Scripture.' The view which is taken necessarily imparts its colour to some renderings and interpretations, but it does not appear to us that it does in many instances produce a sense materially different from that which is usually received. These specimens from the Appendix will give a fair notion of the author's mode of expository paraphrase in the body of the work; and it may be said that although he does often succeed in bringing out the meaning of the sacred writer with distinctness, it sometimes demands considerable attention to see that distinctness through the cloud of words in which the paraphrase is expressed.

The Gospel of St. Mark Illustrated (chiefly in the Doctrinal and Moral sense, from ancient and modern Authors. By the Rev. JAMES FORD, M.A. London: Masters, 1849.

There seems to have been a previous work of the same description on Matthew, which has not fallen under our notice. The object of the volume is well expressed by its title. The text is given in paragraphs according to the Authorized Version, under which are arranged the extracts, which are drawn not from commentaries, but from sermons, treatises, dissertations, &c., those from ancient authors being given in English. The effect is good, the passages cited being to a great extent new in their application, if not in their substance. From the practical and doctrinal works in which our theological literature abounds, and under the guidance of a good taste and instructed judgment, works of this kind might be multiplied almost to any extent. Any private collection of theological books might furnish materials for a new one. The present selection of extracts shows the editor to be in possession of a good collection of 'the fathers' and of solid old Church of England authors; but it appears to be tolerably free from the works of recent church

church divines, and to be wholly destitute of any books by the great Puritan theologians or by later Nonconformists. Both classes of works abound in materials by which such a book as this might be enriched; and Mr. Ford is not free from blame in thus ignoring the existence of sources from which the value and variety of his collections might have been greatly enhanced. The plan is essentially that of D'Oyly and Mant's Bible, applied to separate books, and embracing a more special range of subjects. It is, however, a sad thing that there should be considerations which prevent an author who can cite Confucius in illustration of the Gospels from citing Christian authors who claim to be reckoned among the best and deepest practical and doctrinal writers in the English language. Some remarks of the author's own are interspersed. They are distinguished by his initials, and are not generally the best, nor always the worst, in the book. The only other living or indeed recent writer whose name we find is that of 'J. F. Newman,' which, coupled with the omission of the names of all the past or present writers usually known as 'evangelical,' will suggest still narrower limitations than have been already indicated. We point out these matters not invidiously, but because in a book of this nature names are facts; and it is our duty to give our readers such information as shall enable them to know what they are doing when they order a book. Allowing for the unwise narrowness of range as to authorities, the work is a good one. Many of the remarks are acute, 'fruitful,' solid, and suggestive; some from old writers are quaint and curious. The quotations from the Fathers are good and appropriate; and the author has a taste for the old Latin hymns, from which he introduces many well chosen and beautiful extracts.

A Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature abridged. By JOHN KITTO, D.D., F.S.A. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 8vo. pp. 800. 1849.

The publication of this work in numbers being completed, we are led to think it right to apprise our readers in what respects it differs from the larger work. That work must be regarded as a sort of Thesaurus of Biblical knowledge suited to students and ministers, brought together, at a great cost and with much labour, by a large number of contributors, distinguished in this department of Christian literature. This work was thought to furnish ample materials from which a more compendious book might be prepared, suited to general and popular use. It is stated in the preface that the substantial labour of this operation has been executed by the Rev. Dr. John Taylor, of Glasgow, with the assistance and under the supervision of the editor. The result is before us in a very beautifully printed volume, enriched with a considerable proportion of the more useful and illustrative engravings of the original work, and the literary contents of which will probably not disappoint the expectations in which the abridgment originated. Whatever be its other merits, the book is certainly most closely packed with highly condensed information, embodying the results of the best and most recent researches in all that

belongs to such a work. It is as much a selection as an abridgment; for some articles are altogether omitted which, however valuable in the larger work, seemed scarcely suited to a popular Dictionary of the Bible. What most strikes the eye on opening the volume is perhaps the more *even* look of the page (as compared with the original work), owing to the absence of Greek and Oriental types, and of references printed in Italics, which, however useful or necessary, sadly mar the fair look of a book. These facts indicate that the results of research are here given rather than the processes and authorities; and this indeed is the feature by which the work is most distinguished from the original. A volume like this can never compensate for the want of the larger work to those who are able to use and appreciate its multifarious contents; but for the general body of readers, and especially of young persons, who feel the need of some help in the study of the Scriptures, without being disposed to enter fully into Biblical investigations, this volume appears to possess every adaptation, as well from the intrinsic value as from the soundness of the information it imparts.

A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, including the Biblical Chaldee. From the Latin of William Gesenius, by EDWARD ROBINSON, Professor in the Union Theological Seminary. Third edition; with corrections and large additions, partly furnished by the author in manuscript, and partly condensed from his larger Thesaurus. Crocker and Brewster, Boston: London, Wiley. 1849.

We learn from the preface to this edition that the sale of a second impression of three thousand copies of the Lexicon in the space of five years, rendered necessary early measures for the preparation of a new edition. As the author now rests from his labours, and his colleague Rödiger, to whom he intrusted the completion of his Thesaurus, was understood to have nearly finished the manuscript, it was deemed advisable to conform the present Lexicon everywhere to the latest views expressed in the Thesaurus and the accompanying corrections, and then give to the work a permanent form. Measures were accordingly taken to ensure the reception of the sheets from the German publisher at the earliest moment; and the process of stereotyping the pages was begun and continued until interrupted by the delay of the Thesaurus in Germany.

As some delay in the publication of the concluding part of the Thesaurus still appeared likely, the publishers of this Lexicon, in order to meet the pressing demand, concluded to print a limited edition from the plates, so far as finished, and the rest from types. Accordingly the present volume is thus printed from the plates as far as page 1032, inclusive. This portion, having been thoroughly revised, is now permanent, and exhibits the latest views of Gesenius as contained in the Thesaurus, as translated to the translator in manuscript just before the author's decease. The remaining portion has also been carefully revised and compared with the later writings of the author, but can receive its permanent form only when the publication of the Thesau-

rus

rus shall have been completed. 'It is not too much to say,' says Dr. Robinson, 'that the present volume, even now, exhibits the only full summary of the latest labours and results of Gesenius in the department of Hebrew lexicography. No other work yet published, of whatever pretensions, bears a like close relation to the Thesaurus, and to the later views and corrections of its author.'

When it is recollected that as much of the Thesaurus was published when the last edition of this Lexicon appeared as at present, and that the portion then wanting to complete that great work is wanting still, any great changes or alterations are not to be expected. The labour of preparing such an edition, and of giving to it its final and permanent value, lies much in the attention to small particulars and minute details, the extent and value of which can only be estimated in the actual use of the volume. The two editions are of the same size and appearance, differing in extent by only fourteen pages, the new edition having that number *fewer* than the old.

English Polyglot Bible. Large Print Edition. London: S. Bagster and Sons, 1849.

The inventive ingenuity of the Messrs. Bagster in the service of the readers of the Bible is continually claiming our notice in one form or another. We remember when—now about a quarter of a century ago—the English portion of their Polyglot came into general use among students and ministers as a pocket and hand Bible. Its portability, its flatness, its excellent references, and its useful maps and tables, fully accounted for this. But many eyes that were bright and sharp-sighted then, have since grown dim; and the small type has become distressing to many who, nevertheless, from the habit of using this Bible, have a facility of reference with it, by the aid of local memory or habit of hand, which they cannot transfer to any larger printed edition that does not correspond with it page for page.

No sooner was this difficulty perceived than the Messrs. Bagster hastened to supply it by printing an edition in larger type, on paper of the same thickness (or rather thinness) as the original edition; and with the pages word for word the same throughout. The difficulty of furnishing a volume with a bold and clear type on the one hand, and yet still exceedingly portable on the other, has been admirably mastered in the 'getting up' of this volume, for the ease and comfort offered by which, many of our readers will be most thankful to the publishers.

The Apostolical Acts and Epistles, from the Peschito or Ancient Syriac. To which are added the remaining Epistles and the Book of Revelation, after a later Syrian Text. Translated with Prolegomena and Indices by J. W. ETHERIDGE, M.A., Doctor in Philosophy of the University of Heidelberg, and Member of the Asiatic Society of Paris. London: Longman and Co. 1849.

We hope that this book is an indication of an increasing attention to Syriac in this country. Those who are commencing their study of
that

that language would probably find Mr. Etheridge's translation an assistance to them, as he appears to have followed the idiom of the Syriac as closely as he could. There is one peculiarity which at once strikes the eye of a reader: proper names are given (strangely enough) in their Syriac forms; thus we find Urishlem, Juhanon, Shemun, Ripha, &c., and even Aloha is substituted for God. As far as we have been able to examine the volume, it appears to evince Mr. Etheridge's competent Syriac scholarship and his industry; his translation may be regarded as sufficiently representing in English the text of the ancient Syriac version, *so far as that text is given in the edition of Schaaf.*

Cyclopædia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes. By the Rev. K. ARVINE, A.M. With an Introduction by the Rev. GEORGE B. CHEEVER, D.D. New York, Leavitt; London, Wiley: 1849.

This thick octavo, in double columns, is one of those compilations, or rather combinations, which, from the nature of the case, can only be produced in America. It comprises the cream of all the collections of this sort extant among us, with many additional ones, original or selected from American publications, and for the most part new to readers in this country. The whole are arranged and classified upon a new plan, with copious topical and Scriptural indexes. The Introduction, written in Dr. Cheever's customary pointed and picturesque style, sets forth with much effect the use and advantage of *illustration* in the enforcement of truth. 'Sometimes when we come upon such landing-places in the midst of a sermon, it is like anchoring at a verdant island after a somewhat tiresome sail. You remember the lake itself more by the island in the midst of it, and by what happened there, than by the smooth expanse of water.' This is true. But illustration of this sort is an instrument that needs to be delicately handled; for it requires great tact and judgment to introduce illustrative anecdotes with effect; and even with the aid of the index, which points out the texts which the anecdotes may be used to illustrate, much care in the selection and application will still be needed. We think highly of the useful effect of a well chosen anecdote in relieving the attention of an audience; and we know them to be of especial value in gaining the ear of young people; yet it is so rare to hear an anecdote really well applied, or to hit with direct sharpness the point at which it is aimed, that anecdotal preaching and discourse is, we suppose for this reason, not held in the highest estimation. As this work is so particularly arranged for the use of preachers, we have thought it right to look at it in that point of view. But there are many other purposes besides production in sermons to which anecdotes are applicable. There are scarcely any circumstances in which men have intercourse with one another, in which a well-put anecdote is not heard with pleasure. To those who have charge of young people anecdotes are of peculiar service and value. Even taken by themselves, there are few things that form more attractive reading to large classes of readers.

readers. It is true that they are apt to cloy, if not taken in small doses at a time; but so taken, they furnish a refreshing and not unwholesome stimulus. Few collections will, however, altogether satisfy a fastidious taste: this one does so more than many; but in so large a mass of this kind of material it would be too much to expect that many of the anecdotes should not be pointless, some of questionable religious or moral value, and many of apocryphal character. By supplying the place which the feebler anecdotes of the collection occupy with others taken from authentic biographies and memoirs, the value of the book might have been materially enhanced; but as the work stands, it is certainly the best and most carefully prepared collection of the kind that we have met with, and will form quite a treasury to those who delight in this kind of reading.

The Book of Revelation, translated from the ancient Greek Text.
By S. P. TREGELLES. London: S. Bagster and Sons.

In the year 1844 Mr. Tregelles edited the Greek Text of the Book of Revelation *from the ancient authorities*, with an English translation adapted to the Greek text so edited, and a critical introduction. The present work is the English translation, printed separately, after careful revision. The character of the work may be understood from the commencing paragraph of the useful and interesting Introduction:—

‘ This translation of the Book of Revelation is executed from the Greek text according to the *ancient authorities*; so that there is not a *single word* which is not guaranteed by manuscript authority of at least TWELVE HUNDRED YEARS old; and by far the greater part is vouched for by MSS. of FOURTEEN HUNDRED YEARS OLD.’

Mr. Tregelles states that he has long felt the importance of putting the English reader of the Word of God in possession of the *results* of textual criticism; and as such criticism supplies just as many corrections of the text of the Book of Revelation alone as of all the Epistles of St. Paul taken together, it became a matter of manifest importance that this book should be given to the English reader on the basis of the best authorities. As Mr. Tregelles’s edition of the text and his translation of the Apocalypse have already become authorities with the students of that profoundly important book, we truly rejoice to see the results of his learned labours exhibited in this generally accessible shape.

ANALECTA BIBLICA.

THE ANTEDILUVIANS.—The first men lived from nine hundred to a thousand years. A man of talents in those days commencing with all the knowledge communicated to Adam, and directing his attention to any art, such as the cultivation of corn, and the taming and breeding of animals, the working of metals, the art of music, the manufacture of cloths, etc., could afford to employ five or six hundred years in his favourite occupation, or in his favourite experiments. In that time he might make more progress than a succession of men can now do in a succession of ages, because each can only afford a dozen or two of years to his favourite pursuit, and then leaves the unfinished task, not perhaps to be immediately taken up by a successor. This accounts for the rapid progress of the arts in the antediluvian world. We learn that Noah after the flood could not only support his family by agriculture, by which alone they could subsist till his few animals multiplied; but we learn that he was well acquainted with the luxuries to be obtained by that art. One of his first employments was to plant a vineyard, and to make wine.

Before the flood one woman might bear some hundreds of children, and might in her lifetime see some thousands of her descendants. Thus it is literally true that one of these patriarchs might build a city. For a time after the flood men lived some hundreds of years, whereby population proceeded rapidly, and the arts previously invented were established in Asia and Egypt. The plough, the loom, the domestication of certain animals, the use of fire, of metals, and of letters were never lost. Accordingly, we trace most of these arts to the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris. The Greeks derived their letters from Phœnicia or Palestine, and completed their numerals by the aid of the Jewish letters. In the working of steel the inhabitants of Damascus retained their superiority almost down to our own times. Ancient Tyre possessed many of our present manufactures, and the articles of commerce of that city were both valuable and of great variety. (See Ezek. xxvii. 13, etc.) From the remains of their buildings it is evident that the architects or engineers of Egypt and Syria possessed a power of managing great weights, to which our modern engineers have never attained.

They used locks on their great canal between the Red Sea and the Nile; and an Egyptian king in one instance made a road of polished marble, to which our railways seem paltry. (Herodotus, *Euterpe*.) In proportion as men emigrated from the patriarchal seats, they sunk into barbarity, unless they emigrated, as already remarked, in numerous bodies, as to Egypt, Carthage, Greece, and Italy, when they carried with them a considerable portion of the permanent arts. Those who emigrated in single families could only retain few arts, and often de-generated

generated into mere huntsmen and fishermen, a state in which they were generally conquered, and often exterminated, by large bodies advancing from the original stock. These again frequently made war on each other, but still the arts of civilized life remained along the waters that descended from the mountains of Ararat. The emigrations of these early colonies cannot now be traced. The Spartans (1 Maccabees xii. 21), like the Arabs and Jews, considered themselves as descendants of Abraham; and Greece and Italy were settled, conquered, and instructed by successive invasions proceeding westward in considerable bodies in quest of fertile lands.—FORSYTH'S *Observations on Genesis and Exodus*.

WEIGHING MONEY.—The state of commerce in regard to the use of money is incidentally explained in Gen. xxiii. Abraham's wife Sarah having died, he purchased as a burying-place a field containing a cave. The bargain was conducted with much polite ceremonial on both sides. The price demanded, or rather stated by the seller as the value of the field, was four hundred shekels of silver, and 'Abraham weighed to Ephron the silver, which he had named in the audience of the sons of Heth, four hundred shekels of silver, current money or coin.' Why was it necessary to weigh it? An explanation will be obtained by attending to the state of the coin in Bengal before the time of Lord Cornwallis. The silver rupee, for example, was of considerable thickness, and bore a stamp on each side; but it was not stamped, or, as it is called, 'milled,' round the edges. Hence it could easily be pared or cut in the edges, so that the ordinary rupees were not all of one weight, in consequence of fraudulent operations on them. The stamp showed the purity of the metal, so as to render it current coin, but not being milled or stamped round the edges, it was necessary to weigh it, in order to ascertain that the proper weight of silver was delivered. Lord Cornwallis, when governor-general, put an end to this inconvenient kind of money, by establishing a mint at Calcutta, in which *thin* pieces milled round the edges were coined, in order to ascertain, as with us, both the quantity and quality of the coin, and so to supersede the necessity of weighing the money. This improvement had not been made in Syria in Abraham's time.—FORSYTH'S *Observations on Genesis and Exodus*.

TRAIT OF JOSHUA'S CHARACTER.—We have here (Exod. xxxii. 17) one of those little touches which mark a historian, drawing from fact, recording from nature. Joshua, all whose character was military, when the distant murmur from the valley catches his ear, thinks of nothing but the hostile assault on the encampment. Like Job's war-horse, 'he smelleth the battle afar off.' 'There is a noise of war,' he says, 'in the camp.'—PALFREY'S *Academical Lectures*.

BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE.

Since the commencement of our undertaking there has been no quarter so unproductive of works in sacred literature, at home or abroad, as that which has now closed. Our list of publications bears witness to this fact. This is however always the worst quarter of the year in respect of new publications of all descriptions. The approaching publishing season will probably compensate for this deficiency; but we have as yet heard little of its promise in our own department.

The new edition of Williams' *Holy City* (which is extended to two volumes, each larger than the one volume in which the first was comprised) contains a large folding plan of Jerusalem printed on glazed linen, being the first of the kind that has fallen under our notice. Those who have experienced the discomfort and annoyance arising from the tearing and from the wear at the folds of book maps and plans printed on paper, will appreciate the advantage of this contrivance. The plan itself is the largest we have seen; and it is also the best and most trustworthy, having been copied, by permission of the Master-General of the Ordnance, from the surveys made in 1841 by Lieuts. Aldrich and Symonds, of the Royal Engineers.

The third volume of the American Professor Torrey's translation of Neander's Church History is in the press, and will shortly be published.

Dr. Alexander, the author of the work on Isaiah, reviewed in the present number, has succeeded Dr. Miller as Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government in the theological seminary at Princeton, New Jersey.

The first portion of a new work of much promise, under the title of *Christliche Biographie* (Christian Biography), from the pen of Dr. Rudelbach, has lately appeared at Leipzig.

The last (August) Number of the American *Bibliotheca Sacra* is full of good matter, but less biblical than usual. A General Introduction to Church History, by Professor Schaffe; the Spirituality of the Book of Job, as exhibited in a Commentary on Chap. xiv., by Professor Tayler Lewis; and a translation of the Chronology of Winer's Lexicon, are the principal articles: and there are others on Cemeteries; on the Claims of the Natural Sciences to the Christian Ministry; on the Sanscrit Language, &c. Upon the whole this is a strong and creditable Number of this valuable publication.

The last Number (July) of the Biblical Repository is chiefly doctrinal so far as theological—On the Atonement; On Romans viii. 19—23; Review of Works on Baptism; Argument for the Being of God from the Constitution of Man; and a Homily on the Greatness of Scripture. The best papers are perhaps those on secular subjects: Classical Study, by Dr. Owen; and the Spirit of Literature and Art, by Dr. Tappan—a capital article.

That well conducted journal the (American) Methodist Quarterly Review is less theological than usual in its last Number. There are however articles on Julian the Apostate; on the Preparation for Christianity in the History of the World a proof of its Divine origin; on the Plan and Structure of the Book of Ecclesiastes (from the German); on Charles Wesley and his Poetry; and on the Philosophy of Christian Perfection—besides some secular articles.

Lord's Theological and Literary Journal is wholly theological in the last Number. It is chiefly occupied by three articles—a Designation of the Figures of Isaiah, Chap. xi.; the Restoration of the Israelites; and a review of Dr. Bushnell's Dissertation on Language. This publication goes on with much spirit considering that the burden of the work, both as to editing and contributing, rests mainly on the shoulders of one man.

The

The last Number of the Journal of the German Oriental Society is chiefly occupied with a long and learned and most able paper on the famous inscriptions upon the rocks of Sinai, from the pen of Professor Tuch. As we hope to give the substance of this paper to our readers, we shall not here anticipate the conclusions it exhibits.

REV. ALBERT BARNES.—The New York correspondent of the Boston *Chronotype* thus speaks of a discourse lately delivered by this popular annotator on Scripture in that city. It was a missionary sermon:—‘Mr. Barnes spoke for nearly two hours. He stood as still as a post the whole time; not a gesture, not a movement, not an expression of passion in his voice or countenance; his eye was fixed on his manuscript. . . . There were no flashes; no salient points; everything was level, dressed in everyday clothes, so to speak; utterly free from all pretence or reality of fine writing. Yet there was something both in the manner and matter of the speaker which irresistibly chained the attention of the large audience. They were evidently taken by surprise and a spell was upon them. It was that of the simple earnestness, the freedom from all appearance of ambition, the air of deep conviction, and the strong, manly good sense which pervaded the discourse. If Mr. Barnes has not eloquence, he has something better than eloquence.’

We are reminded by this notice of the preaching of Albert Barnes, of the squabble among the publishers in this country respecting the reprint of his works. There are it seems *three* rival reprinters of his last work—Notes on some of the Epistles. One of them thinks to steal a march upon the others by sending the American author the splendid present of fifty guineas! and forthwith claims the exclusive copyright in Great Britain. Whereupon the rival publishers proclaim to the four winds of heaven the recent decision of the Chief Baron, that a foreign author *can hold no copyright in this country*. Thus therefore an American author, writing in our common English tongue—and conferring immortal benefits on all by whom that tongue is spoken, is not allowed to secure to himself any beneficial interest in the products of his thoughtful toil among the largest portion of those who can receive advantage from his labours. Albert Barnes might be rendered wealthy through the great popularity which his various works have attained in this country; but it now turns out that this, the natural birthright of his intellect, is by unjust law—or rather, by the absence of just law—deprived of even the value of that mess of pottage which was tendered to him. It is true that the wrong is as great—is indeed far greater, on the other side of the Atlantic; but this does not excuse the injustice of our own laws, and the best mode of getting right from the other side would be to do right on our own, without care for the consequences.

BIBLIOTHECA CLERICALIS.—In reference to the Catalogue of theological works in preparation by Mr. Darling, which we had occasion to notice in the last Number of the Journal, we are now enabled from more exact information to point out a most important feature by which it will be distinguished from the classed Catalogues, not only of this country, but of the Continent. It will exhibit a classified arrangement, not only of books, but of the several dissertations and treatises contained in volumes; and it will also render generally accessible—by means of a twofold arrangement of texts and subjects—the large body of theological disquisition and biblical knowledge locked up in innumerable sermons and discourses. The practical acquaintance which Mr. Darling possesses with the wants of theological students and ministers, affords him great advantages in the execution of this really important undertaking, while his earnest and ever ready zeal (of which we can speak from experience) in imparting to those engaged in the theological inquiries the benefit of his extensive knowledge of books, well entitles him to the support and encouragement which may enable him to put this most useful and valuable instrument into the hands of scholars and theologians.

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS.

ENGLISH.

- Alliott (Rev. R.)—Lectures on the History of the Children of Israel. 12mo. pp. 280.
- Anderson (Rev. C.)—The Singular Introduction of the English Bible into Britain, and its Consequences. 8vo. pp. 60.
- Bagster's Polyglot Bibles. Fac-simile large print edition, post 8vo.
- Beard (Rev. J. R.)—Illustrations of the Divine in Christianity: a Series of Discourses exhibiting views of the Truth, Spirit, and Practical Value of the Gospel. 8vo. pp. 315.
- Cotton (Rev. R. L.)—Lectures on the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. (Oxford.) pp. 322.
- Cunninghame (W.)—The Certain Truth, the Science, and the Authority of the Scriptural Chronology. 8vo. pp. 400.
- Harrison (B.)—Prophetic Outlines of the Christian Church and the Anti-christian Power, as traced in the Visions of Daniel and St. John. 8vo. pp. 472.
- Hincmar.—The Life and Times of Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims. By the late Rev. J. C. Prichard. 12mo. pp. 270.
- Nash (F. H.)—The Scriptural Idea of Faith: an Essay on the use of the Term 'Faith,' in the Writings of the Apostles. 12mo. (Dublin), pp. 168.
- Peile (Rev. T. W.)—Annotations on the Apostolical Epistles; designed chiefly for the use of Students of the Greek Text. Vol. II., Galatians to Colossians. 8vo. pp. 264.
- Sabbath (The)—or, an Examination of the Six Texts commonly adduced from the New Testament in Proof of a Christian Sabbath. By a Layman. 8vo. pp. 344.
- Strauss (F. A.)—Sinai and Golgotha: a Journey in the East. With an Introduction by Henry Stebbing, D.D. 8vo. pp. 402.

FOREIGN.

- Boettcher (F.)—Exegetisch-krit. Aehrenlese zum alt. Testament. 8vo. (Leipz.)
- Corpus apologetarum christianorum saec. secundi. Ed. J. C. Th. Otto. Vol. III.: Justinus philosophus et martyr. Tom. II. Editio II. 8vo. (Jena.)
- Ewald (H.)—Jahrbücher d. bibl. Wissenschaft. 1. Jahrbuch, 1848. 8vo. (Göttingen.)
- Haevernick's (H. A. Ch.)—Handbuch der histor.-krit. Einleitung in das alte Testament. 3. Thl., ausgearb. v. C. F. Keil. 8vo. (Erlang.)
- Ignatii (Sti.) quae feruntur Epistolae una cum ejusdem Martyrio. Denuo recens. etc. J. H. Petermann. 8vo. (Leipz.)
- Stier (R.)—Formenlehre der hebräischen Sprache. Neue Ausg. 8vo. (Berl.)

* * * *The Title-page and Index of the Fourth Volume will be given with the next Number.*

INDEX

TO THE

FOURTH VOLUME OF THE JOURNAL OF SACRED LITERATURE.

A.

- AARON, his conduct in the matter of the golden calf, 74, 87.
 Abel, nature of his sacrifice, 128; the words assigned to Cain in Gen. iv. 7 really addressed to him, 128.
 'Accursed from Christ,' what meant by these words, 371-373.
 ALEXANDER, PROFESSOR, HIS PROPHECIES OF ISAIAH, Earlier and Later, reviewed, 356-370. Glance at Isaian literature, 356; present work not needless—its distinctive character, 357; author's object stated, 358; his view of the *later* prophecies different from Dr. Henderson's, 259; his views stated—the prophet was the inspired exponent of the law, 360; corruption of the nation, and its relation to neighbouring countries, 361; the *true* spirit of the Mosaic dispensation sanctioned neither hatred of the heathen nor intermixture with them, 362; both forms of error grew up and were denounced by the prophets, 363; whether the later prophecies have reference to the Christian Church or to events before the Advent, 366; the two hypotheses combined by a supposed double meaning, 367; the latter the basis of modern theological criticism, 368; the fallacy of this sort of exegesis illustrated, 369; true object to represent the whole condition, character, and destiny of Israel as the chosen people, 369; remarks on this, 370.
 ANALECTA BIBLICA, 412, 413.
 Antediluvians, 412.
 Authorities, Tischendorf's rules for weighing, 201.
 Apis, the original of the golden calf, 78.

VOL. IV.—NO. VIII.

Arvine, Rev. K., his *Cyclopædia of Moral and Religious Anecdotes* noticed, 410.

B.

- Baptism of Fire, 135-139.
 Barnes, Rev. Albert, as a preacher; republications of his works in this country, 415; his work on Isaiah, 357.
 Bell, G. M., on the literary character of David, 335-342.
 Bengel, his Recension of [the Greek text, 206.
 Benisch, Dr., on biblical errors in Johnson's Dictionary, 161; his *Two Lectures on Maimonides* noticed, 180-182.
 BIBLICAL INTELLIGENCE, 189-194, 414, 415.
 Bornemann, his edition of the Acts of the Apostles, 213.
 Bulwer, his *Last of the Barons* cited, 119.

C.

- Calf, how the form came to be idolatrously adopted by the Israelites, 74; idea not derived from the cherubim, 75; nor intended hieroglyphically, *ib.*; but as having been worshipped in Egypt, 76.
 Calvin, his Sermons, 192.
 Canterbury, Abp. *Selection from his Practical Exposition of the Gospels*, noticed, 188.
 Caper-plant, probably the Hyssop of Scripture, 268 *sqq.* See HYSSOP.
 Chamber over gates, 57.

2 F

CHRISTIANITY IN HARMONY WITH OUR FACULTIES, 34-45. God knows his creation—knoweth whereof we are made, 34-36. Man is a reasonable being, and Christianity is a science, 36. Man is an imaginative being, and the religion God has given him is itself poetry, 37. Man is a moral being, and his religion is a system of morality, 39. Man is endowed with sensibility, and his religion is a law of love, 40; the entire harmony between his faculties and the religion presented to him, 41; the just effects of this harmony destroyed by the cultivation of single faculties in connection with religion instead of all the faculties, 41-44; counsels regarding this, 45.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH, 241-257; perplexities of this subject, 241; serious difference of chronologers, 242; principles of inquiry, *ib.*; results to which they have led, 243; table of the reigns in this period, 244-247; notes illustrative of the table, 247; Omri, 248; Ahab, Joram, 250; Jehoram, Jehoash, 251; Uzziah, 252; Jotham, 253; Pekah, 255; Hezekiah, 256.

Chronology of Prophecy noticed, 176.

Cloud, small, harbinger of rain, 55.

Colours, devotional and distinctive uses of, in the East, 47.

Conder, Josiah, his *Harmony of History with Prophecy* noticed, 171-174.

COQUEL, his Sermon 'Christianity in Harmony with our Faculties,' 34-45.

1 Corinthians xi. 10, a new interpretation of, 88-101.

CORRESPONDENCE, 145-162, 383-386.

Cox, Rev. F. A., D.D., his translation of Saurin's *Dissertation on the Golden Calf*, 73-88.

Customs, Oriental, their value for the illustration of Scripture, 56-58.

Cutting the flesh in frantic devotion, 55.

D.

DEMONIACAL POSSESSION, THE SCRIPTURAL DOCTRINE OF, 1-18; importance of the question, 3; forms of possession, 4; the possessed not subjects of actual disease, 5; but actually under demoniacal influence, 6; Evangelist writers distinguish between diseased persons and demoniacs, 7; reality of the possession evinced by the superhuman knowledge of demoniacs, 8; which

is inconsistent with the idea of their being lunatics or madmen, 9. The testimony of the Gadarene demoniac, 10, 11; the passage of the demons into the herd of swine considered, 12; demons fallen angels, 13, 14; not the spirits of dead men, 15-17; the fathers held the reality of demoniacal possession, 17, 18.

David, his somewhat various accomplishments illustrated, 50; parallel between him and Titus Manlius Torquatus, 374-378.

Davidson, Dr., answer to Rev. J. Scott Porter, 153-159; his *Introduction* cited, 117.

DAVIDSON'S INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT, Vol. II., reviewed, 343-355; extent and character of the volume, 343; the authorship of the Acts, 344; whether Luke used written documents, 345; condition of the text, 346; points in the life of St. Paul discussed, 347; his 'lost epistles,' 348, 352; doctrinal character of Paul's epistles, the Law and the Gospel, 353; Epistle to the Ephesians, 353; German subjectivity, 354; our Lord's advent, *ib.*; touching verbal inspiration, 355; this work does present the actual state of questions with reference to the latest inquiries, 355.

Davies, Dr. Benjamin, his translation of Keil's *Introduction to the Book of Joshua*, 217-241.

Deaf and Dumb, institutions for, among the mediæval Greeks, 111.

Dishes, Eastern mode of washing, 56.

Dispassionate Appeal on the Proposed Alteration of the Law of Marriage noticed, 187.

Donaldson, Rev. J. W., D.D., on the interpretation of Genesis iv. 7, 124-129.

Drought, effects of, in the East, 53.

E.

Eadie, Rev. Dr., his edition of Alexander's *Prophecies of Isaiah*, 358.

Earrings of the Israelites, 75, 87.

Editions of the Greek Testament, 209.

Edwards, Professor, communication on Theological Education in the United States, 145-148.

Elzevir, differences between the text of this edition and that of Stephens, 209.

Emperors, the Greek, their disposition to interfere with the religious convictions of their subjects, 103.

English Polyglott Bible noticed, 409.

Essays on History, Philosophy, and Theology noticed, 186.

EUSTATHIUS, ARCHBISHOP OF THESSALONICA, ON THE CHARACTER OF, CONSIDERED AS A REFORMER, 101-111; one of the distinguished men who among the Greeks enlightened the darkness of the middle ages, 101; compiler of Commentary on Homer, 102; Professor Tafel's edition of his smaller treatises, *ib.*; defects of the Greek literature of his age, *ib.*; his opposition to a decree of the Emperor Michael Comnenus, 103; his conduct in the siege and capture of Thessalonica, 104; incurs the disfavour of the great by his boldness as a censor of morals, 105; his complaints of the laxity of the marriage bond, 106; love, in his view, the essence of a Christian disposition, 107; his abhorrence of hypocrisy, *ib.*; his estimate of monastic life, 108-111.

Etheridge, Rev. Dr., his *Apostolical Acts and Epistles from the Syriac* noticed, 409.

Ewald, his view of the composition of the Book of Joshua, 223.

Ewald, Professor von, his reply to Professor Lee's last letter, 383-386.

F.

Faith and Prayer, letter on the proper subjects of, 390.

Ford, Rev. James, *Gospel of St. Mark Illustrated* noticed, 406.

Fraser, Rev. W., his *Moriah* noticed, 177.

G.

Gates, transactions at those of Eastern cities, 57.

GENESIS IV. 7, ON THE INTERPRETATION OF, 124-129; the account of the first sacrifice beset with difficulties, 124; text not very legible even when the Seventy made their version, 126; probably a *lacuna* here, *ib.*; reason for supposing the words of the verse addressed to Abel, not to Cain, promising him the birthright, *ib.*; confirmed by analogies, 127; amended text, and new version, 128; objection answered, 129.

GOLDEN CALF, 73-88; notices of

Jewish doctors, 74; Aaron's part in this matter, *ib.*; why the symbol of a calf was selected, 75; its connection with Egyptian idolatry, 77; illustrations of this idolatry, 78; the festival, 80; violation of the covenant, 81; the part of Moses, *ib.*; notion respecting the water he made the Israelites drink, 82; punishment, 83; explanation of Moses' wish rather to be blotted out of God's book if their sin were not pardoned, 84; God's *repenting* of the evil explained, 86; the 'graving tool,' 87; pulverizing the gold, *ib.*; conduct of Aaron, *ib.*; his culpable timidity, 88.

Gordon, Rev. A., on Rom. ix. 3, 371-373. Griesbach, effect of his labours, 198.

Gumpach, John von, Comment on St. Luke's preface to his Gospel, 301-307; on 'the Second Sabbath after the First,' 140-145.

H.

Heads, bringing of, to a king or chief, 51.

Head, uncovering the, counted a dishonour among the Arab tribes, 94.

Heinfetter, Herman, letter on his translation of John's Gospel, 386-390.

Henderson, Dr., his translation of Isaiah, 357; his views of the later prophecies, 359.

Hengstenberg, his hypothesis for the interpretation of the later prophecies of Isaiah, 367.

Hezekiah, national corruption in his days, 361.

Hypocrisy, the remonstrances of Eustathius against that Greek vice, 107.

HYSSOP OF SCRIPTURE, 257-276; places in which it is mentioned, 258; philology of the name, 260; plants which have been regarded as the Scriptural hyssop, 261; the modern hyssop, 264; statements of Drs. Robinson and Kitzo, 265; of Winer and Lady Calcott, 266; author's attention directed to the subject, *ib.*; suspicion that the plant was not the modern hyssop, 267; confirmed by extract from Burekhardt, *ib.*; eventually identified with the *asuf* of the Arabs, or caper-plant, 268; its presence in Egypt and Sinai, 269; in Palestine, 270; ancient notices, 271; uses and qualities accordant with those of the Scriptural hyssop, 271 *sqq.*; passage in John xix. 29 particularly consi-

dered, 272; thought by some also to be a plant denoted in Eccles. xii. 5 by the word *abiyonah*, 275; general results, 276.

I.

INFERENTIAL REASONING FROM THE SILENCE OF SCRIPTURE, 277-287; in the sacred writings omission from ignorance not to be supposed, 277; historical silence, doctrinal silence, partial silence, 278; the silence of Scripture a proper subject of study, 279; avowed silence of Epistle to Hebrews as to the typical meaning of the tabernacle, 280; silence respecting the cessation of the Levitical priesthood, 281; silence respecting the labours of the Apostles besides Paul, *ib.*; respecting the Jewish people, 282; application of the apostolical argument from the priesthood of Melchizedek, 283; the revealed and the hidden in our Lord's history, 284; prominence in it of all that pertains to the fulfilment of Jewish obligations, 286; silence in all that does not pertain to the fulfilment of Jewish types, *ib.*; we must wait for further disclosures, *ib.*; conclusions to which we are led, 287.

Isaiah. See *Alexander*.

IS BIBLICAL CRITICISM UNFAVOURABLE TO PIETY? 111-124; common views among easy believers of the region comprised within the bounds of their faith, 111; views of the present, 112; views of the Bible, 113; other spirits exercised like their Lord, by temptations in the wilderness, 114; nature of these exercises, 115; the studies found necessary to independent inquiry, 116; the original tongues being gained, the field of Biblical criticism is entered upon, *ib.*; the necessity of this study, 117; and what God has left necessary is safe, 118; the study must go on, though much has been done, 119; *may*, like other useful pursuits, become injurious if studied from improper motives, 120; if studied exclusively, 121; mistakes possible, and dangerous, *ib.*; but no evils necessarily follow from these studies, 122; and there are some positive advantages promotive of enlightened piety, and important to the world, 123, 124.

J.

'Jehovah' not, as Gesenius asserts, always rendered by the LXX by *δ κύριος*.

Jehu, his proclamation, 56.

Johnson, Dr., biblical errors in his Dictionary, 161.

JOSHUA, INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK OF, 217-241; new elucidation of the book rendered needful by recent researches, 217; name, contents, and design of the book, 219; unity of the book, 220; its alleged fragmentary character stated and opposed, 221; stress laid upon the Elohim and Jehovah documents, 222; method of this criticism shown and disputed, 225; alleged differences and contradictions as to things, 226-231; and in regard to language, 231-235; futility of both, 235; the book not originally one with the Pentateuch, nor by the same author, shown historically and philologically, 235-240; congruity and natural reference of the contents, 240, 241.

Joshua with Moses on the mount, 81; trait of his character, 413.

K.

Keil, Professor, his *Introduction to the Book of Joshua*, 217-241.

Kerr, Rev. D., on the Chronology of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, 241-257.

Kitto, Dr., new edition of his *Pictorial Bible* noticed, 162-165; *Abridged Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature* noticed, 407.

Knight, Rev. Robert, his new interpretation of 1 Cor. xi. 10, being Paul's rebuke of women praying with uncovered heads, 89-101.

L.

Lachmann, his manual edition of the New Testament, 198; his editions of the New Testament, 211.

Lateinos is the 'mark' or name of the Beast noticed, 178, 179.

Lee, Dr. Samuel, answer to Professor von Ewald, 159, 160.

Lists of Publications, 194-196; 416.

Lowth, his translation of Isaiah, 356; his theory of interpretation, 367.

Loyola and Jesuitism in its Rudiments noticed, 165-171.

LUKE, ST., A COMMENT ON THE PREFACE TO HIS GOSPEL, 301-307; what gives this preface special interest and importance, 301; defects here of the Authorized Version, *ib.*; a misconception regarding Luke's allusion to former narratives, 302; another as to the sense of 'to be surely believed,' which requires a passive signification, 303; and as to the nature of the authority which he claims, 304; new translation upon the views advocated, 306; results, 306, 307.

M.

M'Combie, William, his review of Morell's *Philosophy of Religion*, 58-73. *Memoir of the Rev. H. Duncan* noticed, 401-405.

Milligan, Rev. W., M.A., remarks on Rom. ix. 3, 130-135.

Miracle of Joshua, letter respecting Mr. von Gumpach's article thereon, 148-153.

MISCELLANEA, 130-145, 371-382.

Money, weighing of, 413. *Moriah; or Sketches of the Sacred Rites of Israel* noticed, 177, 178.

MORELL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION, 58-73; religion beyond the range of philosophy, 58; 'intuitional consciousness' proposed by author as the ultimate standard of appeal, 59; his first example as to the perception of the Divine nature considered, 60; admits the progressive development of this faculty, 61; but has supplementary resources, 62; this 'spiritual intuition' wants the proper faculties of intuition, *ib.*; no advantages for the attainment of certainties on this system, 63; the author's analysis and elucidation of Revelation, *ib.*; his view of the Bible, 64; of the peculiarity of the Christian religion, *ib.*; evil of this subordination of Scripture to internal consciousness, 65; as much a source of varied interpretation as a rigid adherence to the letter, *ib.*; author's view of inspiration, 66; of miracles, *ib.*; fallacious results of this ingenuity, 67; objections to author's mode of dealing with Scripture, *ib.*; the Bible is essential to Christian theology, 68; 'intuitive consciousness' not a source of religious certitude, 69; author's illogical depreciation of evangelical testimony, 70; his 'Catholic consciousness of the

universal Church' as open to uncertainty as any other medium of truth, 72; merits and defects of the work, 73.

Muralt, von, his edition of the New Testament, 212.

N.

Natron, probably used in rendering the golden calf potable, 87.

Neander, sketch of, 189; his Character of Eustathius considered as a Reformer, 101-111; his Lecture on Pascal's Conception of the peculiar Genius of Christianity, 288-300.

Niblock, Rev. Dr., On the Baptism of Fire, 135-139; On the Septuagint translation of 'Jehovah,' 161.

NOTICES OF BOOKS, 162-189, 401-411.

P.

PASCAL'S CONCEPTION OF THE PECULIAR GENIUS OF CHRISTIANITY, 288-300; communication from God, or revelation, together with the susceptibility in man to receive it, assumed by Pascal as essential to religious apprehension, 288; quotations which show this, 290; that God rather moves the will than the intellect, 292; manner of God's action, and limits of human endeavour, *ib.*; conditions essential to the development of religious conviction, 293; necessity to keep the divine and natural mind in union, 294; so that belief becomes a custom of the mind, 295; the inner revelation precedes the outer, 296; the knowledge of God and of man intimately conjoined, 298; and Christ the central point of all existence and all religion, 299.

Paterson, Rev. A. S., *Brief Commentary on Epistles to Timothy and Titus*, 181; *Scripture Doctrine of Good Angels* noticed, 183.

Peile's, Dr., *Annotations on the Apostolic Epistles* noticed, 405.

Pentateuch, differences between it and the book of Joshua, 235-240.

Pictorial Bible, notice of new edition, 162-165.

Porter, Rev. J. Scott, Dr. Davidson's reply to his Letter, 153-159.

POSTANS, Mrs., her Recollections of the East, in illustration of the Pentateuch, 46-58.

Presents, Eastern and Scriptural usage of, 49.

Psalms, opinions of various writers respecting, 338, 342; their peculiarity, 339; composed at various periods of David's life, *ib.*

Punctuation of the Greek Testament, 208.

R.

Rabett, Rev. R., M.A., his *Lateinos* noticed, 178, 179.

Rahab, her dealings with the spies illustrated, 47.

Rain, effects of, after drought, 55.

Ransom, W., Letter on the Proper Subjects of Faith and Prayer, 390.

Readings, various, in the Greek Testament, 201.

Recensions of the Greek text, 206.

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE EAST, illustrative of certain passages in the Historical Books of the New Testament, 46-58; Rahab's proceedings with the spies illustrated, 46; the scarlet thread, 47; suburbs of Indian cities in illustration of Josh. xxii., *ib.*; Ruth in the threshing-floor of Boaz illustrated by Oriental sleeping customs, 48; early rising, *ib.*; corn carried in veil, 49; Eastern customs of offering presents, in illustration of 1 Sam. x. 27, *ib.*; David's combination of accomplishments illustrated from Beloochistan, 50; custom of decapitation, in illustration of 1 Sam. xvii. 57, 51; regard still testified in the same way as by Jonathan to David, *ib.*; responsive songs of women, *ib.*; the gates of Eastern cities, 52; effects of continued drought in the East, 53; devotees cutting themselves, 55; return of rain after long drought, *ib.*; proclamation of Jehu, 56; watchmen on towers, *ib.*; wiping dishes, *ib.*; the general subject—nothing trivial that makes Scripture better understood.

Robinson, Dr. Edward, new edition of his Translation of Gesenius's Lexicon noticed, 408.

Romans, ix. 3, remarks on, 130-135; an explanation of this text, 371-373.

Royle, Professor, M.D., on the Hyssop of Scripture, 257-276.

Runners before chariots, 52.

Ruth, her interview with Boaz in the threshing-floor, 48.

RYLAND, J. E., his Translation of Neander's Character of Eustathius, 101-111.

S.

Sabbath, 'The Second Sabbath after the First,' 140-145.

Sacred Latin Poetry noticed, 183-185.

Saurin, his Dissertation on the Golden Calf translated, 73-88.

Scavengers, Eastern, 47.

Scholz, his edition of the New Testament, 199, 210.

Selection from the Abp. of Canterbury's Exposition of the Gospels noticed, 188.

Silence of Scripture. See *Inferential Reasoning*.

Serpent, the, that beguiled Eve, letter respecting, 392.

Sleep, Eastern usages in connection therewith, 48.

Slings, continued use of, in the East, 50.

Songs, responsive, of Mahratta women, 51.

Stähelin, his views of the construction of the Book of Joshua, 229 *sqq.*

Suburbs of Eastern towns, 47.

T.

Taylor, Rev. W., letter on the Miracle of Joshua, 148-153.

Taylor, Isaac, his *Loyola and Jesuitism* noticed, 165-171.

TENSES OF THE HEBREW VERB, 308-334; formation of tenses, 308; nouns not always derived from verbs, 309; the imperative the root, *ib.*; from which and the participle all the other inflexions are deducible, *ib.*; the infinitive, its extensive and indefinite use, 310; the past tense so called, really the present tense, its formation, 311; of the קָדַם form, how its present tense is merged into the past by grammarians, 313; shown from Zechariah's vision to denote present time, *ib.*; general principle of describing past events as present not carried far enough out by grammarians, 314; the adoption thereof gives much simplicity to Hebrew grammar, 317; the קָדַם form—this form uniformly

involves the idea of futurity, 319; denotes the *consequence* of an action or state, 320; also the *continuance* of an action or existence, 321; the various significations assigned thereto by Gesenius examined, 322; פֶּקֶד and פִּקֶּד viewed in combination, 324; פֶּקֶד, words after which the form is employed, 324; in all of which the future is employed with a reference to the past, 325; solution of the difficulty of the passages in which the reference is to past time while the פֶּקֶד form is employed, 326; פִּקֶּד, exceptions from its usual course of following the future tense, 328; but the leading principle is seen in these exceptions, 329; פֶּקֶד changed into פִּקֶּד in certain cases, 320; cases in which פֶּקֶד is changed into פִּקֶּד, 332.

Theophilus, his connection with Luke's Gospel, 300.

Thessalonica, siege of, in the twelfth century, 104.

Tholuck and Neander, sketch of, 189-191.

Thom, Adam, his *Chronology of Prophecy* noticed, 174-176.

Thomson, Rev. Dr., his *Exposition of the Gospel of St. Luke*, 180.

THOUGHTS ON THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF DAVID, 335-342; his history touched on, 335; life of a shepherd, 336; David's character and genius, 337; testimonials, 338; the Psalms, 339; David imbued with all the peculiarities of a true poet, 340; close observer of nature, 341; love of music, *ib.*; literary excellences of the Psalms, 342.

Tregelles, Samuel Prideaux, his review of Tischendorf's Greek Testament, 198-216; his edition of the Apocalypse, 214; his views of inspiration, 215; his review of Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament, 345-355; his *Book of Revelation translated from the Ancient Greek Text* noticed, 411.

Trench, Rev. R. C., *Sacred Latin Poetry* noticed, 183-185.

TISCHENDORF'S GREEK TESTAMENT reviewed, 198-216; state of critical opinion respecting the sources of an accurate text, 198; Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, 199; Tischendorf's first edition, 198; the present edition—prolegomena—statement of editor's recent labours, 199; critical principles of the

editor, 200; his rules for weighing authorities, 201; applied and illustrated, and examined, 202-206; recensions, editor's view of others and statement of his own, 206; punctuation, 208; editions, Elzevir, 209; the editor's three Paris editions, 210; Lachmann's editions, 211; von Muralt's edition reprehended, *ib.*; Bornemann's edition of the Acts, 213; editor's notice of Tregelles' edition of the Revelation, 214; general estimate of the present edition, 215.

Titus Manlius Torquatus. See *David*.

Tulloch, Rev. J., his translation of Neander's *Lecture on Pascal*, 288-300.

Two Lectures on the Life and Writings of Muimionides, 180-182.

U.

Universities, German, 192.

V.

Vaughan, Robert, D.D., *Essays on History, Philosophy, and Theology* noticed, 186.

Vine, the true (John xv. 1-6), 378-382.

W.

Walker, George J., on the True Vine, 378-382.

Watchmen on towers, 56.

Weir, Rev. D. W., on the Tenses of the Hebrew Verb, 308-334.

Wilton, Rev. Edward, his Parallel between David and Titus Manlius Torquatus, 374-378.

WINER'S BIBLE LEXICON [*Biblisches Realwörterbuch*]. Interview with Professor Winer, 19, 20; his principal works, 20-22; his *Realwörterbuch* an unique production, 22; compared with Calmet's Dictionary and Kitto's Cyclopædia, 23, 24; its learning, 24; its deficiencies, 25; specimen of, in Art. 'Apostles,' 24-31; remarks thereon, 31; errors and defects therein, 32; improvement in Winer's latest views, 32.

WOMEN PRAYING WITH UNCOVERED

HEADS, Paul's rebuke of, 88-101; difficulties in supposing the injunction directed against women taking a part in the assemblies, 89; or against their apparel, 90; the 'angels,' not heathen spies, 90; that the injunction does not apply to apparel shown, 93; if this were in view, must have applied to use of veil by women, and long hair by men, 93; confusion of the natural and mystical senses of 'head' in this interpretation, 95; more correct to

take the symbolical sense, without altogether excluding some reference to the natural, 95; and the real object to prevent women from reducing their 'social head' (man) to a subordinate position by taking a prominent part in assemblies for worship, 97; translation and exposition of the passage throughout, 96; this free from the contradictions in which all other explanations are involved, 100.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 06691 6720

